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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC ATTITUDES AND VALUES TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP DURING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL YEARS, PART 1.
HESS, ROBERT D. * AND OTHERS
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*SOCIAL INFLUENCES, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, *POLITICAL ATTITUDES, *CITIZENSHIP, CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY, *SCHOOL ROLE, ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ROLE, *PERSONAL VALUES, ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS, ELEMENTARY GRADES, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THIS REPORT WAS FOCUSED UPON THE INDUCTION OF CHILDREN INTO THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL SYSTEM. THE REPORT, PART ONE OF A TWO-PART REPORT, WAS DERIVED FROM A STUDY OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS AND THE SCHOOL AS AGENTS FOR SOCIALIZATION. DATA WERE OBTAINED BY QUESTIONNAIRE FROM SCHOOL CHILDREN (GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT) IN BOTH LARGE AND SMALL CITIES. SCHOOLS SELECTED WITHIN EACH OF EIGHT CATEGORIES REPRESENTED MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASS SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS. FINDINGS REPORTED DEALT WITH--(1) CONTENT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES DEVELOPED DURING ELEMENTARY SCHOOL YEARS, (2) AGENTS (INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONS) AND EXPERIENCES RELATED TO THE ACQUIRED ATTITUDES, AND (3) THE RATE AND SEQUENCE OF CHANGE IN ATTITUDES AS WELL AS THE PROCESSES WHICH ESTABLISHED THEM. (WN)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC ATTITUDES AND VALUES TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP DURING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL YEARS

PART I

Cooperative Research Project No. 1078

Robert D. Hess

Judith V. Torney

With the Assistance of
David Jackson

The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois
1965

This is Part I of a two-part report based upon Cooperative Research Project Number 1078 of which Robert D. Hess and David Easton are co-principal investigators. Part I deals with political socialization from the viewpoint of social psychology and child development and has been prepared by Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney. Part II, which will deal with political socialization from the viewpoint of political science, will be prepared by David Easton and Jack Dennis and will be submitted subsequently.

The research reported herein was supported by the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

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PREFACE

Although this report is based upon analysis of a project which began in 1960, it reflects the outcome of a number of studies of political socialization in children and adolescents in the United States. Beginning with our first inquiry into this topic in 1955, our aim has been twofold: first, to chart the progress of the child's induction into the political life of a society and to describe the process of socialization, and second, to examine preadult political learning and behavior in terms of its implications for the persistence of the political system. This manuscript is Part I of a two-part report to the U.S. Office of Education. Part I, prepared by Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, describes the process and progress of socialization of the individual child from the perspective of education, child development and social psychology; Part II, prepared by David Easton and Jack Dennis, will present the data from the perspective of political science. After these initial analyses and interpretations of the data we expect to prepare for publication a manuscript that will relate the contribution of the separate disciplines.

During this project we have had the cooperation and assistance of many colleagues, staff members, students, and personnel in public schools. We are particularly indebted to Dr. David Jackson, who served as project director and supervised the field work and data analysis. His role in formulating plans for testing, establishing contacts with school systems, and coordinating the project was essential. Dr. Jackson also prepared the preliminary draft of Chapter II. Dr. Jack Dennis and Mrs. Judith Torney, who were with the project from the beginning, played central roles in all phases of the research.

Part I of the report has been particularly served by Miss Joy Zigo, who took responsibility for producing the final copy of the report, constructing figures and supervising the final editing, typing, and printing. Mr. Elliot Simon and Mr. Carl Hildabrand handled the specialized, tedious, and exacting problems of urging the data through the computer. Mr. Ed Thompson prepared a number of preliminary reports. Miss Sharon Avery and Mrs. Anne Vollmar helped edit the various drafts of the manuscript. Mrs. Charlotte Rosen served as project secretary for part of this period.

We also acknowledge, with thanks, the contribution of many other staff members who worked with us at various stages of the research: Mrs. Jill Cohen, who served as project secretary during the first two years; our interviewers and research assistants, Mr. Albert Robles, Mr. Reginald Bartholomew, Mr. Roger Masters, Mrs. Donna England, Mrs. Patricia Bebout, Mrs. Beverly Rogers, Mr. John Fitzgerald, Mr. Herbert Haberland, Mr. Elliott White, Mr. Keith

Torney, Mrs. Jean Dames Goodman, Miss Susan Roth, Mr. Art Rosner, Mr. Tadao Okamura, Mr. Frank Smith, Mr. Harold Kooden, Mr. Paul Waltz, and Mr. Dan Leatherman.

The comments of colleagues have been especially useful. We are grateful to Dr. Fred Greenstein, Dr. Lawrence Kohlberg, Dr. June Tapp, and Dr. Donald Fiske, who aided us in various ways in the data analysis and preparation of the manuscript.

R.D.H.

J.V.T.

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CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT DURING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL YEARS

A. Introduction

The emotional attachment of an individual to his country and its leaders is one of the most profound, powerful, and complex ties in human experience. The feelings that are developed in this relationship are well known to all--a sense of national pride at the country's achievements in the arts, in sports, or in the conquest of space, and feelings of loyalty and respect during such ceremonial events as the salute to the flag or the singing of the national anthem; yet the strength and depth of this affect are not always recognized. Thus we are somewhat unprepared for the widespread and powerful outpouring of emotion in a time of national crisis such as the attack on Pearl Harbor or the assassination of President Kennedy. Feelings of attachment are especially evident and indeed probably reach their peak during war, when individual citizens offer the greatest possible sacrifice to their nation.

The involvement of the individual citizen is apparent also in the dramatic activity of selecting a national leader and in other features of election campaigns, when millions of persons give effort, time, and money to promote a favored candidate or to support an amendment, school bond, or referendum. All these levels of subjective involvement and overt activity attest to the motivating power of an individual's relationship to his country, its government and political processes.

What are the origins of these feelings, motivations, and actions? When do they arise and how are they shaped by experience? What creates attachment? What interferes with it? What leads one person to be more active, more concerned than another? How does involvement change over time in the life of the individual? In the study described in this report, we examined the origin and growth during childhood of interest in the nation and its government and the rise of a desire to participate in the government's operation. This feeling of attachment and the desire to participate we call political involvement--a term that will be defined more explicitly later in this chapter. In undertaking this study it was assumed that political involvement is shaped by direct experience and by the social structure through processes of socialization. It grows through direct instruction, imitation, and transfer to political objects of attitudes and feeling developed in the family and other primary groups. This complexity of early political involvement reflects the subtle nature of human learning, the complexity of the political system, and the intricacy of interpersonal relationships in human society.

Although attitudes and orientations toward political and governmental objects are learned, it does not necessarily follow that they are taught. The process of social teaching and learning probably accounts for much of the acquisition of political information and awareness, but it may also accrue through other types of experience. Although this report focuses upon the socialization of political behavior, more precisely it is a study of the acquisition of political behavior. On the basis of data reported here and in previous studies, one might argue that the feelings and attitudes directed toward political figures follow easily, perhaps inevitably, from attachments and relationships acquired through interaction in the family. This does not mean that the child views political authority figures with the same positive (or negative) regard as he views family authority figures. Rather, experiences of being subordinate and compliant or of feeling affection and respect first encountered in the family can then be developed more easily in relation to non-family authority figures, although the level of respect, compliance, or affection may not be similar. This research report considers both transferred learning and direct instruction as parts of the acquisition process.

Studies of political involvement have been concerned primarily with adults. Much of this work has concentrated upon voting, interest in elections, and election issues, and on decisions basic to the voting act "after elections." These specific acts and interests are obviously not applicable to the study of political involvement in children. The rationale for a study of pre-adult political interest is a conception of these early years as a time of preparation--as anticipatory socialization. If the appropriate response of the involved adult is political activity, the appropriate response of the child is involvement in the political system through the development of attitudes and norms which support subsequent political activity. The study of pre-adult involvement assumes that voting and other types of adult political behavior are rooted in subtle, complex orientations and values which are acquired before adulthood. Adult political behavior is more understandable if viewed in the perspective of the processes by which it was acquired and the attitudes and norms which support it.

Another rationale for an investigation of the development of political behavior during pre-adult years is its promise of contributing to political, developmental, and socialization theory. The socialization of children into social systems and institutions is particularly interesting because it differs from the type of socialization which has been studied most frequently--adults' attempts to modify the expression of impulses and physical functions. Equally important are the implications of a study of pre-adult political behavior for education.

Although the conceptual stance of this project comes in part from psychological theory, we approached the data with a viewpoint somewhat different from that of most psychologically oriented investigations. These applications of psychological theory to adult political behavior typically assume a clinical orientation, searching for the origins of political behavior in psychic needs, in unresolved conflict with authority figures such as parents, or in underlying feelings of competence or incompetence (Freud, 1930; Lane, 1959; Lasswell, 1930, 1948. See Section C of this chapter).[1] Many theorists interpret political behavior fundamentally as an expression of psychic states, focusing upon the purpose of the behavior and its place in the individual's psychological economy. In contrast, this report analyzes political involvement from the viewpoint of learning processes, regarding political behavior as acquired response patterns rather than as expressions of deep psychic needs. By examining the origins and development of political orientations in a large number of children, it focuses upon the transmission of attitudes from one generation to another through socialization. Although it does not deny the involvement of subtle or unconscious psychological states, it emphasizes the development of expectations, norms, and patterns of interaction between the individual and the political system.

Another approach, that of the political sociologists, conceptualizes political behavior in terms of its relation to social structure and demographic characteristics. We have used this research as a starting point for an investigation of the impact of social structure upon the acquisition of political behavior, utilizing relationships demonstrated in adults to gain fuller understanding of the processes and products of pre-adult experience. Thus the project design called for groups of children from different social class levels, primarily because research at the adult level has shown social class differences in behavior to be among the most obvious divisions within the population. Research in political sociology also provided a body of data and theory on adult political behavior in the United States. This extensive literature of adult voting behavior and attitudes indicates a matrix of attitudes toward which children are socialized.[2]

In the field of child development, most theory and research in socialization have dealt with the modification of impulses and physiological functions in the individual child, and the effects upon personality of different child-rearing practices. This view of the social learning process emphasizes the acquisition of skills and of control over physiological functions and impulses (especially aggression and sex). This stress follows from Freudian theory, which emphasizes the overriding importance of impulses, of early infant experience, and of parental influence upon children. When applied to the development of cognitive and scholastic behavior, this viewpoint focuses attention upon individual achievement, concept formation, and other accomplishments in which individual behavior is the central point of study.[3]

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[1] The volume by Smith, Bruner, and White (1956)--Opinions and Personality--is an exception. They dealt with cognitive elements in political behavior, using a case-history approach to understanding of individual political behavior and attitudes.

[2] Theories of political change and the processes in preadult socialization that facilitate political change or stability will be dealt with in Part II of this report, which views this data from the standpoint of political theory.

Contrasting with these approaches to pre-adult learning, is the study of the systematic ways in which children are inducted into membership in complex systems of a complex society. The focus of this project is upon socialization into the system of rules, laws, and traditions; the organizational structure of the political system and operation of its elements; and the role of the individual citizen in relation to it. Attention is directed to the relationship between the individual and the system and to the alternative ways by which the individual internalizes, or adapts to, the rules of the political world.

In the United States, little attention has been given to the political beliefs, attitudes, and activities of children and adolescents. Presumably this has been because the younger age groups do not have the right to vote.[4] Underlying our studies, however, is the assumption that some of the learning which occurs in childhood is not related to contemporary childhood activities but to future behavior of the individual in adult years. The effect of this learning may not be evident until many years later, or its importance may be so ignored by the adult society that it appears inconsequential; yet its significance can be great. Because legal restrictions define political privilege, political socialization is anticipatory learning. The socialization of children into adult modes of thought before the age at which such thoughts may appropriately be acted upon has implications for social and political stability. Early socialization is an attempt to prepare children for continuation of the system in approximately its present form; it has additional relevance because of the comparatively greater impact and permanence of early learning.

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[3] Child's review (1954) of the state of socialization research and theory groups studies according to systems of behavior: oral, excretory, sexual, aggression, dependence, achievement, and others (affection, reproduction, and fear). This scheme of categorization illustrates the concentration of interest upon socialization as a process of modifying impulses and shows the lack of studies of the child's increasing participation in systems and institutions of the society.

[4] In the period since we bagan our studies of high school students, several studies of political socialization have been reported and the literature in the field reviewed (Hyman, 1959). Greenstein (1965) in particular, has carried out research in New Haven which parallels some of our work. Remmers (Remmers & Radler, 1957) at Purdue, has also conducted a number of polls dealing with political attitudes, using high school students. Almond and Verba (1963) have studied political socialization using retrospective self-report data from interviews.

This report deals, then, with the antecedents of citizen participation in the political processes of the United States. Our interpretations obviously apply only to this country, but our conclusions about the process lead us to speculate about socialization in other countries with fundamentally different political systems, and some exploratory research suggests that the process of political socialization varies greatly in different cultural and political contexts (Hess, 1963). The results of this and other studies of pre-adult induction into a social system speak to the problem of how societies maintain themselves and in what ways self-maintenance allows sufficient flexibility for absorption of and adaptation to the potentially disrupting effects of social change.

In the planning stages of this project, and in analysis of data from the children who participated in it, our work was influenced by several assumptions about the attitudes and involvement appropriate for a citizen in a democratic society. Without presenting a formal statement of the qualifications of a citizen in a democratic community, some comments about these assumptions may be appropriate. We believe that citizens' interest and involvement in the political processes of the nation are essential to the operation of a democracy. This involvement must include an attachment to the nation and its government and a sense of confidence in the system and in the persons who perform political roles. In order for such confidence to develop and persist, there must be consensus about the "rules of the game"--a set of beliefs about certain ordered aspects of the nation and its modes of governmental action. The individual citizen must be able to recognize an established order, to tolerate differences of opinion and conflicts within the order, and to accept the channels through which differences can be expressed and reconciled. It is also essential that the citizen be acquainted with legitimate sources of information and with realistic methods of affecting governmental policy and action; he should develop a sense of efficacy based on knowledge of the system's ideal norms or values and also on an informed understanding of the way the political process actually works so that he can found his efforts upon a sound assessment of possible routes for action. These assumptions provide a basis for some of our evaluations of research results and for some of the conclusions which we offer in this report.

B. The Objectives of the Inquiry into Pre-Adult Political Learning

It is particularly appropriate that this study was conducted in the public schools and that the data included responses of teachers in these participating schools. Political socialization cannot easily be disentangled from those intricate changes in cognitive behavior that take place within the schools' formal educational program. The schools transmit attitudes, information, and values about the political system through formal classroom instruction of such social studies as history and civics; through such indirect or informal routes as literature and the display of pictures; through rituals such as the salute to the flag and singing of the national anthem; and through public features such as assembly programs. With all these opportunities for instruction, the schools hold a strategic position for socializing children into political behavior.

Because it represents the community, the school selects and shapes a curriculum that will be acceptable to the adult citizens of its community. Questions occasionally arise about the suitability of exposing children to certain ideas--to ideologies that conflict with our own conceptions of government or to information about unsavory aspects of political activity at the local, state, or national level. The issue of what should be taught in the school raises, at least implicitly, questions of what characteristics an ideal citizen should have and what his behavior should be. Positions of agreement and disagreement within communities on political matters are so strongly held that the school is often directly influenced; for instance, it may avoid controversial issues because of divided opinion within its own faculty or within the community.

Our project has its roots in developmental theory and political science; it is oriented toward study of the educational process and the school as a socializing agent. The implications of our research will be selectively relevant to a number of different audiences. It is, therefore, appropriate to review and attempt to state clearly the objectives of the research as originally presented in the proposal to the panel of the Cooperative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education. These objectives were:

1. To study the conceptions of figures in the world of government and politics as they emerge in the child during his elementary school years.--This involved investigation of three questions:

    a) What figures first appear as salient in the child's view of the political world?

    b) What is the child's image of two of these figures--the President of the United States and the policeman?

    c) What is the relationship of his perception of these figures to his perception of other authority figures, especially his parents and teachers?

2. To study the child's emerging conception of the symbols, terms, and labels of government and its institutions.--The objective here was to understand the child's image of these institutions, the way in which attachment to them is instilled, and the way in which the character and functions of the institutions are made specific and elaborated over time during the educative process. This required an examination of:

a) The institutions that first appear as salient in the child's image of the world of government.

b) The nature of his attitudes and affect toward these institutions and the kinds of moral criteria he uses to judge them.

c) The child's view of the functions or activities of these institutions.

d) The relationship between the child's view of governmental figures and his view of governmental institutions.

3. To study the child's emerging conception of himself as a member and citizen of a democratic society.--This objective centered upon the development of the child's conception of the norms of individual behavior in relation to government--his view of appropriate modes of participation in the duties and rights of citizenship, his attitudes toward the law of the land, and his conception of the way in which an individual citizen may appropriately influence the acts of government. Whereas the study of the child's view of governmental figures and institutions dealt with his attitudes toward one aspect of the legitimacy of government, this third research aim was to inquire into the implications of these views for his image of his own behavior as a citizen. It was assumed that his conception of government would be related to his expectations about his role as a member of the society. The following issues were involved:

a) What is the child's conception of his moral obligation with regard to obeying the law?

b) What are the relationships between the child's images of the sources of law in governmental figures and institutions and the development of his own respect for law?

c) What is the child's emerging conception of the interest and participation of the individual citizen in the process of government and his attitude toward such matters as party affiliation, voting, political discussions and debate, and other forms of political participation?

4. To study the school and family as socializing agencies; that is, to examine the school's and the family's influence on the transmission of political attitudes, values, knowledge, and perceptual structures to the growing child.--The assumption here was that the family plays a dominant role in the political socialization of the child in his early years. Upon his entry into the school system, the school may simultaneously begin to attenuate family influence, reinforce it, or add new dimensions to the child's political awareness and orientations. Here the following relationships were important:

a) The relationship between the child's view of the teacher and parents as figures of authority and his view of political authorities.

b) The extent to which the child seeks to reinforce his own views of the political world by appeals to, and reliance upon, his teacher's or parents' judgments.

c) The relationship between the knowledge and attitudes of the child and the amount of his formal classroom instruction in subjects relating to government and to citizenship.

5. To study the change and development of attitudes and involvement with increase in age.--The study of socialization is the study of changing behavior and an understanding of the acquisition of political behavior necessarily involves examination of emerging attitudes and behavior over time. The study's primary objectives were to examine variations among age groups and to determine the extent to which the process of political socialization is completed by the end of elementary school. In order for the results of such study to be relevant to education, it was especially important to determine the age at which various attitudes and concepts appear so that they may be related to school curricula. This information is also important for understanding the nature of involvement with and attachment to political institutions. A young child's relationships to adults, to peers and to organizations are dramatically different from those of an adult, and the nature of a citizen's tie to his country is in part a function of the age at which political socialization occurs.

These objectives provided the rationale for studying a range of grades and ages within the schools. They also made us sensitive to adult attitudes and led us to regard the process of socialization as the movement of the individual child toward the norms of adult attitudes. These objectives represented, in our view, the most useful approach to the study of a field whose contour was relatively unfamiliar.[5] They were modified somewhat as the study progressed, and the final conceptual framework for analysis examines and presents the data from a somewhat different point of view. The underlying goal, however, at all stages of the research was to secure information about the growth of political behavior in children and about the factors which influence it.

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[5] Research in political socialization has been limited both in the number of studies reported and in the scope of the problems and populations investigated. Some of the most relevant work, particularly with young children, has appeared within the last three years. The literature contains two reviews of research and theory in political socialization, one by Hyman (1959) which summarizes publications up to about 1956 and a more recent one by Greenstein (1965) in his book Children and Politics (which also reports the results of his study of 659 fourth through eighth grade children in New Haven). These reviews are sufficiently comprehensive that it seemed unnecessary to duplicate their work.

C. The Study of Political Involvement in Adults

Although our focus is upon the process through which children become involved in the political life of a society, it will be helpful to review the conceptions of involvement and the methods of measurement that have been used in research at the adult level. This will indicate the type of activities which political sociologists have used to study individuals' relationships to a democratic society. Studies of adult political involvement may be grouped under two categories: those that deal primarily with "objective" manifestations measured by reports of overt activity, and those that deal with "subjective" or more affective involvement, usually measured by reports of interest, feelings, and attitudes.

1. Overt Political Activities

Voting and nonvoting are the most widely studied indices of political involvement and political apathy, respectively. Election surveys have usually focussed on two major dependent variables, the amount of voting and the direction of the vote, while most generalizations about the characteristics of the politically apathetic have been based on studies of the nonvoter. Voting is the best indicator of minimum political activity of the population:

> The percentage of the potential electorate voting in national American elections is now considerably below what it was in 1896 when 80 per cent of those eligible went to the polls. From a low in 1920 of 49 per cent, in more recent elections the figure has oscillated around 60 per cent [Lipset, 1959, p. 185].[6]

Voting is also a convenient measure of political activity by individuals in the population.

Participation in the political system includes many kinds of overt activity other than voting. Several investigators have assessed political involvement by constructing scales of different kinds of political behavior; from these scales they have classified political role types and estimated the extent of political involvement of each. In this section, we shall discuss some studies that have formed such typologies of political involvement and estimated the frequency of different types of involvement in the adult population.

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[6] There has been debate in the literature as to whether this relatively low level of voting participation indicates a serious malfunctioning of democracy or whether it indicates contentment and a broad "national political consensus." Comparison with other nations is difficult, as Lipset notes, since our particular voting system requires two decisions--first to register, then to vote; and one must register when political issues and activity are at a low point.

Woodward and Roper (1950) devised a Political Activity Index to measure citizen participation in the process of government by using an additive index of six items measuring five channels of possible influence upon governmental officials. These channels (with abbreviated versions of the questions designed to measure them)were: (1) voting (How many times have you voted during the last four years?); (2) supporting potential pressure groups as a member (Do you belong to organizations that take stands on public issues?); (3) communicating with legislators (Have you written or talked to a Congressman, Senator, or other public officials to let them know what you would like them to do?); (4) participating in political party activity (Have you worked for election of a candidate by distributing leaflets, making speeches, etc.?); and (5) disseminating political opinions by talking to others (Have you discussed public issues with friends, and if so, have you taken equal share in conversation or tried to convince others you are right?). By this scale, Woodward and Roper designated 27 per cent of the adult population politically active and 73 per cent inactive. Twenty per cent of their sample did not get even one point; they note that "one needs to have voted only once in the last four years, or to have been a member of one organization 'that sometimes takes a stand on . . . public issues,' in order to gain such a single credit" on the index (Woodward & Roper, 1950, p. 876).

A somewhat similar study, conducted in a small rural community, was reported by Agger and Ostrom (1956). The General Community Participation Scale was based on sixteen questions about political activities: voting, discussing public questions, associating with official and public employees, attending meetings concerned with community affairs, belonging to organizations and associations, and taking an active position on a public issue or problem. The scale assumed that influence in policy-making or political process results from participation in social organizations as well as from voting and other activities subsumed under the term "political" (Agger & Ostrom, 1956). When their 260 person sample was given a "general community participation score," the distribution of the population on this eleven-point scale was similar to that reported for the national sample by Woodward and Roper. Between 58 and 60 per cent had a score of two or less, and only about 7 per cent achieved a score of eight or more.

Robinson (1952) factor analyzed twelve of the behavior items used in the Erie County study (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1948). He formed a typology of motivations for political activity, distinguishing "citizens" (those concerned with electing their candidate or party by influencing the vote of others), and "spectators" (those who viewed the campaign as a dramatic spectacle).

The national study of the 1952 election, The Voter Decides (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954), was the first study of a particular national election to emphasize overt participation in election campaigns. About 11 per cent of the adults in this sample took part in some kind of organized partisan effort--contributing financial support, attending campaign meetings, or working for their political party. Twenty-seven per cent tried, through informal discussions, to influence others to vote for their candidate. The Index of Political Participation used by these authors divided the group into the 27 per cent who voted and engaged in at least one other political activity; the 47 per cent who voted but did not otherwise become active; and the 26 per cent who did not even vote. In The American Voter, Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) reported the percentage who were active participants in Eisenhower's second election.

It is difficult to determine a base line of adult activity against which to compare the political involvement of children, since the most common adult index, that of voting behavior, is not appropriate. Party commitment, another popular index, may be more useful. Campbell *et al.* (1960) reported that 74 per cent of a national sample identified themselves at least nominally with one or another of the traditional parties; 22 per cent said they were independents; and only 4 per cent did not identify their political bias at all. Such widespread party identification implies that most Americans have at least minimal level of comprehension and involvement in the political world. Yet when questions dealt with specific public events, even issues that were intimately connected with a political campaign, only a very small percentage of the public seemed informed and interested. Thus in Elmira, New York, only 15 per cent of the respondents could say where the two candidates in the 1948 election stood on such highly publicized issues as the Taft-Hartley Act and price control (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954). Nor is political activity widespread among American adults, although as Campbell *et al.* (1954) reported, there is high agreement that citizens should vote. Seven out of eight persons in their samples responded negatively to the statements, "It is not so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win," and "So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not." Apparently the majority of adults recognize and accept the norm that the citizen in a democracy should be active, despite the fact that objective measures of political involvement show limited actual participation.

2. Information and Opinion

Although the literature on adults suggests that there is great consensus on some attitudes, many people are not only politically inactive but also seem unresponsive to political issues and unwilling to express opinions about many political matters. Possessing information and expressing opinions about the conduct and aims of government have been used as a measure of involvement by a number of authors; their information has usually been based on the ability of an individual to express an opinion when approached by an interviewer. Campbell *et al.* (1960) reported that between 10 and 28 per cent of their national sample expressed no opinion on a domestic or foreign issue. Between 10 and 39 per cent of those who did express opinions did not know what the government's present policy was on these issues. When the question concerned a general rule of conduct for the nation, e.g., "being friendly with other countries of the world," it was more likely that an opinion would be expressed and accompanied by some perception of the government's current action. Items dealing with specific programs, such as aid to neutrals, were less familiar. Hyman and Sheatsley (1950) presented similar evidence, citing the large proportion of persons who are totally uninformed about political affairs but who will express opinions even though they can offer no justification.

Absence of opinion about government policy has been related to a number of other indices of overt and subjective political involvement. Lazarsfeld *et al*. (1948) reported that as the level of expressed interest in the campaign decreased, "Don't Know" responses to opinion questions became more frequent. Campbell *et al*. (1960) reported that caring about the outcome of the election was related to the number of partisan attitudes an individual had formed. Connelly and Field (1944) found that in most instances the percentage of nonvoters who had no opinion on questions concerning political issues was roughly double that of voters without opinions.

Britton (1947) analyzed N.O.R.C., A.I.P.O., and *Fortune* polls over a period of approximately a decade and concluded that the same demographic characteristics associated with political apathy on the overt measure of participation were also correlated with the "No Opinion" or "Don't Know" responses, whether the questions dealt with specific information, speculation about public policy, or personal views. Furthermore, individuals who indicated that they had not voted in the last Presidential election consistently gave a higher proportion of "Don't Know" responses than people who had voted.

Berelson *et al*. (1954) reported that partisans who themselves took a different position on issues from that of their candidate were more likely to say that they did not know what their candidate's position was on this issue. This type of insulation from information may serve a protective function for the individuals' own opinion.

The majority of political sociologists who report this type of data bewail the lack of concern with political issues in the general population. Lane and Sears (1964), for example, considered the fact that citizens were more willing to expound on what the government ought to be doing than they were motivated to inform themselves about what it actually was doing, and concluded that decisions were made by the public on the basis of simple slogans and catchwords rather than by rational analysis of policy. The tendency to absorb one's opinions from acquaintances or to accept without question the public pronouncements of authorities, would be magnified by this lack of political knowledge.

3. Subjective Involvement and Apathy

In contrast to this emphasis on overt participation in political activities, attempts have also been made to measure the more psychological or "subjective" aspects of political involvement. Political behavior has been explained in terms of underlying and more or less persistent affective-cognitive attitudes toward political affairs. Lane (1959), after surveying much of the research, included both an emotional sense of concern and a more cognitive attitude of interest. The affective dimension included caring about a political event, such as the outcome of an election, a policy decision, or the fate of a beloved leader; the more cognitive dimension was called "interest." Although Lane distinguished between them analytically, "interest" and "concern" tended to select out the same populations and seemed to be related to behavior in the same way.

For Lazarsfeld, et al. (1948), psychological involvement was interest in the election, operationally defined by the answer to the question, "Would you say you have a great deal of interest in the coming election, a moderate interest, a mild interest, or no interest at all?" They justified the use of this measure by its relationship to overt indices of participation. High interest was related to fewer responses of "Don't Know" on items concerned with election issues, more participation in election events, and greater exposure to political communication. These authors formulated the cross-pressure hypothesis: individuals who are members of demographic categories or groups which exert political pressures pulling in opposite directions or toward different parties will participate less and be less politically involved, in order to escape from conflict. Demographic variables such as socio-economic status, religion, and residence (urban or rural) were used to construct an Index of Political Predisposition. Upper social class, Protestantism, and rural residence were group affiliations predictive of a Republican Presidential vote; lower social class, Catholicism, and urban residence were predictive of a Democratic Presidential vote. They found that the more completely an individual conformed to these ideal types, the more likely he was to vote in the predicted fashion and the more interest he expressed in the election; individuals with mixed characteristics were under cross pressure, resulting in a higher incidence of nonvoting and more persistent political indecision.

Campbell et al. (1954) believed that electoral behavior could be predicted more easily if the individual's attitudes and the perceptual organization of his environment were understood. They conceptualized three motivational foces--party identification, issue orientation (sensitivity to party differences on issues and personal involvement in issues), and candidate orientation (measured by spontaneous personal references made to a candidate during an interview) --hypothesizing that the greater the congruence among these forces, the more the individual would participate in election activities (as measured by the Index of Political Participation described earlier). They used the logic of the cross-pressure hypothesis, but the elements which were congruent or conflictual in the individual were subjective states rather than objective or demographic variables. Lane (1959) dealt specifically with the focus of involvement: the types of objects or events which catch a person's attention and cause him to become involved in the political system. Lane believed that the main source of political emotion for most people in recent American history has not been the issues but rather the political leaders and the political parties. The appeal of leadership, he said, has probably been greater at the local and national levels than at the intermediate state level, where the party seems to have been the major source of political involvement. Lane gave two reasons why candidate orientation and a personalization of politics have been the most prominent forms of involvement: first, the displacement of emotion on persons is easier than displacement on generalized issues or on policy implications of issues; second, it is easier to "libidinize" persons because in the process of socialization the child first learns to express affect toward particular people. As the child develops, this libidinization is focused on broader objects and ideas; but the original sources still dominate the choice of cathected objects (Lane, 1959, p. 139). For example, Hitler and not the Nazi ideology was the core of Nazi loyalties. Campbell _et al_. (1960) and Rosenberg (1954) have also noted that emotional expression about candidates is usually positive, whereas political involvement with issues or with politics in general is more frequently expressed negatively as indignation.

In conceptualizing political involvement as a relatively persistent "attitude" toward political affairs (which is the essence of the subjective approach), it is necessary to come to terms with the intermittent nature of normative pressures toward political involvement resulting from the periodicity of campaigns and elections. Interest in the election is obviously not the same thing as an interest in politics. One of the most comprehensive attempts to separate these various motivations theoretically and empirically--the short-term from the more enduring, the affective from the more cognitive--as well as to explore their relationships, has been made by the Survey Research Center. Their work is reported in _The American Voter_, a study of voting behavior in three Presidential elections (1948, 1952 and 1956), which uses the sociological or demographic variables but emphasizes psychological and attitudinal influences. The major variable in this study was the individual's characteristic degree of interest and involvement in political affairs (Campbell _et al_., 1960, p. 102).

Emotional investment in politics may vary greatly from one person to another but is relatively stable in the same person over time. Campbell _et al_. (1960) examined the relationship of this involvement to the act of voting (not to the candidate or party chosen). Involvement was measured through several aspects of the individual's psychological commitment: "Interest in the Campaign" and "Concern over the Election Outcome" portrayed an individual's short-term and fluctuating involvement; "Sense of Citizen Duty" and "Sense of Political Efficacy" characterized his orientation to politics and elections generally. A person's interest in and concern with the outcome of a particular election were highly related to whether he voted. Eighty-seven per cent of those very much interested and 84 per cent of those who cared very much about the outcome had voted in the election in question. These findings led Campbell and his associates to concur in Lane's observation that questions of interest and concern select the same populations and are related to the same behavior.

These same authors explored relationships among a complex of partisan attitudes, including party identification, issue orientation, and candidate orientation (from the earlier campaign study; Campbell et al., 1954) and adding to these the personal attributes of the candidates, questions of group interest, domestic and foreign policy, and the comparative record of the two parties in handling affairs of government. They also examined the level of political concept formation and ideological sophistication of their respondents. Although this study took the act of voting as its major focus, and other relationships were not systematically investigated, the individuals' psychological involvement presumably influences all modes of popular participation in politics.

The sense of citizen duty and sense of political efficacy are such important variables that they require a somewhat lengthier discussion. The sense of citizen duty is a general political attitude which might alternatively be called sense of political responsibility or of civic obligation. It is the feeling that all citizens ought to participate in the political process, whether or not political activity is perceived as efficacious (Campbell et al., 1954, p. 194). In our culture, a citizen's duty includes participation in community and civic affairs and, at the very least, voting. The authors attempted to measure the degree to which this social norm had been "internalized," formulating questions which probed the citizen's obligation to vote under various circumstances. The items used by Campbell et al. (1954) were the following (requiring a simple "Agree" or "Disagree" response):[7]

(1) It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win.

(2) A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.

(3) So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vcte or not.

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[7] Although this concept is systematically used in the later volume, The American Voter (Campbell et al., 1960), it is defined and most fully described in the earlier book, The Voter Decides (Campbell et al., 1954, pp. 194-199). The same is also true of the concept, "Sense of Political Efficacy."

(4) If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he shouldn't vote in it. (p. 194.)

The respondent must disagree with all these statements if he is to be rated high on "Sense of Citizen Duty." The person with a strong sense of civic responsibility presumably feels obliged to vote even if the election result is a foregone conclusion, even if it seems unimportant, even if he believes his single vote will not contribute much to the result, and even if he personally does not much care about the outcome. These four items made an acceptable Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .96. This sense of citizen duty was positively related to political participation and was also higher in those groups (the upper status, the better educated) in which participation was high.

The sense of political efficacy concerns the degree of effectiveness that a person feels in his relation to the sphere of public affairs, and "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worth while to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change" (Campbell et al., 1954, p. 187). Five items, again calling for a simple "Agree" or "Disagree" response, were used to measure political efficacy:

(1) I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

(2) The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.

(3) Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

(4) People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

(5) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. (pp. 187-188.)

To be rated highly "efficacious," the respondent had to disagree with items 1, 3, 4, and 5, and agree with item 2. To answer in reverse fashion would mean that the respondent thought public officials are not responsive to popular decision, that policy decisions are the result of private arrangements and pressure groups, that there are no means other than voting to express one's political desire, and that the complexities of government in modern society have made citizen participation impossible or fruitless. These five items were also Guttman scaled, with an over-all coefficient of reproducibility of .92.[8] Campbell and his associates found that the amount of political participation increased with the strength of political efficacy.

4. Citizen Duty, Political Efficacy and Personality

In his interpretation of the concept "citizen duty," Lane pointed to the roots of this political attitude in the psychodynamics of personality development. Although, theoretically, feelings of duty may be based either on guilt or on shame, in practice these motivations merge when the "internalization of social norms" takes place. The inclusion of civic acts within the realm of duty may result from specific parental inculcation of civic-mindedness or from social pressure to include civic-mindedness within one's already developed conscientiousness (Lane, 1959, paraphrase pp. 157-161). Since social norms endow political activity with moral value, the sense of civic obligation must be reinforced, either through a person's conscientious internalization of norms or through his desire to conform.

The sense of political efficacy also may be interpreted in terms of psychoanalytic theory. Lane points out that the concept includes two major components: a social image of democratic government and a psychological image of the self. "An image of the self as effective is intimately related to the image of democratic government as responsive to the people" (Lane, 1959, p. 149). Lane has suggested that on the deeper levels of personality, there is a crucial need for ego strength or the capacity to rationally order one's life by controlling both internal impulses and external events. He assumes that a person with a "weak ego," who lacks confidence in his capacity to plan his life, will feel that the world is an unpredictable place in which his influence and mastery are minimal; therefore he is likely to believe that political decisions are made in an arena with which he has no contact and that public officials will not listen to people like him. People with "strong ego," who possess feelings of mastery and the ability to make decisions, presumably generalize these feelings to the political arena and believe that their votes are important, that politicians respect them, and that elections are meaningful.

The concept of political efficacy is probably the most widely used "subjective," "psychological," or "predispositional" variable in studies of political involvement. It is a relatively conscious attitude which nevertheless reflects deeper personality orientation.

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[8] The error for the second item was 10.8 per cent, and in later analyses it was dropped from the scale; this item has usually been discarded by other investigators using this measure of political efficacy.

Several empirical studies have utilized essentially the same concept, identifying it by a variety of terms ranging from the most widely known "political efficacy" (Campbell et al., 1960) to "sense of effectiveness" (Douvan & Walker, 1956), "political self confidence" (Janowitz & Marvick, 1956), "political potency" (Aggar, Goldstein, & Pearl, 1961), "civic competence" (Almond & Verba, 1963), and in its reverse statement "political anomie" (Farris, 1960) and "sense of political futility" (Kornhauser, Sheppard, & Mayer, 1956). Most of these studies used a modified form of the four-item scale described above.

Eulau and Schneider (1956) developed an Index of Political Relatedness using the Citizen Duty and Efficacy scales. Following George Herbert Mead, they suggested that subjective involvement is actually part of a cluster of attitudes and behavior which include objective and overt participation. The major assumption of their study was that an individual's relatedness to the political process is a function of his internalization of his role as a citizen and his evaluation of his role as an efficacious citizen. They found that when compared to the person with low relatedness, the highly related person perceived more differences between the parties, and chose between them on the basis of their stands on issues; was more concerned about the election's outcome; was more partisan in his choice of candidate; was more strongly identified with a political party;[9] exposed himself to more presentations of election news in the mass media; was more likely to have voted in the last two Presidential elections; and had been a more active participant in the election campaign (e.g., made financial contributions or tried to convince others of his views).

The study which made the most radical departure in defining the concept of efficacy operationally (Douvan & Walker, 1956) also investigated its relationship to deeper personality tendencies most explicitly. These authors followed Riesman and Glazer (1950) in distinguishing between "affect" and "competence," holding that the person who is authentically "politically involved" must combine high affect with genuine competence. Data were gathered by open-ended interviews with 316 members of the labor-force population of Detroit. The study approached the problem of political involvement at the "subjective" level and inquired into that motivational and attitudinal structure which distinguished the involved from the apathetic citizen. The authors considered two major aspects: the degree to which the sense of effectiveness in relation to public affairs is a socially visible manifestation of more pervasive feelings of competence, and the degree to which this conscious sense of personal competence in controlling one's life is related to deeper--relatively unconscious--personality variables. The basic inquiry measuring the sense of effectiveness was, "How much of an influence do you think the average citizen can have on decisions of broad national significance like the threat of atomic war and the problem of inflation?" The question on citizen influence was asked with regard to specific problems related to these two broad political issues.

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[9] An unexpected finding was that relatedness was also positively connected with independence from partisan affiliation. See Chapter IV for more complete discussion.

Douvan and Walker found that the most politically effective group of respondents scored significantly higher on the personal competence index (which assessed feelings of life satisfaction, future optimism, and security), than the low effective group. The correlation between the two variables was .47. The second measure, the Index of Job Outlook, was also positively related to public effectiveness, with a correlation of .43. The authors concluded that the politically efficacious individual is likely to be a person who is relatively satisfied with, and in control of, his own life; the politically apathetic person, on the other hand, is one who experiences frustration in personal areas of living and feels that the determination of his life is out of his hands.

The second part of Douvan and Walker's study dealt with the relationship of the conscious variable "competence" to deeper layers of the personality, also serving as a test of earlier work on the nature of personality differences between politically involved and apathetic people.[10] Two aspects of personality--conceptions of the outside world and response to internal impulses--were measured by a series of eight projective questions (similar to those used by Mussen and Wyszynski) and by a three-card TAT administered to a subgroup. Individuals who scored low on the personal competence index consistently gave more answers and TAT responses indicating that "external reality" was perceived as oppressive and uncontrollable. More often than individuals who felt competent, they attributed success to factors beyond personal control and preferred myth to reality. The high and low competence groups did not differ on their acceptance of normal impulses and emotionality.

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[10] This part of Douvan and Walker's study is similar to an earlier investigation by Mussen and Wyszynski (1952), who used measures of political interest, items probing attitudes toward ideological issues (questions from The Authoritarian Personality concerning conservatism, anti-Semitism), and projective questions to elicit measures of deeper levels of personality in a group of college students. They concluded that "political apathy and activity are specific manifestations of more deep-lying and pervasive passive and active orientations." They also found many similarities between the political apathetic and the "authoritarian personality." They speculated on the psychodynamic sources of apathy as follows:

> "The apathetic's glorification of his parents together with his basic hostility toward people and his view of the world as hostile and threatening, suggests that the parents may have been rigid and severely punitive, discouraging independence of thought or action and encouraging passive acceptance of authority from early childhood" (p. 78).

These studies focus on the psychological needs or the self-image which mediates the individual's transactions with the governmental system, but do not explore the individual's image of the system itself and the channels of influence that he perceives to be open to him.

5. Political Cynicism, Personal Cynicism, and Political Potency

Agger, Goldstein, and Pearl (1961) have made a direct attempt to study "political cynicism"--that is, the "extent to which people hold _politicians_ and _politics_ in disrepute," and its relationship to "personal cynicism" and "political efficacy." This study was conducted as part of a study of community politics in two cities of a metropolitan area in the state of Oregon. Seven hundred seventy-five respondents returned the mail-in questionnaire on which the analysis was based. They were classified according to their responses to these six statements, which comprised the Political Cynicism Scale:

(1) In order to get nominated, most candidates for political office have to make basic compromises and undesirable commitments.

(2) Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or reappointed.

(3) Money is the most important factor influencing public policies.

(4) A large number of city and county politicians are political hacks.

(5) People are very frequently manipulated by politicians.

(6) Politicians represent the general interest more frequently than they represent special interest.

By this scale, 18 per cent were classified "Politically Cynical"; 31 per cent were "Politically Neutral"; 51 per cent were "Politically Trusting." Differences were found between Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. The authors found that people who had less education, persons with lower incomes, and older persons were groups expressing high cynicism. Respondents who were politically cynical also scored lower on their measure of political potency (political efficacy) and reported fewer political discussions with other people; they tended to be contemptuous of people in general.

6. Political Alienation

We have reviewed various "objective" and "subjective" correlates, indices, determinants,and typologies of political involvement and political apathy. It has been implied that the involved and the apathetic are at opposite ends of a continuum and that the former would manifest more and the latter fewer of the behavioral correlates (interest, participation) of political involvement. Agger and Ostrom (1956) discussed a third type: the alienated individual. These people are indifferent to politics and do not participate in the political system as it is currently organized, but may become highly involved in extreme political movements or attempt to change the system radically, as did German citizens who became involved with Hitler. Such individuals are not indifferent to politics but rather are alienated from the political system.

The concept of alienation is deeply rooted in sociological tradition.[11] Dean (1960, 1961) has attempted to classify all the theoretical references to alienation under three headings or subtypes: Powerlessness, Normlessness, and Social Isolation. He hypothesized positive correlations between alienation and political apathy scores (lack of interest, nonvoting, etc.); but, while alienation and the political apathy scales correlated significantly, the general level was so low that he concluded no substantial relationship. Dean at first regarded alienation as a generic trait closely related to personality, but concluded from his study that it is a situationally related variable which is different in different institutional settings.

The concept of political alienation seems of greatest value when it is distinguished from apathy. Thompson and Horton (1960) suggested that political inefficacy may result in political alienation which includes the negative feelings associated with powerlessness and mistrust of those who are powerful. Because it involves the perception that one has no power, and a distrust of those who are powerful, political alienation may be a useful mediating factor explaining the relationship of low social status and political apathy. Given the opportunity for expression, political alienation may be translated into protest voting, particularly in local referenda.

In the Index of Political Alienation developed by Thompson and Horton, the respondent was asked about his perception of his role in the power structure of the community and whether he believed that the exercise of political power is separated from the activities of the "ordinary citizen." The extreme instance of political alienation, using these measures, was the person who felt he made no contribution to community decisions and also had a negative view of local officials. The authors' analysis supported their hypothesis that political alienation is higher in the low social class and that, on a given issue, political alientation leads to an attitude which represents a protest against the existing power structure of the community.

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[11] A more general and detailed discussion of alientation is available in Seeman (1959).

7. Summary of Adult Studies

This review of adult studies of political involvement has portrayed the important facets of the relationship between the adult citizen and the governmental system in the U.S. It has also presented information about methods and concepts which political sociologists have used to study political involvement.

Studies are nearly unanimous in finding that active participation in campaigns and other political endeavors is not characteristic of most adults; the proportion who are active is usually between 20 and 30 per cent. Subjective involvement or interest is more intense during political campaigns, and it is more widely distributed than either concern about abstract issues or overt political activity. Activity also reaches a high point in election campaigns; voting and talking to others to encourage them to change their vote are by far the most frequently reported activities. Interest and concern with the outcome of an election are fairly good predictors of whether a citizen will vote or try to persuade others to his views. Thus, overt and subjective involvement are highly related to each other and both reach their high points at election time.

This review also catalogued the concepts of subjective involvement which political sociologists have used to explain political behavior. The sociologists have discussed efficacy, cynicism, feelings of alienation--all subjective states with emotional overtones; they have spoken of norms of citizen duty, the belief that one has a civic responsibility. Psychologists of politics (e.g., Mussen & Wyszynski, 1952; Lane, 1959; Lasswell, 1930, 1948; Money-Kyrle, 1951) have linked childhood personality development with adult political feelings by discussing the personality structures and needs of individuals as they may be expressed in political activity or apathy. According to these authors, gratification of emotional needs in infancy and early childhood places a clear stamp on adult political life.

Considerably less attention has been given to the role of cognitive factors in determining the individual's view of the political system and his relationship to it. Some investigators have been concerned with the relative importance of political personages, political issues, and political parties in determining citizens' voting intentions. Campbell et al. (1960), in their discussion of ideological level, have distinguished the operation of separate levels of cognitive processes on political material. Smith, Bruner, and White (1956) presented a study which is unique in its recognition of the complex relationship of cognitive organization and the emotional factors which influence the individual's image of the political world. The relationship of information, cognitions, and evaluations is not clear in most other authors.

There has also been only limited study of norms about how the system should operate or how the citizen should behave in it.

Although the study reported here concerns the political attitudes of pre-adults, it is closely related to research and theory about the behavior of adults in political situations. It seeks to extend this knowledge of political attitudes and behavior by inquiring into the process and patterns of socialization in children and adolescents.

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CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

A. Introduction

The project described in this report is the most recent in a series of studies of political learning in children and adolescents conducted at the University of Chicago during the past eight years.[1] The first of these projects was designed to examine the nature and level of attitudes in high school youth and the changes in attitudes that emerged between the freshman and senior years. Adolescence was selected as an appropriate time for studying growth and development of political behavior, with the rationale that the teenager is beginning to regard himself as an adult and to experiment with adult roles and identities. Assuming an increasing orientation toward adult behavior on the part of adolescents, it was hypothesized that the student's interest in political activities would increase and that his attitudes toward political objects and toward himself as a citizen would become more clearly formulated. With this rationale, a questionnaire was constructed covering a variety of political opinions and activities; it was administered to approximately 2,000 students--some from a high school in a working class neighborhood, and some from a middle class suburb of Chicago. It was hypothesized that during the high school years political attitudes and concepts would become more definite and more differentiated and that political interest would increase.

The questionnaire inquired about: (1) interest in political and civic problems and issues; (2) specific political activities, such as listening to campaign speeches and talking with parents or friends about elections or current political events; (3) allegiance to a political party; (4) beliefs about the limits within which the government should exercise its power; (5) opinions about who in the country has easy access to governmental officials and who is most likely to have influence upon governmental policy; (6) the behavior expected of a public official, in this case a U.S. Senator; (7) how, and under what circumstances, a Senator's role performance might differ from these expectations; and (8) attitudes toward the proper functions and purposes of government.

The results of these testing sessions failed to support the hypothesis that significant development and change in political attitudes occur during high school years. On the contrary, the findings revealed an unexpected degree of political learning and experience at the pre-high school level. The freshman classes of our research group were relatively advanced in their attitudes, and they displayed opinions about a wide range of political matters. While on some items there was evidence of slight differences between freshmen and senior class levels, these changes were overshadowed by the evidence that a great number of attitudes had already been accumulated by members of the youngest class (Tables 1 and 2). It was the extent to which attitudes had been acquired before the freshman level and their stability during the high school period that directed our research effort toward the study of political socialization during the elementary school years.

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[1] Hess & Easton, 1960; Easton & Hess, 1961; Hess & Easton, 1962; Hess, 1963.

TABLE 1

CHANGES BY YEAR IN HIGH SCHOOL POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION (Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Democrats	Republicans	Sometimes One, Sometimes the Other	Don't Know
Freshman	307	12.0	45.6	36.2	6.2
Sophomore	433	17.6	39.7	37.2	5.5
Junior	320	12.5	37.2	44.7	5.6
Senior	290	14.1	37.9	41.0	6.9

Notes.--Item: When it comes to taking sides in politics which of the two major political parties do you personally favor? (1) Democrats, (2) Republicans, (3) Sometimes one, sometimes the other, (4) I don't know. From Pilot Study 1.

--Significance Unit: 7%

Our research with younger children began with interviews designed to explore perceptions of familiar political figures. These interviews indicated that two figures, the local policeman and the President of the United States, were prominent in the young child's conceptions of governmental authority. They also revealed that the young child was familiar with a number of the symbols of government --the flag and the national anthem, for example--and had some idea of their meaning.

On the basis of these interviews, a questionnaire was devised to obtain the following information: (1) the child's image of the President of the United States; (2) a short essay response

TABLE 2

CHANGES BY YEAR IN HIGH SCHOOL IN REPORT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Given out Handbills %	N	Worn Buttons %	N	Talked with Friends %	N	Talked with Parents %	N	Taken Sides in Election %
Freshman	309	33.0	308	67.8	309	72.2	307	77.8	309	86.4
Sophomore	435	31.5	435	74.0	435	71.0	433	78.8	434	85.9
Junior	321	31.5	321	69.8	321	76.9	321	78.8	321	84.1
Senior	289	23.2	289	77.2	290	79.7	290	84.1	289	81.7

Notes.--Item: Here is a list of things which persons like yourself have done. Check whether or not each activity is something you yourself have ever done: (1) Given out handbills or leaflets for a candidate at election time; (2) worn buttons for one or another candidate; (3) talked with your friends about politics and public events; (4) talked with your parents about politics and current events; (5) taken sides in elections for one or another candidate for public office. From Pilot Study 1 questionnaire.

--Significance Unit: 7%.

to the question, "How can I help make our government better?"; and (3) an essay describing the cartoon figure Uncle Sam. Thus the questionnaire provided information about the child's conception of the foremost political figure of the country, his conception of the role the individual citizen is expected to play, and his view of a popular national symbol.

The findings with regard to the child's image of the President have been reported elsewhere (Hess & Easton, 1960), and will be summarized only briefly here. First, the image of the President was very positive, particularly in the early grades. Of 51 second graders, 60 per cent saw him as "the best person in the world," and 75 per cent said they thought "the President likes almost everybody." Second, there was a developmental or age related change in level of response. In some respects, the image of the President became more favorable; in others it became less positive. Third, the image of the President was differentiated for the older children into a group of attributes having to do with the office or the role demands of the Presidency and into another cluster of personal characteristics such as honesty, friendliness, and the like. Thus, the child began with high esteem for personal qualities of the President not necessarily related to the duties of his office. Subsequently this was modified toward a feeling of high esteem based upon the possession of role qualities essential to the fulfillment of the Presidency.

The results of these studies at the high school and elementary school levels led both to exploratory studies in several other countries and to the proposal for the national study reported here. Although results of the high school and elementary school projects had provided limited information about the attitudes of children and had given preliminary indications of the age changes that might be expected, the national study was intended to be a descriptive one, to establish primary information in a field which had relatively little data or theory on which to base future research. Because this study was designed to provide groundwork for subsequent studies and because the interpretations and conclusions drawn from the data are assumed to apply to political socialization in the United States (at least in metropolitan areas), it is especially important to describe in some detail the plan of the study and the characteristics of the group studied.[2]

B. Selection of Subjects and Characteristics of the Research Population

1. Age and Grade

Since our previous work had demonstrated the importance of the elementary school years in growth and development of attitudes and opinions about political objects and affairs, this project included only elementary school children. The project plan required that participating children be able to deal with printed materials. In pilot testing, it was found that children in grade two were able to deal with a simple multiple-choice questionnaire, but that most children in the first grade were not capable of responding to a questionnaire format. This constraint on the study set the lower limit of the research population at grade two. It was desirable to have representatives at every grade level in our cross-sectional study to assess variations among groups of children in different and adjacent grades and to chart the development of attitudes from grade to grade.

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[2] Copies of selected results are on file with the American Document Institute. (See listing of document numbers, Appendix I.) Under some circumstances, data from the project will be made available to colleagues and their students for additional analysis.

The most important characteristic of the research group was its range of age and grade, and one of the first decisions involved in the analysis of the data was the choice of grade rather than age as the major independent variable. Grade in school is highly correlated with age ($r = .96$). With an association of this magnitude, there was relatively little advantage in the use of age rather than grade. Because we tested in classroom groups, obtaining equal numbers of children at each grade level, there was a definite advantage in analysis by grade.[3] In using grade as a basis for differentiating the research groups, it was assumed that grade in school and chronological age relate to the same function--each year the child gains additional experience and is subjected to formal and informal socializing influences from various agents in the community.

Once the study had been limited to children in grades two through eight, consideration was given to the selection of other independent variables. The second major decision was to select the research population in a way that would facilitate analysis of particular variables rather than to take a random sample of elementary school children in the United States. The time and expense involved in interviewing a random sample and in obtaining supplementary school data and information from teachers seemed unjustified at this stage of research in this field. Our aim was to examine the process of political socialization, rather than to obtain precise estimates of the level of already identified attitudes in the elementary school population.

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[3] The use of grade did introduce a slight bias between socioeconomic groups: high status groups tended to be slightly younger on the average than did the other groups, while the older children in each grade were disproportionately from working class backgrounds. However, as indicated by the social class data presented later, the difference between status groups--where it exists--shows somewhat more rapid development on the part of the middle class child. Thus the slight error introduced by using grade rather than age attenuates the social class differences, possibly resulting in conservative estimates of class differences.

2. Geographic Area

The study was conducted in eight cities in different regions of the United States. Since one of the most obvious features of political behavior and attitudes in this country is the difference between various geographic sections, cities were selected from each of four regions.[4] Within each region, one large city (population over one million) and one medium-sized city (population under four hundred thousand) were chosen.[5] Appendix B reports some of the demographic characteristics of the eight participating cities.[6] Within each city, four schools were chosen, two from a middle class area and two from a working class area. Two classrooms were tested at each grade level in each school. This design gave us a research population roughly balanced by grade, size of city, region, and social status. The actual number of subjects tested in each category is shown in Table 3.

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[4] In selecting cities for the project, states were divided into the classifications used by the United States Bureau of the Census: Northeast, North Central, South, and West. States on the borders between regions were eliminated so schools were chosen from cities in the following states:

1. Northeast: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.
2. North Central: Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.
3. South: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana.
4. West: California, Oregon, and Washington.

[5] Although regional variation is difficult to define and demonstrate in a precise way, regionalism has been of interest to students of political behavior. Some of the authors who present evidence for systematic regional variations and discuss the meaning of the intranational differences are: Holcombe (1924); Key (1947); Grassmuch (1951); and Truman (1959).

[6] It was intended to choose the cities and the schools within each city solely on the census characteristics of the city and the representativeness of the schools in order to obtain populations as nearly comparable as possible. Occasionally, however, such practical considerations as local laws, the availability of schools, and the cooperativeness of Boards of Education intervened. In some states, for example, inquiring about occupation of the father is prohibited by law. Since socioeconomic status was a major variable in the study, we were unable to consider cities in such states for inclusion in the study. In another city, political considerations and an imminent election seemed to be determining factors in the decision of the school authorities not to work with us. The mutual and separate problems of researchers, school administrators, parents and children in this and other major projects in the public schools deserve careful and systematic consideration.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS BY REGION, CITY SIZE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOOD, AND GRADE IN SCHOOL

Region	City Size	Socioeconomic Status of School Area	Grade Level						
			2	3	4	5	6	7	8
North-east	Large	Middle Class	114	113	107	97	85	104	83
		Working Class	102	87	106	120	98	125	106
	Small	Middle Class	105	119	109	119	119	103	117
		Working Class	89	113	120	132	97	119	124
North Central	Large	Middle Class	92	105	110	112	128	107	110
		Working Class	122	121	120	142	115	125	109
	Small	Middle Class	91	90	105	98	114	107	115
		Working Class	96	107	104	111	106	50	44
South	Large	Middle Class	111	122	120	127	130	112	78
		Working Class	109	112	108	92	100	102	101
	Small	Middle Class	128	129	134	128	112	121	114
		Working Class	129	81	111	117	121	101	121
West	Large	Middle Class	97	91	109	116	120	100	119
		Working Class	115	116	121	109	121	116	123
	Small	Middle Class	81	116	110	101	108	94	105
		Working Class	125	91	100	103	102	122	132

3. Socioeconomic Status

One of the demonstrated features of adult political behavior in the United States is the differences in attitudes and activity between persons from different socioeconomic levels. These differences are reported in virtually all major studies of political involvement, voting behavior, and interest. They will not be reviewed here, because they are presented as comparative data in a later section dealing with the influence of social class on political socialization. Briefly, however, research shows the middle class citizen to be more informed, interested, involved, and active in political behavior at city, state, and national levels than is the working class citizen.[7]

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[7] In later discussion, a question is raised about the relative influence of social class and IQ and it is argued that the effects of social class have been overestimated. At this point, however, the association between political involvement and socioeconomic status is intended only to explain the selection of our research group.

Since it was one of the purposes of the project to inquire into the effects of social class at pre-adult levels, approximately equal numbers of schools were selected from the cities' middle class and working class areas, as determined from census records. The grouping of children by school and neighborhood areas not being sufficiently precise for purposes of analysis, the questionnaire included an item about the occupation of the child's father. Although occupational status is not equivalent to Warner's conception of social class (Warner, Meeker & Eells, 1949), it is highly correlated and is suitable as an estimate of socioeconomic position or social status.[8] For this reason, information about occupational level of his father was obtained from the child, using a scale incorporated into the questionnaire. Pilot work resulted in the following six-point scale, which testers also used to rate occupation from school files:

1. He works in a factory or mill, or as a truck driver, janitor, or some other job where he works with his hands.

2. He works with his hands in a job that takes a long time to learn--like a carpenter, an electrician, a plumber, a TV repairman, a machinist, etc.

3. He works in an office or store for somebody else.
   He works as a bookkeeper, salesman, or clerk.
   He owns a service station, laundry, or small store.
   He is a policeman, fireman, soldier, or works for the government.
   (He usually wears a uniform or a white shirt and tie to work.)

4. He works in an office as a manager or executive.

5. He is a doctor, lawyer, teacher, an engineer, or

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[8] Hatt's (1961) evaluation of occupation as a measure of social status, based on an extensive review of the research literature, concludes: "None of these (writers) have claimed occupation to be sufficient criterion of relative position, but all are in substantial agreement that it is a useful and valid index for most purposes." He goes on to state a position similar to that taken in this study: "Occupation by definition cannot possibly be taken as describing esteem; however, when it is used as an index, a position in one structure is substituted for some of the positions in many structures. Its value as an index of position, therefore, must be established in spite of its inability to describe in detail the relevant areas of esteem and multistructural position" (pp. 241-242). Many studies have been conducted to appraise the value of this index as opposed to others. The most exhaustive and exacting has been the work of Warner, which established occupation as the single most powerful predictor of social class position (Warner, Meeker, & Eells, 1949). For further discussion of this problem, see also Parsons (1960) and Kahl & Davis (1955).

some job like that. He has a college degree and special training for his job.

6. He owns a large business, like a factory or a big store.

Because occupation of father was rated reliably by the children (see Section F of this chapter), this rating was taken as an adequate estimate of social status for our subjects. When information about parental occupation was not available from the child, testers obtained information from the school files.[9] If neither piece of data was available, the student was assigned to the modal category for his school district and grade, on the assumption that students in the same grade at a given school live in the same neighborhood and are likely to come from similar social and occupational backgrounds. Table 4 shows the proportion of the sample to which such estimates were assigned.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS AND PER CENT OF TOTAL FOR WHOM SOCIAL STATUS WAS ESTIMATED FROM THE MEDIAN OF THE SCHOOL, BY GRADE

Grade Level	Number	Social Status Estimated %
Grade 2	374	22.6
Grade 3	354	21.1
Grade 4	77	4.4
Grade 5	36	2.0
Grade 6	35	2.0
Grade 7	35	2.0
Grade 8	32	1.9

Table 5 shows the distribution of the occupational status ratings assigned to the subjects, using both ratings based on self-report and those based on school files or on the median occupational rank in the child's class. Three social status levels were designated by grouping these occupational categories: low status--unskilled workers (those rated in category 1 on the scale); middle status--skilled workers, clerical workers, sales workers and owners of small businesses (those rated in categories 2 and 3); and high

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[9] The correlation between occupation as rated from the school files and occupation as designated by the subjects on the questionnaire was .64.

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS AND PER CENT OF TOTAL IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CATEGORY

Occupation	Number	%	Occupation	Number	%
Unskilled Worker	2793	23.2	Executive	1432	29.1
Skilled Worker	2360	19.6	Professional	1617	13.4
Clerical, Sales, Small Business	3503	29.1	Large Business	343	2.9

Note.--Occupation of father was determined from child's report if available; if not, from school files. If neither of these sources had information, occupational status was estimated by assigning the modal category for the child's grade and school.

status--executives, professionals, and owners of large businesses (categories 4, 5, and 6).

Appendix B reports the distribution of social status (assessed by child's report of father's occupation) as it varied in the eight cities. Although almost equal numbers of children from a middle class and a working class school were tested in each city (Table 3), middle and high status occupations were over-represented in some cities. School districts classified as middle class in one city apparently contained different proportions of persons with skilled and clerical occupations than schools classified as middle class in other cities. This social class imbalance, likely to contaminate regional comparisons, was a major factor in the choice of occupation rather than school district as the indicator of social status for the analysis.

4. Ethnicity

The purpose of this project was to examine the most characteristic forms of political socialization in the U.S. In order to focus on this objective, it was decided to defer consideration of subcultural groups in which political socialization might differ from the dominant culture. It was hoped that this study would establish a base line of socialization patterns in urban areas, from which future studies could investigate subcultural variations. Our groups were selected to include equal numbers of children of each sex, from seven grade levels, from a range of status backgrounds, and from the four major geographical regions of the United States; it was not feasible to investigate systematically the influence of ethnic background or race in this project. Testing was conducted, in so far as possible, in city neighborhoods which were not primarily populated by ethnic groups.

The policy with respect to readily identifiable groups, where there may be subcultural influences, was to collect the questionnaires but not to analyze them as part of the national study reported here. Data from 269 children who were identified in our field administration as Mexican, Negro, or Oriental will be compared with findings from the national group in a later publication.

5. Intelligence Test Scores

One of the independent variables of the research was the IQ of the subjects. Intelligence test scores were available from school files for 84.4 per cent of our subjects. If more than one test score was available, the most recent was taken. Tables compiled by Flanagan and Schwarz (1958) were used to convert IQ's to a common stanine scale.[10] This method provides some confidence in interschool comparisons. For example, a child whose IQ on the Otis Test places him in stanine 5 has ability comparable to a child in another city whose IQ on the Kuhlman-Anderson Test places him in stanine 5.

The distribution of IQ in the research population departed from the theoretical stanine distribution. There was a disproportionate number of children with high IQ, as Table 6 shows. Only in the lower social status does the profile of IQ stanine correspond to the expected distribution (Table 7). The high average IQ in the

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF IQ SCORES[a]

Base	N	Percentage Scoring Within Each Stanine								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total Research Group	10,165	1.3	1.8	5.5	9.7	18.0	20.3	19.1	12.7	11.7
Expected Distribution of Stanine Scores		4.0	7.0	12.0	17.0	20.0	17.0	12.0	7.0	4.0

[a] Obtained from school records and converted to stanine scores.

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[10] These authors formed a common scale for IQ by determining equivalent scores for eleven different intelligence tests. The resulting scores were graduated in units called stanines, the stanine being a form of standard score in which the scores are transformed into nine groups as follows: the first stanine represents the lowest 4 per cent of the population; the second, the next 7 per cent; the third, the next 12 per cent; the fourth, the next 17 per cent; the fifth, the middle 20 per cent; the sixth, the next 17 per cent; the seventh, the next 12 per cent; the eighth, the next 7 per cent; and the ninth, the top 4 per cent of the population.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF IQ SCORES[a]
BY GRADE AND SOCIAL STATUS

	N Without IQ Data	N With IQ Data	Percentage Scoring Within Each Stanine								
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Grade 2:											
Low Status	141	198	2.51	1.01	8.04	17.59	15.08	18.09	21.61	10.05	6.03
Middle Status	287	635	.47	.63	2.05	6.77	19.69	28.82	23.62	11.34	6.61
High Status	205	189	.53	1.05	.53	6.32	14.21	18.42	31.58	15.26	12.11
Grade 3:											
Low Status	83	315	2.86	3.17	10.16	14.92	20.95	23.49	12.38	6.67	5.40
Middle Status	206	709	.42	1.55	2.96	8.74	20.87	23.70	22.14	13.68	5.92
High Status	95	270	.37	1.11	1.85	7.78	11.85	16.67	25.93	18.89	15.56
Grade 4:											
Low Status	52	344	1.74	3.20	10.76	11.63	27.62	20.64	14.53	6.10	3.78
Middle Status	96	742	.27	1.48	5.53	9.84	19.41	19.68	21.56	12.13	10.11
High Status	54	461	.43	1.08	3.04	5.64	14.10	20.17	20.39	19.09	16.05
Grade 5:											
Low Status	47	384	3.13	3.65	8.33	13.80	21.61	17.97	13.54	8.85	9.11
Middle Status	94	740	.95	1.89	5.00	9.32	16.62	22.03	18.24	13.24	12.70
High Status	68	470	.00	.64	1.91	7.02	12.77	17.45	21.28	15.53	23.40

TABLE 7--Continued.

Grade 6:											
Low Status	41	364	2.75	2.75	9.34	16.48	21.43	20.88	13.46	9.34	3.57
Middle Status	69	733	2.05	2.18	6.96	10.91	18.14	21.42	15.28	11.60	11.46
High Status	44	498	.80	.80	2.21	3.82	12.65	16.87	20.28	17.67	24.90
Grade 7:											
Low Status	29	396	4.55	3.03	11.36	14.65	22.73	19.95	12.88	6.06	4.80
Middle Status	73	699	1.72	1.86	6.58	11.16	17.88	20.46	20.17	10.01	10.16
High Status	42	484	.62	.41	1.45	3.51	11.98	20.25	22.52	18.39	20.87
Grade 8:											
Low Status	36	365	1.37	4.11	11.78	14.52	22.74	19.45	15.62	6.58	3.84
Middle Status	80	701	1.00	2.57	6.13	11.27	20.11	18.40	17.83	12.70	9.99
High Status	45	468	.43	1.50	3.42	6.62	12.18	14.10	18.38	19.87	23.50

[a] Obtained from school records and converted to stanine scores

total group is due in part to the relatively greater proportion of middle-class children in the research group than in the population on which these stanine norms were developed.

The extent to which the IQ distribution is positively skewed varies among the eight cities (Appendix B). For example, in one city, instead of the expected 23 per cent in the top three stanine categories, 61 per cent of the children were classified there. This disparity in IQ level between cities interferes with an accurate analysis of city differences, particularly in view of the effect of IQ upon political socialization as presented in subsequent chapters of this report.

6. Reading Achievement Scores

Standardized reading achievement test scores were available for 74.3 per cent of the subjects. Scores were often not available for students in grades two and three. In every case where a reading score was available, the percentile rank as reported by the testing manual for that test's standardization sample was assigned to the student. If more than one test score was available, the most recent was used. Reading tests are notable for their standardization on limited and non-representative populations, and no scaling of reading tests to a common measure (comparable to Flanagan and Schwarz's work with IQ scores) is available. While stanine units have made different IQ tests comparable through common scaling, this is not true for reading percentile scores, each derived from its own limited standardization population. All that can be assumed is that a child who took a reading test and received a percentile score of 50 reads more proficiently than a child who took the same reading test and received a percentile score of 40. He may or may not be a better reader than a child whose percentile reading score was 40 on another test.

The correlation between IQ stanine and reading percentile was .65 ($\underline{N}$ = 1668) and a regression analysis indicated that intelligence and reading achievement are related to political attitudes in a roughly similar pattern. On the basis of this analysis, and the lack of comparability of reading percentile scores obtained from different tests,it was decided not to use reading scores as an independent variable in further analysis of the data.

7. Social Participation Score

For the subjects tested, clubs and athletic groups were the two principal areas of organized social activity outside the home and classroom.[11] The following four questions were used to assess the subject's social participation:

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[11] The correlations between a summed score based on organizational activities alone (questions 47, 48, and 50) and one which also included athletic activities (question 49) ranged from .81 to .86 for the two sexes at two grade levels.

(47) Do you belong to a school club, organization, or committee (such as student council, musical organization, or committee)? ______Yes ______No

(48) Put an X beside each of the clubs or organizations below which you belong to now, or which you have belonged to for at least a year.

____ Boy Scouts (or Cub Scouts)

____ Girl Scouts (or Brownies)

____ Camp Fire Girls

____ YMCA, YWCA, YMHA, Hi-Y

____ CYO

____ Boys' Club

____ 4-H Club

____ I do not belong to any club or organization outside of school.

(49) In this school year I belong to some team (which meets after school hours) which plays baseball, basketball, volleyball, or some other sport.

____ Yes ____ No

(50) I have held some office in my class or in one of the clubs or organizations mentioned. ____ Yes ____ No (Questionnaire, page 23, items [47] through [50].)

A social participation score ranging from 0 to 6 points was derived in the following manner: If the subject answered yes to question 47, one point was counted in his score; if he belonged to one of the organizations listed in question 48, one point was added; two points were added if he belonged to two organizations, three if he belonged to three or more organizations. One point was added to the score if the subject answered yes to question 49. One point was added to the score if he answered yes to question 50. Table 8 shows the distribution of specific group and team activities for all subjects, by social status and grade.

8. Religious Affiliation and Church Attendance

The children in the research group were asked to indicate the religious preference of their families. Table 9 shows the distribution of membership or preference for all subjects by social status; Appendix B presents this information by grade and social status. The association between social status and religious affiliation, apparent from these tables, is in the expected direction for the cities in our sample--Catholics are over-represented in lower status groups while Jews are over-represented in high status groups.

Subjects were also asked how frequently they attended religious services. This question estimates the intensity of feeling associated with religious affiliation and the amount of contact with,

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP (CHILD'S REPORT)
BY GRADE AND SOCIAL STATUS

	N Responding	% Boy Scout	% Girl Scout	% Campfire G.	% Y-Clubs	% CYO	% Boys' Club	% 4-H	% Belong to no club	% School Club[a]	% Sport Team[b]	% Club Officer[c]
Grade 3:												
Low Status	378	19.05	16.40	8.47	5.03	.79	13.23	.53	40.48	18.42	22.16	20.36
Middle Status	897	22.30	21.18	11.15	3.12	.89	6.02	1.34	34.67	16.48	21.64	22.91
High Status	360	31.39	29.44	10.28	1.67	.56	5.00	.56	21.67	15.36	25.07	35.10
Grade 4:												
Low Status	374	18.45	21.12	5.61	6.95	1.07	10.70	2.94	41.44	17.35	28.83	23.33
Middle Status	808	26.49	23.64	6.31	3.59	.50	7.55	.99	31.56	23.24	29.65	30.50
High Status	495	29.90	35.15	6.87	1.82	.00	5.05	1.41	19.80	30.16	37.03	38.74
Grade 5:												
Low Status	413	22.28	18.89	4.36	7.51	1.45	13.80	4.36	36.32	33.02	33.18	41.04
Middle Status	810	27.90	28.02	6.54	6.05	.49	12.10	3.09	25.93	38.32	37.53	46.00
High Status	518	36.10	36.10	7.14	3.47	1.35	7.53	1.93	13.51	43.13	46.67	62.62
Grade 6:												
Low Status	390	21.28	19.23	4.36	8.46	1.54	16.15	3.59	34.62	43.18	37.41	48.49
Middle Status	768	27.34	22.92	7.68	4.43	1.95	9.90	2.99	29.69	37.34	41.08	49.94
High Status	522	31.61	34.87	3.07	5.94	1.15	5.56	2.68	17.24	40.49	53.63	61.00

TABLE 8--Continued.

Grade 7:												
Low Status	414	26.33	20.29	4.83	6.52	1.21	12.80	3.62	33.09	42.59	45.82	42.24
Middle Status	739	28.28	25.98	5.68	7.85	1.62	11.10	4.33	24.09	49.67	46.61	51.18
High Status	510	33.73	35.88	4.31	7.06	1.18	6.67	4.31	13.33	60.61	48.84	64.16
Grade 8:												
Low Status	367	18.53	14.99	2.18	7.36	2.72	12.81	5.99	46.05	45.61	43.83	46.33
Middle Status	727	22.70	21.46	4.26	6.46	2.34	9.35	3.58	35.21	53.81	46.01	50.00
High Status	477	26.83	31.87	2.94	5.87	2.31	7.34	2.94	21.17	64.84	56.30	67.58

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[a] N for this item is not the same as in "N Responding" column. The range of N for this item is 355 to 901.

[b] N for this item is not the same as in "N Responding" column. The range of N for this item is 359 to 899.

[c] N for this item is not the same as in "N Responding" column. The range of N for this item is 360 to 897.

TABLE 9

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF FAMILY BY SOCIAL STATUS
(Percentages)

Social Status	N	Religious Preference of Family				
		Catholic %	Jewish %	Protestant %	Other %	None %
Lower	1860	25.2	1.3	62.3	5.3	5.9
Middle	3539	15.6	4.2	71.1	5.7	3.4
Upper	2182	9.9	12.2	72.0	4.3	1.6

and instruction by, religious authority figures. The distribution of responses to this item is shown in Appendix B.

9. Characteristics of Family Background

In addition to the information about families' occupational activity, the school files yielded data on parents' national origins; a tabulation of this information shows that 95 per cent of the students' fathers were born in the United States, as were 94 per cent of the group of mothers. The files also showed that 87 per cent of the children were living with their fathers at the time of testing and 97 per cent were living with their mothers. School files provided these data on family characteristics for approximately half the subjects.

The child's perception of the relative power of his two parents in family decisions was assessed by his response to an item on the questionnaire. This item had been used previously by one of the principal investigators; it was incorporated in this study as follows:

Who is the boss in your family? (choose one)

____ Both fairly equal but father more
____ Both fairly equal but mother more
____ Both fairly equal
____ I cannot answer

(Questionnaire, page 3, item [20].)

The distribution by social status and grade of subjects choosing the four alternatives is shown in Appendix B.

10. Political Party Preference

In Chapter V of this report, the relation of party preference to other areas of political involvement and interest is discussed in some detail. For purposes of describing the research group, however, the item used to obtain party preference is cited here with its distribution of responses. Political party preference was measured by this question:

If you could vote what would you be? (choose one)

1. ____ A Republican
2. ____ A Democrat
3. ____ Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican.
4. ____ I don't know which I would be.
5. ____ I don't know what Democrate and Republican mean.

(Questionnaire, page 9, item [42].)

The distribution for this question by grade and social status is given in Table 10.

C. Development of the Questionnaire

The first year of the project was devoted to designing and pretesting the questionnaire. This initial phase of the study was strongly influenced by four factors. First, the research dealt with young subjects whose reading and comprehension skills were relatively undeveloped, requiring that the concepts and techniques devised for measuring the opinions and attitudes of adults be adapted for use with the children. This constraint introduced problems of conceptual and linguistic vocabulary and required different techniques for presenting data in a written format. Second, the design called for testing groups and for analysis of group rather than individual data. Since the instrument was not administered individually, it had to be comprehensible and intrinsically interesting to children with a wide range of ability and motivation. Third, the phenomena to be studied contained both cognitive and affective elements--calling for items which dealt, on the one hand, with non-intellective responses ("The President of the United States is one of my favorites") or self-report of experience ("When I heard that Kennedy had won the election I felt....") and, on the other hand, with abstract concepts ("Is democracy a place where the people rule?"). Fourth, since the project was committed to investigation of an area relatively uncharted by earlier research, there were few guide-lines to indicate the grade level at which questions of a given type and specificity should be asked. This constrained the selection of topics and impaired the precision of the items themselves, particularly in the pilot study phase. The research procedure at this early stage was to utilize broad, open-ended general questions, then progressively to narrow the scope of questions presented until a general picture of the concepts available or understandable at any given age was apparent in the subjects' responses. We then moved to more restricted items and alternatives in order to gather more specific data. While greater specificity of

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTY COMMITMENT (CHILD'S REPORT) BY GRADE AND SOCIAL STATUS

	N Not Responding	N Responding	Republican %	Democrat %	Independent %	Undecided %	Ignorant of Parties %
Grade 2:							
Low Status	5	334	21.56	14.67	9.28	25.45	29.04
Middle Status	7	915	21.64	14.54	9.07	20.00	34.75
High Status	4	390	24.81	9.46	10.49	19.95	35.29
Grade 3:							
Low Status	7	391	22.51	18.41	8.44	19.95	30.69
Middle Status	3	912	23.79	16.23	10.75	20.29	28.95
High Status	0	365	29.59	18.08	10.68	18.63	23.01
Grade 4:							
Low Status	1	395	23.80	19.75	12.15	20.25	24.05
Middle Status	6	832	29.33	19.23	14.54	17.43	19.47
High Status	4	511	36.20	18.20	17.81	13.50	14.29
Grade 5:							
Low Status	2	429	24.01	30.30	13.52	18.18	13.99
Middle Status	4	830	30.48	24.94	20.36	15.30	8.92
High Status	3	535	34.02	21.50	29.72	10.28	4.49

TABLE 10--Continued.

Grade 6:							
Low Status	2	403	25.56	33.25	20.10	13.90	7.20
Middle Status	2	800	27.25	30.87	23.00	14.25	4.62
High Status	1	541	31.61	22.37	34.75	9.06	2.22
Grade 7:							
Low Status	4	421	17.81	39.67	22.57	16.63	3.33
Middle Status	2	770	24.68	33.64	26.23	12.34	3.12
High Status	2	524	29.58	23.09	36.83	9.35	1.15
Grade 8:							
Low Status	2	399	15.29	41.85	23.31	17.04	2.51
Middle Status	3	778	18.64	34.45	30.46	14.65	1.80
High Status	5	508	27.36	22.24	39.96	9.84	.59

stimulus and response alternatives was advantageous, restricting the respondent's freedom increased the possibility of distortion. If the number of response alternatives was to be limited, all important possibilities had to be included in the item. In drafting questions for pilot testing, we worded each item to minimize ambiguity and to reduce the possibility that none of the alternatives would seem appropriate. An obvious aim in constructing items was to avoid questions and format too complex for the young child or too simple for the more sophisticated; a question which was too easy or too difficult would induce boredom or receive an offhand response. The problem of complexity also applied to the response alternatives. A long list of possible replies with fine gradations of meaning would confuse a young respondent. On the other hand, a limited number of possible answers which did not include the appropriate one for the respondent would lead to distortion in responses and to diminishing involvement in the task.

Actual construction of the questionnaire was preceded by individual interviews. By the end of the first month of the project, we had collected thirty interviews with students from grades two through eight in lower middle class and upper middle class communities. After considering these thirty interviews, it was decided to use more pictorial material in order to stimulate the subjects to talk, and to devise hypothetical situations converting questions on abstract constructs into real situations into which the child could easily project himself.

In the phase of exploratory interviewing, children were asked to talk about political terms such as "government." Some children defined these terms, but many younger ones could only use them in context. This type of questioning took the form of free association technique where the student talked about his experiences with such persons as "the policeman." Pictorial materials were also used to elicit free responses about concepts such as "government" or "our country" but proved less productive than the presentation of simple words. Responses to pictures did reveal, however, the prominent position that symbols (the flag, the capitol, etc.) have in the child's mind. Some of the respondents were asked to draw pictures about political themes and to write short stories about their pictures. The interviewers asked the children to sort, in order of importance, cards naming various political figures such as the President, a Senator, and a policeman. Toward the end of the interviewing phase, check lists of adjectives were used to obtain ratings of political figures. These interviews revealed some of the vocabulary difficulties which questionnaire procedures present for children. A list was compiled of commonly misunderstood words, such as "politician," "government," "union," "Congress," "citizen," and "Supreme Court," gathered from early forms of pilot questionnaires on which students were asked to check the words they thought would be "too hard for boys and girls your age to understand."

After two months and eighty-five interviews with students, the project staff began to draft pilot forms of the questionnaire.

This pretesting phase covered ten months of experimentation with twelve different pilot questionnaires.[12] The early instruments contained many open-ended question; later the items became both more specific and more focused. During the pretesting phase, many items were revised or abandoned on the basis of group response patterns or information obtained in interviews. Revised items were tested again and the results compared with earlier versions. More than five thousand grade school students participated in this pretesting stage of the project. Some scaling techniques were much more useful than others with children in this age range. Initially students were asked to rank a series of political concepts, but it was easier for them to deal with one object at a time or to indicate their first two choices from a list. Much information could be obtained by presenting a single stimulus, either an object such as "The President" or a statement such as "All laws are fair," and asking the child to indicate his opinion along some scaled dimension. Following a suggestion made by Bauerfeind (1955), we adopted a graphic device to clarify questions requiring agree-disagree responses by matching the size of box and size of print to alternative intensities of feeling. For example:

All laws are fair:

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. Don't Know ○ No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

In questions which required rating a stimulus object on some dimension, each alternative was labeled to reduce ambiguity as far as possible. For example:

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[12] Although the majority of the questions in the final instrument originated in interview material or in the earlier high school questionnaire, some questions were incorporated which had been used by other investigators. "If you could vote, who would be best to ask for voting advice?" had been used by Greenstein (1959); "The American flag is the best flag in the world," "America is the best country in the world," "People in other countries think their country is best," were adapted from interview questions which had been used by Weinstein (1957) to study children's concepts of the flag and national identity. The efficacy scale and the question concerning the relative contributions of political parties were similar to questions used to study adult political attitudes (Campbell et al., 1954; Stillman, Guthrie & Becker, 1960).

Think of the President as he really is ....

1	2	3	4	5	6
Would always want to help me if I needed it	Would almost always want to help me if I needed it	Would usually want to help me if I needed it	Would sometimes want to help me if I needed it	Would seldom want to help me if I needed it	Would not usually want to help me if I needed it

Toward the end of the pilot testing, representatives of the cooperating schools were invited to the University for a conference. At that time, they were shown the items that had been devised for the final instrument and asked to give their comments. This meeting and comments subsequently received from teachers and principals aided us in many ways throughout the field testing part of the research.

The final selection of items was done by the research staff on the basis of a number of considerations: (1) the relevance of the item to political development and socialization theory; (2) the similarity of the item to areas of behavior studied in adults, to permit comparisons between adult and pre-adult levels; (3) statistical properties of responses such as shape of the distribution, stability of response from one testing to another, similarity of an item to other items already selected, correlation among items, and variance of an item within age and social status groups;[13] (4) the frequency of "Don't Know" responses, a consideration used both to evaluate items for inclusion and to decide the age placement of the item in the final instrument; (5) the controversiality of the question's content, that is, the likelihood that it would touch on a point of such community conflict that school authorities would be reluctant to approve the use of the questionnaire. On this basis, questions about civil rights and about communistic ideology were omitted except in quite general form. Most of the items were chosen on the basis of these criteria.

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[13] The tendency to eliminate an item that had little variance by grade or social status introduced a selection bias. On those items, consensus is apparently almost complete and established at an early age. To leave out such items meant to discard potentially useful information about socialization; to include them used part of the questionnaire merely to establish on a large group a point that seemed evident from pilot data. The piling up of responses on a single alternative in some instances merely indicated an inefficient or badly worded item, and did not in any case provide new information. Therefore we decided to rule out of the final instrument those items showing a great deal of consensus in the pilot results, and to refer to such pilot items directly in our discussion of relevant topics. Each table which reports data from a pilot sample rather than from the nation-wide group includes as a footnote a reference to the pretest on which the item was included. Appendix B specifies the grade and social status of the group which answered each pilot instrument.

A single form of the questionnaire was used for subjects at all grade levels. This strategy called for a questionnaire format based upon a progression of item difficulty. Students in grade two were asked to complete only the first sixteen pages, students in grade three were asked to finish twenty-four pages of the forty page instrument, students in grades four through eight completed the entire questionnaire. (A copy of the questionnaire appears in Appendix H.)

One of the major concerns of the staff was to preserve the confidentiality of the respondent's answers. To accomplish this each questionnaire was pre-numbered with a seven-digit code stamped on the top and the bottom of the first page. The student wrote his name and his teacher's name on the bottom of the first page. On the top of the page, testers recorded information from the school files about the child's IQ, birthplace, etc. Then the bottom half of page one was detached along a perforated line and the principal of each school retained the half of that page which contained the student's name and code number. He had no further information about the child's responses,[14] and there was no way for the investigators to connect the responses given on a questionnaire with a particular child, thus preserving complete confidentiality.

D. Teacher Questionnaires

In addition to the basic instrument devised to obtain information about children's attitudes, questionnaires were constructed to measure both educational practices and attitudes of individual teachers in the schools which participated in the project.

1. Teacher Attitude Questionnaire

Teachers' attitudes were measured to compare their responses with those of their students and to assess their influence on the attitudes of the younger subjects. Each teacher whose class was being tested was asked to complete a modified version of the children's questionnaire. Personal items, such as those dealing with family attitudes, were deleted; in every other respect the questions were identical. Three hundred and ninety-two teachers completed the teacher questionnaire (see Table 11). Results from this questionnaire are discussed in Chapters III and IV.

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[14] On this same lower half of the front page, in some districts the child wrote the names of all brothers and sisters who attended the same school. This information was gathered to carry out an analysis of intrafamily similarity in political orientations. A basic assumption of any study of socialization is that the family is a potent agent in this process. To test this assumption, we selected 205 pairs of siblings who had both responded to the questionnaire. Approximately equal numbers of children were chosen from each of the grade levels between grades three and eight. Our general hypothesis was that since the family affected attitude development, there would be greater similarity between the attitudes of siblings than between the attitudes of non-related children who were matched by sex, grade, and social status. The results of this substudy are reported in Chapter IV of this report.

TABLE 11

CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

Sex	Number	City	Number
Female	307	Chicago	46
Male	78	Atlanta	52
Not ascertained	7	Sioux City	50
		San Francisco	48
		Tacoma	54
		Jackson	50
		Portland	52
		Boston	40
Total	392	Total	392

2. Curriculum Questionnaire

As part of our attempt to examine the role of the school in socializing children into the political system, another instrument was constructed for teachers. This curriculum questionnaire (see Appendix H) covered twenty-one major topic areas and asked the teacher to specify (a) how much time she spent on each topic, (b) whether the teaching was planned or incidental, (c) her assessment of the appropriateness of the topic for her grade, and (d) its importance compared to subjects like reading and arithmetic. The form asked whether political pictures and symbols such as the flag were displayed in the classroom. Other questions inquired about political rituals--the singing of patriotic songs and the recitation of the pledge of allegiance to the flag. One hundred sixty-nine teachers returned this curriculum questionnaire.

E. Field Testing

During the early months of the second year of the project the final form of the questionnaire was completed. This instrument was pilot-tested with several hundred subjects in two of the eight cities which had been selected. These data were analyzed and minor revisions made before the final 12,000 subjects were tested.

The second six months of this second year were devoted primarily to data collection. During this phase, teams of four test administrators traveled to each of the cities for one to two weeks. In most cases the school administrators arranged to send a letter to both teachers and parents explaining the purposes of the research. When the tester arrived in the room, the teacher was given a copy of the questionnaire to complete while the tester administered the instrument to the class. Frequently, the teacher was absent during the administration of the questionnaire but this was not mandatory. After introducing himself, the tester made the following brief statement:

> I and three other people from the University of Chicago are traveling to many different cities across the United States to ask boys and girls like yourselves to answer the questions on the questionnaires I have given you. We would like to know what boys and girls think about the things mentioned. You should understand that this is a questionnaire and not a test. You cannot pass or fail. We are only interested in getting your opinion. Because we think when we ask people for their opinions it is important to keep what they say private, we have arranged that your name will be taken off the questionnaire before it is returned to Chicago. This part of the booklet that has your name on it will remain in the school. We ask that these slips be kept because it may be necessary for us to come back later to ask you to fill out another questionnaire like this one. As we go through the questionnaire, I will read each question to you. Remember there are no right or wrong answers; we only want to know what you think--what your opinion is.

After the questionnaire had been filled out, the class was encouraged to ask questions or discuss their reactions. Our testers reported that the response at this time was usually positive curiosity. After the testing at a school was complete, testers recorded the pertinent information about each subject from the school files and detached the student's name.

The importance of interpreting the goals of this research not only to the subjects but also to the faculty and to other interested people in the community became increasingly apparent during this data collection phase. Generally, the project director discussed the project thoroughly with the superintendent, the assistant superintendent and with members of the Board of Education. Letters were sent to parents and explanations to the students prior to our testing usually resulted in a positive parental response. At the time of testing members of the staff met with the president of the Parent Teachers Association as well as with representatives of religious, professional, and business organizations who might be interested in our work. Parents who had questions about the study often turned to key people in the community. This preliminary briefing of these people proved to be an effective mode of transmitting the objectives of the project.

F. Stability of Responses

The stability of an attitude or opinion is one of its most basic characteristics. This is especially significant for the study of attitudes developing in childhood. A reasonable level of response stability is necessary to vouch for the meaningfulness of children's responses. To examine the stability of responses to this questionnaire, 1,158 subjects (chosen from those cities where our time schedule was flexible enough to permit retesting in grades two, four, six, and eight were retested four to fourteen days after they had initially filled out the questionnaire. The second testing situation was as similar as possible to the first.

The product-moment correlation between score on first test and score on second testing has been the most popular statistic for reporting index stability. This is usually referred to as a stability coefficient, test-retest coefficient, or test-retest correlation. Although ordinal scales do not meet all the statistical assumptions of correlation, this method has been widely used with such scales. The percentage of individuals giving identical responses on two occasions has been used by the majority of investigators to report stability of True-False, Agree-Disagree items.

It was difficult to compare the data obtained from our test-retest group with results of other studies since adult studies have rarely reported the stability of opinion measures. Ninety-six per cent of the adults reporting in two consecutive interviews whether or not they owned a car received identical classifications (Mosteller, 1947); respondents' consistency in stating their own ages showed a test-retest correlation of .91. Seventy-one per cent of the replies to the question, "Do you think Roosevelt is doing a good job, only a fair job, or a bad job in running the country?", were similar in two interviews separated by a short time period.

These results from studies of adults give a baseline for evaluating the stability of our research population. In a test-retest pilot study of 236 boys and girls from grades two through eight, the correlation on an item inquiring about age was .95; the children of this study were at least as stable in their responses as the adults mentioned above. Furthermore, the reliability of the second-grade children (N = 31) on this item was .95, obviously comparable to that of older children. Groups of more than two hundred children each, in grades four, six, and eight from the national study, rated their father's occupation on a six-point scale. The stability coefficients were .80, .86, and .96, respectively.

The stability of responses to attitude questions was appreciably lower than responses to factual questions about age, occupation of father, etc. The problem of assessing the stability of these responses was complicated by the multiplicity of item types in the questionnaire: on some, the numerical continuum for rating corresponded to an ordinal scale (like the rating scale cited); others gave only a discrete choice (e.g., "Is a democracy where the people rule? Yes, No, Don't Know"), and attained only the nominal level of measurement. Appendix C reports the test-retest correlations (Pearson r) for most of the items which used scalar measurement. Table 12 presents the median correlation and range of correlation for each grade group for the 109 attitude items which could be analyzed in this way.

TABLE 12

STABILITY COEFFICIENTS BY GRADE

Grade Level	Number of Children who Repeated Test	Number of Items Correlated[a]	Median Stability Coefficient[b]	Range of Stability Coefficients
Grade 2	360	30	.38	.27 to .60
Grade 4	414	109	.42	.20 to .80
Grade 6	225	109	.51	.25 to .86
Grade 8	159	109	.54	.27 to .83

[a] All political attitude items which could be scaled on a numerical continuum were included.

[b] Product-moment correlation between response on test and retest.

Most correlations reported in the literature have been computed for scale scores which combine a number of single items and for which the scores are spread across a wide range.[15] The majority of the correlations reported in Appendix Table C were based on single items, which frequently had restricted and skewed distributions. The reliability of the indices and scales which were composed of several items is also presented in Appendix C. In general, these indices had higher stability coefficients than the single items. It is difficult to evaluate the magnitude of these correlations in relation to other studies since few investigators have reported information about item stability. Some comparative figures are available from a study of high school students made by Litt (1963). For instance, the stability coefficient obtained in our study on the Efficacy Scale for eighth graders was .71; Litt reported a stability coefficient of .85 for a very similar efficacy scale used with high school students.

For those multiple choice items which had no numerical continuum, the percentage of students at each grade who gave identical responses on the two administrations was computed. These percentage-agreement figures must be interpreted with reference both to the number of alternatives offered by the item and the distribution of responses. Fiske (1957) and Cohen (1960) have noted that the percentage of agreement one would expect by chance is dependent on the number of response alternatives and on the distribution of responses on test and retest. The extensive analysis required to compute indices such as that suggested by Cohen did not, in our opinion, offer sufficient additional yield of information to justify the time and expense required. Analysis of items with controls for these factors was not carried out.

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[15] Harris (1957), for example, reported correlations of .60-.70 for an 89-item Social Responsibility Scale given at a four-month interval to grade 8 - 10 students. Cronbach (1960) reported that for the Allport-Vernon Study of Values stability correlations over a three-month period for summed scale scores ranged from .39 to .84

For some items, the percentage-agreement and correlation coefficients give quite different impressions of the stability of response. Several bivariate distributions of items were computed which compared Test 1 and Test 2. These distributions revealed that a combination of high percentage of agreement and low correlation usually occurred when a small number of points of the scale had been chosen by a high percentage of the subjects. This restriction of range artificially reduced the correlation. A change of even one scale point, on an item where only two points are used, alters the shape of the distribution more than does a one-point change on an item where individuals are spread over a larger range.

To indicate shift or change in the level of group response over a period of time, the tables in Appendix C also present the means from Test 1 and from Test 2 for items where this is an appropriate measure. This information deals with the stability of group rather than individual response. Because much of our analysis focused on group comparisons rather than on individual differences, the similarity on two occasions of the level of attitude in a group is important. If individuals change randomly but the distribution of attitudes within a given grade remains the same on retest, group comparisons will not be affected by the low stability of individuals in responding to some items.[16]

G. Data Analysis and Presentation

1. Analysis and Strategy of Presentation

A series of analyses was conducted with the data from the national respondents: first, basic tabulations of each question on the questionnaire--by grade, by sex, and by social status; second, correlational analysis and factor analysis of the dependent variables to determine the structure of political attitudes and to guide the combination of items into indices (the item combinations which have been used in this final report are specified in Appendix D); third, regression and chi-square analysis to determine the significance of relationships between independent variables (such as grade, IQ, social class, and political attitudes); fourth, political attitude items were tabulated by grade, or by IQ (holding grade and social status constant), or by sex (holding grade constant), and so on. The majority of the data presented in this report come from the fourth type of analysis.

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[16] Clover (1950) presents a limited but suggestive analysis of group change and individual change.

It was decided to set forth most of these comparisons in graphic form. Following the orientation of the project, the child's grade in school was the most important independent variable in designing formats for graphic presentation. The use of grade as the abscissa (horizontal coordinate) and the attitude variables as the ordinate (vertical coordinate) makes the changes with grade more clear and explicit than would tabular presentation.

Graphs appear in Chapter III (which considers age changes) for all items in which the mean is an appropriate measure of group tendency. Tabular presentation is used for items where format is multiple choice and for which percentages must be reported.[17] In such items, graphing each alternative would have presented too many lines on a single graph. All data which appear in Chapters IV and V (where group differences are considered) are presented in graphic form. Thirty-six groups were compared in Chapter V (three grade groups by three social classes by four political party alignments) and while tabular presentation would have been difficult to scan, graphic presentation makes findings obvious at a glance.

2. Constructing Ordinate Unit for Graphs

Our purpose was to chart descriptive information about the process of political socialization, to assess the impact of the school and family, and to determine the variations in this process for boys and girls and for children of different social class and intelligence levels. We began the study with questions rather than definitive hypotheses. This required techniques for ordering the data and for examining the consistency of group differences. A yardstick was needed to estimate the likelihood that observed differences were nonrandom, even though we did not attempt to verify or disprove specific hypotheses. A study such as this, which included a large number of discrete items with differing formats and alternatives and widely differing range,[18] and which was conducted with a large number of potential group comparisons, presented further problems in the analysis and descriptive presentation of data.

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[17] N for all tables and graphs is the number who gave a response to the question. Those who omitted a question were not included in computations of means or percentages.

[18] Some items had a range of three points, others of eighteen points. In some items all scale points had been used with equal frequency; in others, only a portion of the range had been used. One unit had to be equivalent across items.

In order to obtain an estimate of the probability of chance occurrence and simultaneously to form a unit for graphing, we developed the Significance Unit as a yardstick for judging group differences and as a unit for graphic presentation which would be equivalent for different items.[19] This unit is a type of standard error of the mean which may be applied to any group comparison presented in one graph or table.[20]

More explicitly, the average standard of the mean was used to derive an ordinate unit (on the vertical axis) for our graphs; the abscissa unit (on the horizontal axis) in every case was grade in school. In these graphs political attitude scores were plotted as functions of grade of the group. Each graph represents one index or item and compares the response of a number of groups. The number of groups being compared varies according to the placement of the item in the questionnaire (whether it was in the section which grade two children answered) and according to the comparison being made (assessment of age trends compares five, six, or seven grade levels with each other, while assessment of sex differences holding grade constant compares twice as many groups).

For most graphs, groups were large and of fairly uniform size. The assumption was made that the variance within every comparison group was equivalent. (Since group size was in most cases at least 250, the differences in variance between groups more than compensated for the differences in variance within groups.) Because in most cases the groups were nearly equal in size, the mean group size (not including teachers) was used as the N for the computations.[21] The average within-group variance (not including the variance of the teacher group) was divided by the average group size and its square root taken to obtain the average standard error of the mean for each graph. Because the purpose was to compare group means, the unit for the ordinate of a graph was derived from this average standard error:

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[19] Standard scores would have solved this problem but would have destroyed the item metric.

[20] What were the alternatives to this method of analysis and presentation? We could have taken the total sample, regardless of grade, and tested social class differences for significance. The sample is so large, however, that very small differences would have been highly significant. A complex analysis of variance could have been used to test for main effects of age, social class, intelligence, etc., and for interactions. However, we were interested in observing directly the shape of the age trends, the grade at which group differences appeared, and the consistency of differences across the age span. Also the number of items, the number of subjects, the skew of some distributions, and the non-parametric nature of some items made complex statistical analysis impossible. This led to the adoption of graphical presentation.

[21] This information was already available at the time the decision about data presentation was made. In order to adapt this method of utilizing the Significance Unit, a study using smaller groups should compute a standard error for each mean and average these standard errors.

$$S_{D_M} = \sqrt{S^2_{M_1} + S^2_{M_2}}$$

Assuming $S^2_{M_1} = S^2_{M_2} = S^2_M$,

$$S_{D_M} = \sqrt{2S^2_M}$$

$$S_{D_M} = 1.41\ S_M$$

From a table of normal deviates, the 5% level (2-tailed) was chosen corresponding to a Critical Ratio of 1.94. The amount of difference between means required to produce a Critical Ratio of this magnitude was computed:

$$\frac{M_1 - M_2}{1.41\ S_M} = 1.94$$

$$M_1 - M_2 = 2.74\ S_M$$

If a single different between group means is to be significant, the two means must differ by 2.74 times their average standard error. The ordinate unit for a graph is therefore 2.74 times the average standard error of the mean for the item or index being graphed, and each line on the ordinate is separated from the next by this unit. This unit is referred to throughout the report as the Significance Unit.

Because it is difficult to be accurate to three decimals in graphing, these calculations have been computed and rounded off as follows: for each item tabulation the average standard error of differences of the means was computed and multiplied by 2.74. This figure has been reported as the Significance Unit at the bottom of every graph or table. If the result was between .01 and .30, it was rounded off to two places beyond the decimal. If it was greater than .30, it was rounded to the nearest .05 (e.g., .326 would be rounded to .35). This rounded figure was used as the ordinate unit, providing a rough indication of the significance of differences.

In approaching these graphs, the reader should recall that the Significance Unit is used as a gross measure. Any pair of means (each mean represented by the intersection of a vertical line and the plotted line) which are separated by one ordinate unit differ at approximately the .05 level. In almost all the items reported, age trends are progressive and linear and differences appear between several pairs of groups without reversals. Replications in independent samples of such consistent differences decrease the probability that these are chance findings. Keeping in mind that with seven age groups there are forty-two pair-wise comparisons (of which two might be significant at the .05 level by change) we have not attached importance to isolated differences. In the independent variable analysis, groups have been compared within a given grade; and, when a variable has been controlled, within a block. In most of these analyses there have been twenty-seven possible pair-wise comparisons. Items which showed more than one significant reversal have not been cited.

Items where parametric scaling was not appropriate were analyzed by using proportions or percentages. These items were also scaled using the Significance Unit. The standard error of the difference between two proportions depends on both the size of the proportion and the group size. Standard errors of proportions near .50 are larger than those near .10. In order to give the most conservative estimate, the standard error for the proportion .50 was computed using the average group size. The result was multiplied by 2.74. The resulting proportion, converted into a percentage, was used as the Significance Unit.

The preceding method has been used to scale the ordinate whenever one item or index appeared in a single graph. When more than one item was to be graphed on the same page (as in comparing the rated helpfulness of father, President, and policeman), the largest Significance Unit for the items appearing on that page was used as the ordinate unit. Because the same population rated father, policeman, and President, the means at any one grade level are not independent. Estimates of the significance of differences between lines on these graphs must be used with caution.

3. Interpreting Graphs in Chapter III

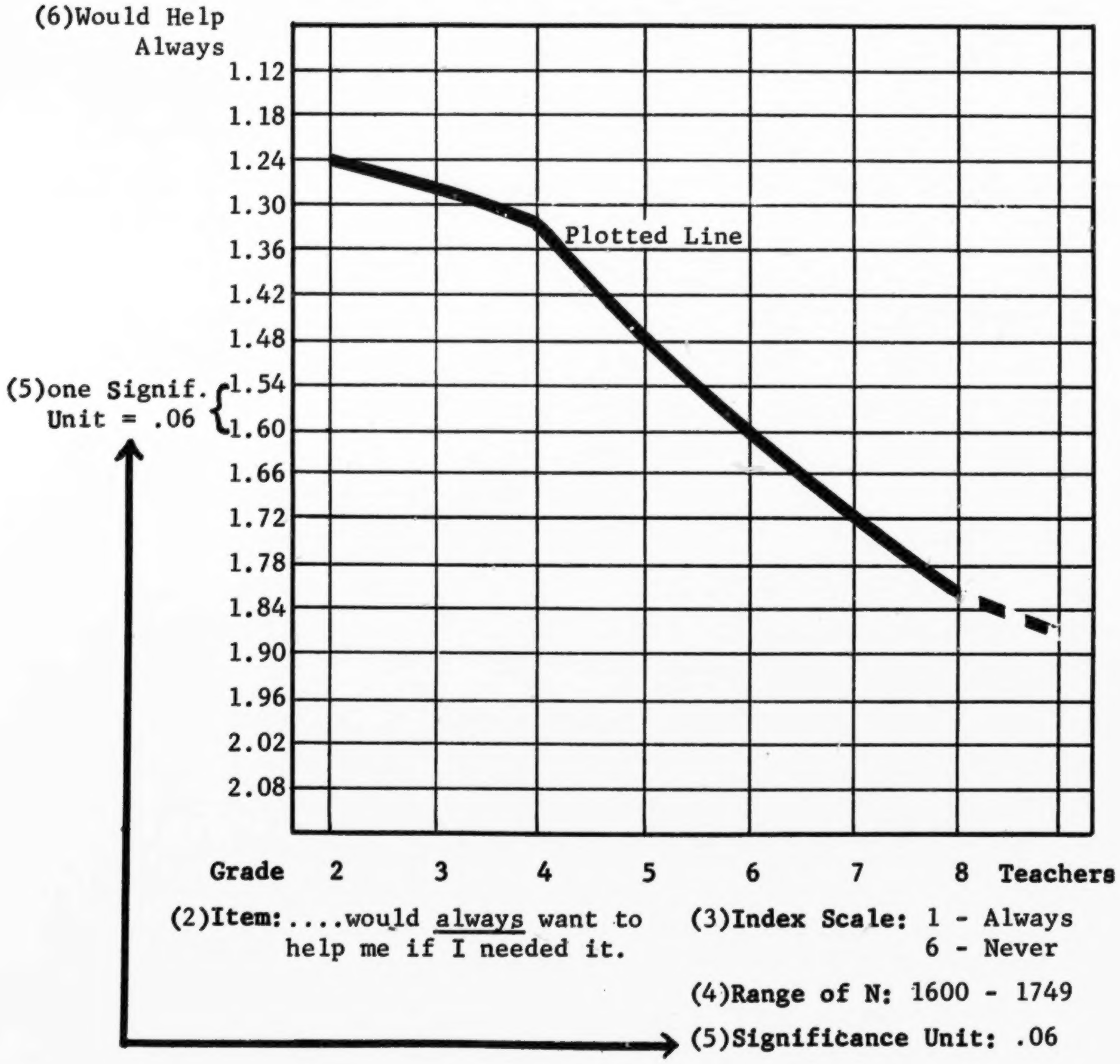
The purpose of graphs in Chapter III is to illustrate differences between groups of children who are in different school grades. Figure 1, based on fictitious data, is given as an illustration. The following types of information appear on each graph:

(1) Title.--The title describes in general or abstract terms

FIGURE 1

SAMPLE OF GRAPHING

(1)COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE RESPONSIVENESS OF THE MAYOR TO INDIVIDUALS



THIS IS A SAMPLE AND REPRESENTS HYPOTHETICAL DATA the political attitude variable which is being graphed.

(2) Item.--This citation appears below the graph on the left hand side of the page and describes the political attitude variable in more explicit and concrete terms, often quoting the item or listing items which have been combined to form an index. If the item is a scalar rating, "Item" quotes the most extreme positive rating on the scale with the word or words which vary to form less positive positions underlined. In the example Figure 1, the most positive rating is "would always want to help me if I needed it." The underlining of "always" indicates that this term is varied to indicate less positive evaluations of helpfulness.

(3) Index scale.--This citation appears below the graph on the right hand side of the page. It indicates the range of scores on the items and whether high numbers represent more or less positive attitudes than low numbers. In the example, "1.--always" corresponds exactly to the item citation because it is the most positive rating; "6.--not usually" indicates the least favorable scale position. This tells the reader the group mean ratings may range from 1 to 6 and that the lower numerical values stand for more positive evaluations.

(4) Range of N.--This citation presents the size of the smallest and largest group used in computing the significance unit and the means.

(5) Significance Unit.--Described in previous section. The unit as reported here has been rounded off to the nearest tenth. Any two adjacent horizontal lines on the graph are separated by one significance unit.

(6) Scale label.--The label at the top left hand side of the graph indicates whether the top of the graph represents more positive or more negative attitude, higher or lower interest, agreement or disagreement with an item. This label indicates the direction of the graphing. It is not attached to any particular value on the scale. In the example, although the always corresponds to scale position 1 in the questionnaire, "Would help always" appears next to scale value 1.12, indicating that higher positions on the ordinate approach the positive end point of the scale. The ordinate scale may be interpreted in absolute terms by referring to the Index Scale which indicates the labeling of its end points, or by referring to the item in the questionnaire (Appendix H). The word "percentages" appears next to the graph itself when this unit is graphed.

To determine from Figure 1 the mean rating given to the mayor by second-grade children, one should read up the vertical line which represents grade 2 until he reaches the plotted line; then he would read the ordinate label on the left margin of the graph opposite this point. In this fictitious example, the mean rating given by second graders is 1.24. To assess changes in means with age, the reader would follow the plotted line from left to right on the page. Any two grades which are separated by one or more significance units, differ at approximately the .05 level. In this example, grades 2 and 3 are not significantly different from each other; grades 4 and 5 are significantly different, etc. The distance between grade eight and teachers cannot be evaluated for significance in this way because the size of the teacher group has not been included in the computation of the significance unit. To indicate this, the mean rating given by teachers is connected to the grade eight mean by a dash line.

4. Interpreting Graphs in Chapters IV and V

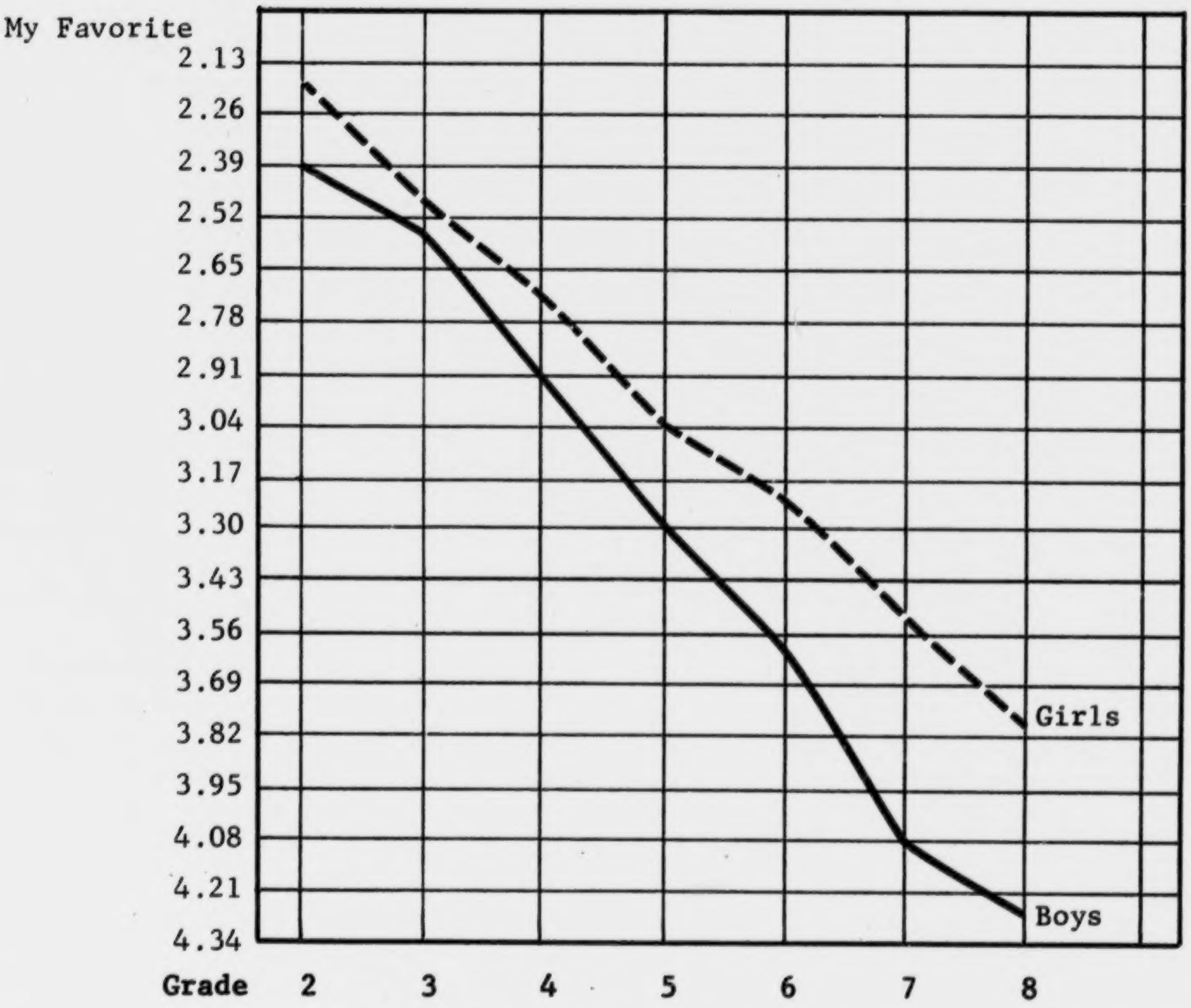
The purpose of the graphs in Chapters IV and V is to illustrate the differences between groups of children divided by variables other than grade (e.g., intelligence, or social class). Graphs such as those in the section on sex differences are easy to interpret (see Figure 2, reproduced from Chapter V). There are two age trend lines on this graph; one connects the means of each grade group of girls, the other represents the means of boys. In this example, the sex differences at grade 3 are not significant, while sex differences at all other grade levels are significant. "Item," "Index Scale," "Range of N," and "Significance Unit" are to be interpreted as in the Chapter III graphs.

The majority of graphs in this chapter are of the type illustrated in Figure 3 (reproduced from Chapter IV). Grades have been grouped for this graph; grade 2 subjects are not included; grades 3-4, grades 5-6, and grades 7-8 have been combined. Three graphs or blocks appear on each page. Each block represents children who have in common the variable which is being controlled or held constant. Each block is labeled with the variable which is controlled. In this example, the top block represents the means of groups of children who are high in intelligence, the second block represents those of medium intelligence, etc. The lines within each block are labeled with the variable on which the groups are compared, in this case social status. By comparing the points on a single vertical line within a block, the reader may hold IQ and grade constant and compare the means of the three social status groups. In this example, at grade 3-4, holding IQ constant, children from low status homes are significantly more attached to the President than those from high status homes. This difference is not significant in the medium IQ groups at grades 5-6, but it is significant in every other grade and IQ group. Children from middle status homes are more like children of low status than they are like those of high status, and differences between middle and high status children in some IQ-grade groups are significant.

Only one comparison (e.g., between social classes) can be made from any one graph. Because of the crudeness of this significance unit, we have stressed only main effects which are replicated in several groups, like those shown in Figure 3. This analysis can point out the most clear-cut group differences, leaving the examination of interactions among independent variables for more complex statistical analysis.

FIGURE 2

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE POLICEMAN, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The policeman is my favorite of all.

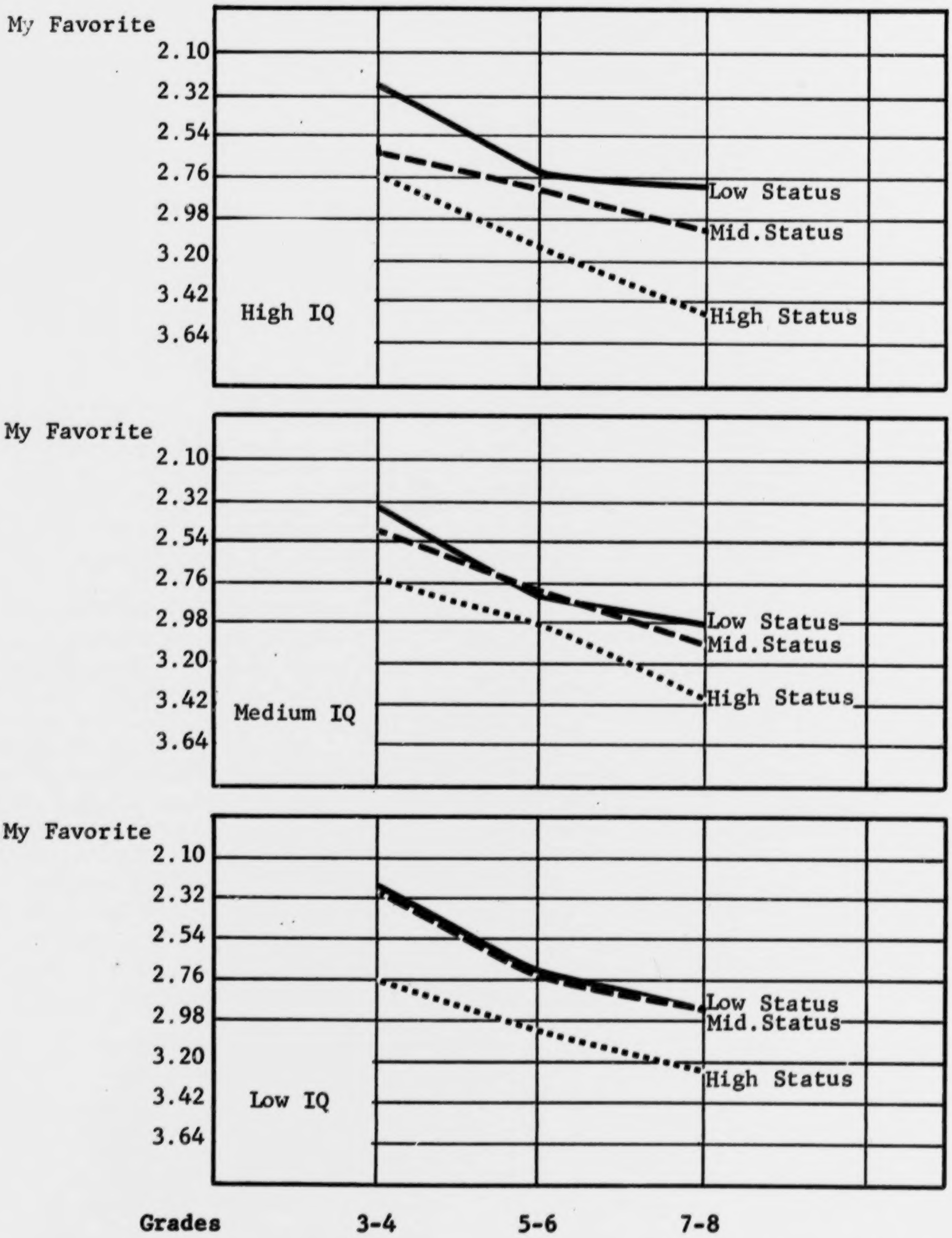
Index Scale: 1 - Favorite
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 781 - 897

Significance Unit: .13

FIGURE 3

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE PRESIDENT, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: The President is my favorite of all.

Index Scale: 1 - Favorite of all
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 72 - 628

Significance Unit: .22

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CHAPTER III

CHANGES IN POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT DURING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL YEARS

A. Introduction

The most prominent feature of political socialization is change; an adequate discussion of a social learning process such as this must take into account the initial level of attitudes and information, the intermediate stages and the rate at which they are attained, and an adult terminal point or plateau toward which the process is proceeding. This chapter presents these aspects of the acquisition of political behavior and attitudes.

Piaget (1947) in his classic works on cognitive development and the growth of logic conceptualized children's movement away from infantile patterns of thought toward adult thought processes. Political socialization may be viewed as proceeding along similar lines, assuming that children are moving toward the political concepts, attitudes, and expectations which are characteristic of adults. Although adults differ from one another in their political activities and attitudes, there is sufficient consensus to justify a conception of political learning in childhood as anticipatory political socialization. This assumes that the behavior and attitudes which are relevant for adults now will also be relevant areas of political participation in the future; social change may modify the demands and choices that will face children as adults, however.[1] It is clear from previous work that changes in political attitudes occur as age increases (Greenstein, 1965; Hess & Easton, 1960); the character, quality, and amount of adult participation, and the images of the government and citizen which are prevalent in the adult population, are among the most influential forces guiding these changes.

In discussing socialization, it is useful to focus on the political system as the adult sees it and on his perception of his role as a citizen. The adult believes that the system and its representatives should behave in accord with certain ideal standards (e.g., government officials should adhere to norms of honesty and dedication, laws should be administered fairly). He also has conceptions of the way the system does in fact operate and makes judgments about whether it attains the ideal standards (e.g., most government officials are or are not honest, most laws are or are not administered fairly). Sometimes these beliefs are based on extensive experience, discussion, or inquiries for information; sometimes they result from an unexamined acceptance of the government as a complex but satisfactory performer of its tasks.

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[1] Rose (1960) has referred to this as the problem of "incomplete socialization."

The individual also has an image of himself as a citizen, including a conception of how he should act in relation to the government and an evaluation of how he does act. There is consensus in the population about most of the basic ideals of citizen behavior (e.g., citizens should obey laws, they should vote in elections), and the citizen's behavior is measured by its approximation to these ideals. The particular forms of citizen behavior are influenced by the nature of the ideal norms and by other important factors: for example, individuals possess varying amounts of knowledge about the most effective ways to channel their influence and about the most fruitful sources of information about candidates.

Children acquire ideals about the system, information about and evaluations of its current operation, standards for judging citizen behavior, and rudimentary political influence skills. They begin early in life to accept ideals about how the system should operate. There is consensus in the society about many of these norms; ideals about government frequently result from a transfer of more general behavior standards--which the child has already applied to himself--onto the political system (e.g., children should be honest, public officials should also be honest; rules in children's games should be fair, laws should also be fair). These ideal perceptions of the system appear to be established easily. In fact, for many children a gap between what is ideal and what is real does not exist: in the child's view of the adult world, what is ideal, is. The values that sanction and encourage citizen activity are not so apparent to the young child, however, in part because the idea that a citizen should interfere in the operation of a group to which he belongs is a relatively complex concept for a child. In this area the child has no experience from which to draw; norms and values must be taught explicitly.

Although the attitudes of teachers are probably not a faithful representation of the attitudes of adults in general, teachers are important representatives of the adult attitudes toward which children are socialized. In our country, teachers transmit a large share of information about the governmental system, presenting and discussing examples of governmental actions which fulfill or fail to fulfill the accepted ideals. They also transmit ideals of citizen behavior and teach some of the skills necessary to fill these requirements--how to be an effective citizen, how to get information for choosing a candidate, how to band together with others in a common cause. While teachers are restrained from partisan controversy, they are held responsible for presenting material about the government's organization and operation and for inculcating norms of civic behavior. They also play a vital role in organizing many other kinds of experience which contribute to cognitive development, even though the experiences may not have explicit political content.

The influence of parents is more complex. They offer examples of partisanship at election time, but at other times their influence in political socialization is mediated through the needs and expectations the establish in their children and through the standards of behavior they teach (e.g., people should be honest). As documented by an earlier section on adult political attitudes, the majority of adults have limited information about politics and form few opinions about it; they infrequently discuss political issues, except at election time. Parents may discourage expressions of national disloyalty by their children and encourage support of the candidate or party they favor in an election, but the effort they expend in teaching children about ways to influence the government is limited.[2] Without consciously attempting to teach children political attitudes, parents do serve as models of political behavior. Children observe whether their parents vote, whether they show interest in current events, whether they obey traffic laws. This observation of adult models in the home interacts with children's expectations about how citizens should behave. The discomfort a child feels when he realizes that his parents do not live up to all standards of citizen behavior is probably a potent force in his socialization, just as is the realization that the system does not always operate in an ideal fashion.

This report considers teachers' attitudes in some detail because their orientations represent the beliefs of individuals who bear the major responsibility for direct socialization. If we were studying young adults, it would be more relevant to examine the attitudes of the spouses, co-workers, and neighbors, who define the matrix of political attitudes to which they are most closely related.

Any examination of political socialization as a life-long process also considers the support available from reference groups after graduation from school.

1. Politial Involvement of Pre-adults

A study of the child's progressive involvement in the political system of his country could be limited to behavior and attitudes of adults which are appropriate for children--talking about political subjects, reading about political issues, commitment to a party, for example. Much previous research with children and adolescents has described involvement from this point of view (Hyman, 1959), but such an approach leaves unexplored the initial phases of political socialization.

Although a child born to citizens of the United States is an American citizen by birth, he occupies the ascribed status of citizen without the attitudes or behaviors associated with the role of citizen. An examination of developing political attitudes considers the changes which occur in political interest and activities as a child learns, grows older, and is socialized. Such a study of socialization in preadults therefore invites a conceptualization of involvement which includes the growth of orientations and attitudes preceding and motivating active participation, as well as the performance of activities appropriate to adult citizens. Anticipatory orientations develop within the legal framework of citizenship, which formally ties the individual to his nation; this bond of membership does not, however, necessarily produce subjective feelings of patriotism or manifestations of overt activity during childhood. The transformation of the child's passive legal citizenship status into the subjective and active involvement characteristic of the adult citizen's role is the concern of this report.

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[2] Although Hyman (1959) concluded that parents exert sizable influence on political socialization, he suggested that parents do not communicate an ideology or set of opinions as effectively as they inculcate political party or candidate preference. See Chapter IV for a more complete discussion.

2. Levels of Political Development

When applied to children, the concept of political involvement includes several aspects. It is useful to consider political socialization starting from the point where no attitudes or cognitions about the political system exist. At least three elements emerge. The first is identification of political objects, becoming aware of them and recognizing them as belonging to the political realm. As the child learns more, conceptualizes more, comes into contact with more aspects of the political system and forms his own opinions about it, he becomes, by our definition, more involved in the system than the child who knows nothing of political objects or processes.[3] The number of attitudes a child expresses is one index of the amount of his political socialization. Study of this first aspect focuses on inquiry about initial experiences with political objects, about the objects which first become important in the child's awareness, and about the social and cognitive processes which shape these developing orientations.

The second state is emergence of subjective involvement--affective and cognitive states which shape the child's behavior toward political objects. This subjective involvement includes: (1) a conception of the political system; (2) an awareness and acceptance of the norms of behavior for the citizen; (3) perceptions of the mutual interaction between the citizen and various elements of the system with which he must deal.

The third stage is that of overt activity, which approximates to a limited extent the political activity of adults. These activities include wearing buttons for a candidate, talking with friends about political matters, reading and listening to political presentations, and working for an organization at election time.

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[3] Oeser and Emery (1954) have similarly conceptualized the child's absorption of the country's ideology, measuring it by the number of times questions about political matters are omitted when the child has the choice of answering or leaving out the question.

The three steps--awareness, subjective response, and active participation--indicate in a general way the course of political involvement in children. These processes are elaborated later in this section.

3. Political Socialization as the Development of Role Relationships

The young child's progressive involvement in the political system can usefully be conceptualized as a developing set of relationships in which the relative roles played by the citizen and by the government depend upon assumptions of reciprocity. Involvement in reciprocal roles usually implies the relationship of an ego to an individual who serves as an alter. Here the alter ego implied in the reciprocal role is a collective one, composed of many individuals who came into contact with the ego in more personal ways.

Role, as we use the term, refers to the behavior and attitudes of individual and social units within a system, as shaped by the expectations of the system and of other individuals in it. Mutuality is a crucial element in the definition of roles and of role expectations. This has been stated more comprehensively by Parsons(1955) who used the term "reciprocal role relationship" to indicate roles which are mutually defined by and dependent upon two interacting units or individuals.[4]

Our data deal with the emergence of reciprocal role relationships between a child and the political system. Because "role" indicates expectations of behavior and attitudes which apply to the units functioning within a social system, we shall describe the development of mutual relationships between personalities and the political system by investigating the development of the citizen role. There are two important aspects in this process. First, socialization demands that the child see his own behavior in relation to that of some other person, object, or system. Before one's behavior can be regulated by a role, one must learn the expectations of that role--that is, one's rights and duties as defined in relation to the perceived rights and duties of the system. For example, the student's role involves the obligation to study and the right to receive academic credit for educational accomplishments, the teacher's role includes the obligation to present material for learning and the right to attention from his students. Second, the child, in viewing each social object in terms of a reciprocal role relationship, defines it as an object of his own action or potential action. That is, the child's image of a person or element of a system focuses particularly on those qualities of the object which regulate the child's interaction with it.

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[4] Gouldner (1960) discussed the norm of reciprocity as it applies to social systems: Reciprocity implies that each partner in a relationship has rights and duties with regard to the other partner. Social systems are stable and predictable to the degree that ego and alter conform with each other's expectations; to produce such widespread conformity to reciprocal obligations, there must be strong norms and values which are generally shared throughout the social system.

We find the concept of role reciprocal relationship more useful than the traditional concept, "attitude." The child is taught expectations and values about political matters in preparation for future behavior, not primarily for guiding his current behavior. Given the proper situation and supports, these expectations will orient the child's behavior when he reaches adulthood. For example, a child who develops expectations of his own competence and of the responsiveness of the system to citizen influence, will be likely as an adult to attempt to influence the government when an issue arises which is of concern to him. The concept of reciprocal role relationship also implies that an adult expects different kinds of response from the system than does a child and he acts accordingly: the role relationship between a Senator and a voter who writes to him is different from the role relationship between that Senator and a school child who writes to him.

Socialization of political involvement can thus be seen to proceed according to a sequence. At different times in a child's development, different attributes of the national government are salient to his conception of it. The initial image of the system and the ground rules to be adopted by an individual in dealing with it comprise our first category for presenting data and discussing political socialization. Because the data in this report are organized around the child's perception of his reciprocal relationship with the political system, our second category includes his expectations of the system's response to him as well as his behavior toward it. These two poles of interactive exchange--the child's image of what he can expect from the system and his own attitudinal and behavioral response to this image of the system--will be the bases of discussion. We will also examine certain corollary attitudes and values which are less directly related to these reciprocal relationships.

4. Models of Political Socialization

In order to examine the level and content of the material the child absorbs, the rate at which he absorbs it, and the areas he absorbs first, several models are suggested which may help to describe the acquisition, change, and stabilization of political attitudes.[5]

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[5] Other writers have characterized and classified this process in various ways. Almond (1960), for example, is concerned with distinguishing manifest political socialization from latent socialization; Greenstein (1965) has considered the nature of the learning

These are not formal explanatory models but devices for focusing on certain assumptions about what the child brings to the socialization process and the way he utilizes experience in the development of political attitudes and roles. Political socialization apparently follows several models; socialization in one attitude area at a particular stage may be understood best by using one model, while socialization in another area or at a different stage is best understood in terms of a different conception.

a) Unit-accretion Model.--This view assumes that the child approaches the period of explicit political socialization lacking all relevant attitudes and information; the acquisition of political role expectations is a process of adding units of experience or information. This model assumes that any concept or piece of information can be taught to a child at any age if it can be made simple enough. The more completely socialized child is one who knows more units of information and has formed more attitudes.

b) Interpersonal Transfer Model.--This model assumes that the child approaches explicit political socialization already possessing a fund of experience in interpersonal relationships and gratifications. By virtue of his position in the social structure he has developed multi-faceted relationships to figures of authority. In subsequent relationships with figures of authority he will establish modes of interaction which are similar to those he has experienced with persons in his early life. For example, as soon as the President or the policeman has been identified as an authority figure, established patterns of interaction with authority will become relevant. As interpersonal experience increases and as relationships with persons in the immediate social environment change, the child's approach to more distant authority figures will be modified. This model is primarily useful for explaining affective feelings and relationships with political personages.[6]

c) Cognitive-developmental Model.--This model argues that the capacity to deal with certain kinds of concepts and information

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process by discussing the "level of awareness" at which learning occurs and by seeking to determine whether socialization has been completed "before the critical capacities have been formed."

[6] The process of identification may be one of the most effective mechanisms in the acquisition of political orientations. The child may identify with or imitate the behavior or attitudes of some significant other person--a parent, a peer, a teacher. He may take on far-reaching identifications (e.g., "I am a Democrat") with little understanding of their meaning. In one sense because he acquires behavior without previous political experience, this process resembles that of Model a. In another sense, because his individual and group identifications are developed in the years before explicit political socialization occurs, the process draws from Model b.

sets limits on the understanding of political phenomena that can be acquired. In a sense the child's conceptions of the political world are modified by his existing cognitive structure. Unlike the Unit-accretion model which assumes that with proper teaching methods any concept may be taught at any age, this model assumes that it may not be possible to teach a given concept to a child who has not reached an appropriate developmental level; socialization is related to the phase of growth and cognitive development. The child, as he matures, develops progressively more abstract and complex ways of apprehending, classifying, differentiating, and structuring his perceptions and reactions.[7]

These models apply at different stages of political socialization, as will be evident from data presented in this chapter. The Interpersonal Transfer Model is most useful for understanding the child's first approach to the political system and the prepotency of needs and expectations during this period. The Unit-accretion Model is insufficient to explain early attachment to the nation and figures of government but is important in understanding the contribution of the school in building a fund of knowledge about government process. The Cognitive-developmental Model is most useful in understanding how the child grasps some of the more complex and abstract concepts of political process.

B. Data

In the analysis of data, grade was used as an index of development, and age trends were assessed by examining the relationship of items and indices to grade (see Chapter II). This approach assumed that a child's grade in school not only indicates the classroom curriculum to which he has been exposed but also indexes an increasing cognitive maturity and greater experience in all life areas.[8]

In this chapter there are five purposes in examining changes in involvement with increase in grade:[9]

First, to inquire about the timing of political socialization--when do political objects first become visible to the child, and when does he acquire attitudes toward them? For example, at a given grade level does the child have any knowledge or attitudes about the President?

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[7] This concept suggested by the work of Piaget (1947) is used by Kohlberg (1964, unpublished) to discuss the development of sex role. See also Schachtel, 1947.

[8] Getzels and Walsh (1958), for example, have pointed out that socialization is a process in time and that one expects that children who have been subject to socialization pressures for longer periods will be more socialized.

[9] The terms "with increase in grade," "increase with grade," "decrease with grade," will be used in discussing this cross-sectional data to speak of the consistent differences between the group means of children from different grade levels.

Second, to survey the content of these attitudes and expectations; e.g., what does the elementary pupil see as the reasons for and activities of political parties?

Third, to chart the age-growth patterns occurring in the content of these attitudes; e.g., when compared with the second grade student, does the eighth grade student feel that he is more capable of influencing the government?

Fourth, to compare the attitudes expressed by eighth grade students with those of teachers to determine the success of the school's attempts to induct children into the adult attitude matrix.

Fifth, to discuss the relevance of the models previously presented for understanding the process of political socialization.

Each of these aspects of elementary school socialization will be discussed in terms of an outline of political role relationships and involvement including the following major headings: (1) acquisition of attitudes; (2) attachment to the nation; (3) attachment to figures and institutions; (4) compliance with the legal system; (5) personal influence on governmental policy; (6) elections and political parties.

1. The Acquisition of Attitudes

The acquisition of information about the political system and the growth in number of attitudes toward it follows the Unit-accretion Model. The young child's life space includes no political objects. He is without information, attitudes, expectations, or behavior toward political objects, having had no contact with them. In order to examine the initial points of contact, we developed a measure of attitude acquisition based on whether the child expressed an opinion on items of the questionnaire. This measure was computed by summing the number of "I don't know" and "I have no opinion" responses to questions in the instrument to form the DK Index.[10]

The acquisition of political attitudes proceeds rapidly, especially through the fifth grade. The rate of acquisition of attitudes is reflected by a decline in the number of "Don't Know" responses. As expected, the DK mean declined with grade (Figure 4). The most pronounced change occurred between grades four and five. Fourth graders, on the average, gave more than eight "Don't Know" responses to the thirty-two questions which offered a DK option; the

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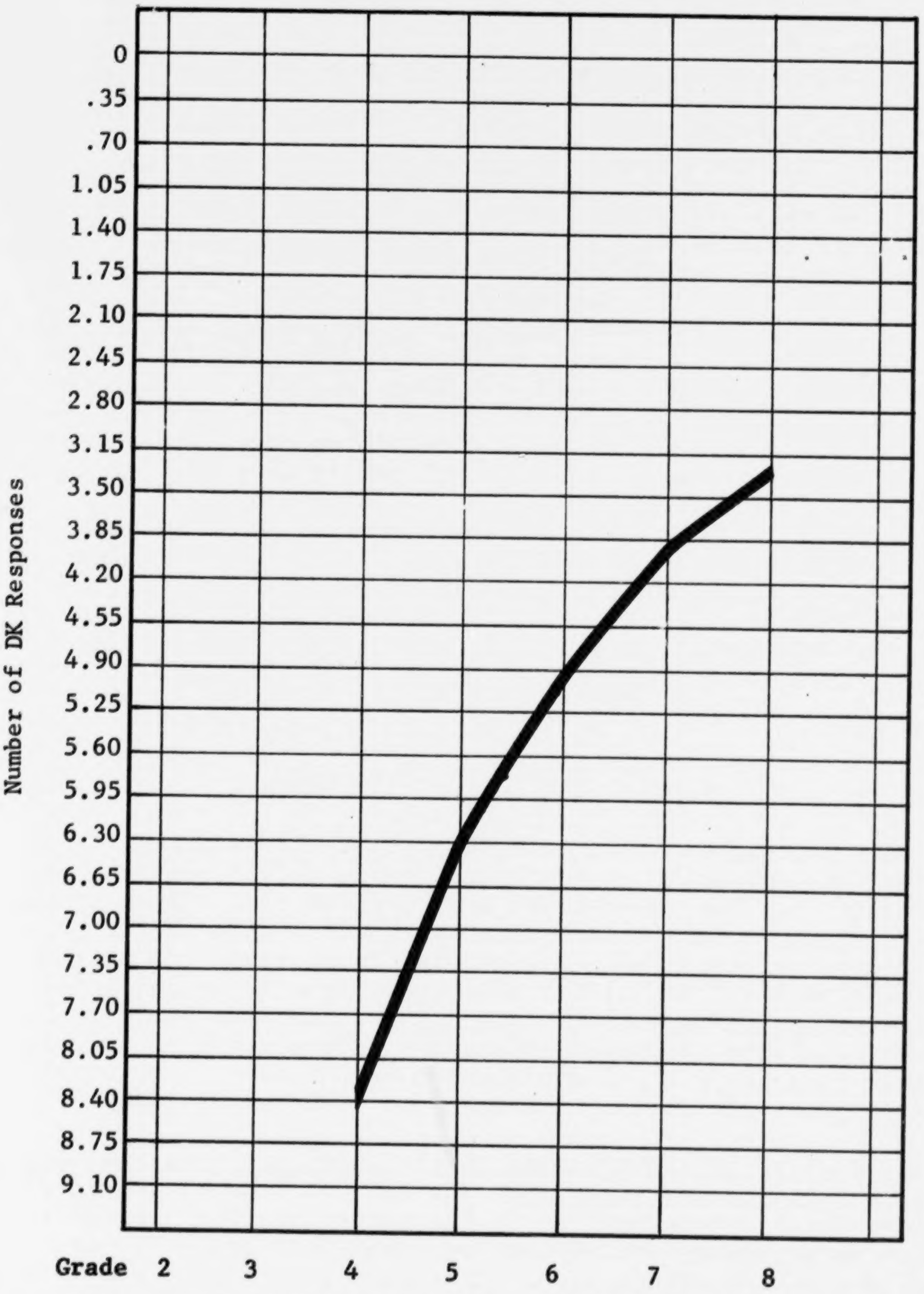
[10] See Appendix D. A similar measure was used by Oeser and Emery (1954).

FIGURE 4

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN THE ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 questions.

Index Scale: 0 - No DK
32 - High DK

Range of N: 1472 - 1598

Significance Unit: .36

eighth graders gave slightly more than three such responses.[11]

A "Don't Know" response may reflect a lack of information or an unfamiliarity with a concept. Table 13 presents the percentage of the research group who reported that they did not know what the words "citizen," "government," "Democrat," and "Republican" meant. Of these terms, "citizen" is a word which is familiar at an early age, though the definition of "the good citizen" changes during the elementary school years. Compared to "citizen," the words "Democrat" and "Republican" are relatively unfamiliar through the fourth grade.[12] We will present data subsequently to show that the political parties are poorly conceptualized until late in elementary school.

The rate of attitude development varies in the five attitude areas we have delineated: attachment to the nation, attachment to government and to figures, compliance, influence, elections. The age patterns which will be discussed more fully in the remainder of this chapter suggest that there is a sequence in which attitudes and orientations are acquired as the child progresses from grade two through grade eight. That is, attachment to the national government and compliance with its rules occur and are focal points of concern before the concept that citizens should try to influence the system. However, it is also obvious that the attachment which is acquired at an early age does not remain unchanged through the age span. Following the acquisition of positive attitudes toward the system, there are modifications in the style, focus, complexity, and conceptual organization of these ideas--elaborations on the basic positive attachment. Because of these changes in focus and style within each substantive area, it is also important to inquire about the nature of early attitude development and the primary type of contact within each attitude area.

Data relevant to this point may be obtained by examining the tendency to respond "Don't Know" to specific questions or types of questions within each of the five content areas. Proportions of DK responses were compared to determine what types of attitudes develop first. In order to make such a comparison of DK within attitude areas it was necessary to use questions which had highly similar formats and which covered a broad spectrum of attitudes. These items were taken from both the national study and pilot groups, because there was not a sufficient number or range of items with DK options

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[11] Oeser and Emery (1954) reported a similar finding and suggested that before age ten (grade five) the absorption of political and social ideology is quite limited. Werner and Kaplan (1950) point to this same age period as a time when many word meanings are acquired.

[12] Many other authors report increases in social studies vocabulary, using correctness of definition as criteria (Kelley and Krey, 1934; Meltzer, 1925; Wesley and Adams, 1952). More detailed and extensive studies of children's understanding of political terms would be useful in charting the acquisition and modification of political concepts.

TABLE 13

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CHILDREN'S REPORT THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW THE MEANINGS OF WORDS CONCERNING POLITICS
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N[a]	Don't Know What "Citizen" Means	N	Don't Know What "Government" Is	N	Don't Know What "Democrat" and "Republican" Mean
Grade 2	1626	3.7	1619	15.7	1639	33.7
Grade 3	1659	1.9	1662	12.9	1668	28.1
Grade 4	1720	1.7	1726	13.2	1738	19.0
Grade 5	1784	.4	1789	4.9	1794	8.8
Grade 6	1726	.6	1740	4.7	1744	4.5
Grade 7	1708	.2	1714	3.0	1715	2.6
Grade 8	1663	.9	1689	1.5	1685	1.6

Notes.--Items: (25) If the President came to your school to give a prize to two boys who were the best citizens and the teacher offered him these boys, which two boys would he pick? Put an X by the two he would choose as the best citizens, (1) A boy who helps others; (2) ...does what he is told; (3) ...gets good grades; (4) ...is interested in the way our country is run; (5)...everybody likes; (6) ...works hard; (7) ...goes to church; (8) I don't know what citizen means. (24) Here are two pictures that show what our government is. Pick the two pictures that show best what our government is, (1) Policeman; (2) Washington; (3) Uncle Sam; (4) Voting; (5) Supreme Court; (6) Capitol; (7) Congress; (8) Flag; (9) Statue of Liberty; (10) President; (11) I don't know. (42) If you could vote what would you be? Choose one, (1) A Republican; (2) A Democrat; (3) Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican; (4) I don't know which I would be; (5) I don't know what Democrat and Republican mean. Questionnaire, pages 5, 4, and 9, Items (25), (24), and (42).

--- Significance Unit: 3%

[a] N is the number of children at a grade level who responded to the question. The % indicated for each specific alternative was computed as a percentage of N.

in the final questionnaire. Table 14 summarizes findings based on items which provided the options "Agree," "Disagree," "Don't Know."

Evaluative judgments of political objects in all five areas are acquired earliest, supplemented by the later acquisition of more complex information and attitudes. For example, children at all grade levels seemed to have definite ideas when asked for their evaluation of America. A very small percentage answered that they did not know whether America was the best country; this early tendency to evaluate also appeared in their responses to the item stating that Communism is a threat to our country. Specific information and attitudes about America's position in world affairs and about Communism as a political ideology develop more slowly. Children associated the word "democracy" with our nation and valued it highly. However, a more complete definition of "democracy" (other than by association with "America") was one of the last conceptual elements to appear. Although definitions of democracy receive substantial attention in the school curriculum starting at grade three (see Chapter IV), children apparently are not ready (in the sense of developmental cognitive maturity) to absorb this instruction. The attitudes children develop before the sixth grade are typically generalized judgments of good (America and democracy) and bad (Communism).[13]

The second area analyzed was attachment to figures and institutions. Evaluative judgments of the President (whether he ever "tells lies," how important his job is) were expressed at an earlier age than judgments of the relative power of Congress and the President in the governmental process, which received a sizable number of "Don't Know" responses before grade six.

In the third area, the compliance system, some information and attitudes are also acquired at an early age. The importance of laws and the consequences of disobedience can easily be assimilated into the framework of "good-bad," and the early decline of "Don't Know's" in this area gives further evidence for the primacy of morally oriented judgments. Although the citizen's role as a good, cooperative person is defined early in the school career, perceptions of the government-citizen interchange and the legitimacy of government control over citizens develop later.

The attitude that elections are positive contributions to our political system as well as the belief that voting is an important activity for adults were expressed at grade four, with relatively few "Don't Know's." Judgment of the behavior of politicians during elections were assimilated at a later period. This is in part a consequence of unfamiliarity in grade four with the word

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[13] Other writers (Scott, 1963; Harris, 1950; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957) have suggested that the good-bad dimension is the basic category of thought and that judgments along this axis are the primary and initial elements of attitudes.

TABLE 14

PATTERNS OF DK RESPONSES TO AGREE-DISAGREE-DON'T KNOW ITEMS BY AREA OF INQUIRY

Area	Low (Less Than 20%) at Grades 4 Through 8	Medium (21-35%) at Grade 4; Declined by Grade 8	High (Greater Than 35%) at Grade 4; Declined by Grade 8	High (Greater Than 35%) at All Grades
America, The Nation	American superiority on moral or ideological grounds Communist threat to our country	American superiority on non-ideological grounds	Definition of democracy	
Figures and Institutions	Moral qualities of President and importance of his job	President's position relative to congress		
The System of Law	Laws Policeman			
Citizen Influence on Government	General qualities of citizens	Government control and citizen influence		
Elections and Political Parties	Importance of voting and elections	Politicians and election behavior Norms of political parties Perceptions of Democrats and Republicans		Prediction of Kennedy's performance as President

Note.--See Appendix F for listing of the items grouped to form these categories and information on whether they came from the national study or from pilot testing.

"politician." General norms related to political parties, as well as specific statements about Democrats and Republicans, emerge at a very slow rate. This is congruent with our findings that knowledge of the meanings of "Democrat" and "Republican" develops slowly and that there is an underemphasis on the importance of political parties in the school curriculum of early grades (see Chapter IV). The "Don't Know" responses to questions predicting how well President Kennedy would perform his job, and to questions comparing him to Nixon and Eisenhower, remained at a high, constant level through grade eight. Although children may have favored one candidate in the elections, they claimed little ability to predict which leader would best govern the country.

In summary, the acquisition of information and attitudes proceeds rapidly during the elementary school years; particularly sizable advances are made between the fourth and fifth grades. Evaluations of political objects in gross (good-bad) terms are expressed earlier than more differentiated beliefs, probably because the child has had more extensive contact with evaluations of his own behavior as good or bad than with any other distinction and transfers this interpersonal learning into the political realm. Lack of familiarity with some words (such as "Democrat," "politician") and inability to handle highly abstract concepts (such as "democracy") also contribute to the differential rates of attitude acquisition.

2. Attachment to the Nation

One of the first features of a child's political involvement is his sense of belonging to a political unit. Although it is difficult to obtain evidence on the nature of this early attachment, interview material and early questionnaires indicated that the young child develops a sense of "we" in relation to his own country and a sense of "they" with respect to other countries.[14] It is not clear whether this sense of national "we" precedes the perception that the country has a leader or boss. In any case, one of the early foci of involvement is this sense of belonging to a political group which will later be recognized as "my country."

The child's early relationship to the country is highly positive although his conceptualization of it is vague. One of the most remarkable features of the child's initial orientation to his country is his positive response to the symbols and representatives of the system and his apparently strong attachment to them (Table 15). This attachment develops despite a fragmentary and incomplete view of the nation and its government. The adult's conception of the United States, or "my country," is associated with specific visual imagery, pictures, verbal descriptions, and maps. In contrast, the young child's image is vague and lacks visual conceptualization. The

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[14] "America," "the nation," and "the country" are used as synonyms in this report.

TABLE 15

CHANGES BY GRADE IN FEELINGS ABOUT COUNTRY AND FLAG
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	"The American flag is the best flag in the world"					N	"America is the best country in the world"				
		YES	yes	Don't Know	no	NO		YES	yes	Don't Know	no	NO
Grade 2	1631	80.0	9.9	7.0	2.3	.9	1626	70.4	13.9	9.4	4.4	1.9
Grade 3	1670	73.5	15.3	7.6	2.6	1.0	1672	62.3	21.6	9.0	4.9	2.2
Grade 4	1731	65.4	21.0	8.6	4.2	.9	1735	60.2	23.3	8.3	5.9	2.2
Grade 5	1796	68.0	20.0	6.8	4.2	.8	1795	66.5	20.4	6.8	4.8	1.5
Grade 6	1743	64.4	21.3	8.7	4.3	1.2	1746	64.6	21.2	7.3	5.4	1.4
Grade 7	1716	62.4	24.4	7.5	4.5	1.3	1714	67.7	20.9	6.6	3.7	1.0
Grade 8	1688	64.9	23.6	5.6	4.7	1.2	1689	69.9	21.2	5.3	2.9	.6
Teachers	382	82.7	9.4	4.4	2.6	.8	385	82.1	13.2	2.3	2.1	.3

Notes.--Items: (59) The American flag is the best flag in the world, (1) YES; (2) yes; (3) Don't Know; (4) no; (5) NO. (61) America is the best country in the world, (1) YES; (2) yes; (3) Don't Know; (4) no; (5) NO. Questionnaire, page 13, items (59) and (61).

--Significance Unit: 3% for both items.

allegiance he develops is to an intangible object. In order for the child to feel a sense of identification with his country, he must be provided with information and clues to elicit and support these affiliative responses.

Although he is familiar with a number of figures who work for the government--postmen, policemen, and firemen--they do not respresent the nation or government. Although he has some information about their function, he does not see them as defining the country, nor do they provide routes of attachment to it (Table 16). Even when children had some conception of the policeman's role and knew that he works for the government, they did not select him as a symbol of the United States or of the government (Table 17 & 18). The child's daily contact with figures performing governmental activities is not sufficient to define for him his country or to develop attachment to it.

Children's rudimentary conception of the nation is not defined by geographical boundaries. This more refined idea probably arises from formal teaching which deals with geographical features of the United States. Similarly, conceiving of the country as a population bound by common ideas, rules, and loyalties is foreign to the child. The initial characteristics which he does use to distinguish his country from others were not clearly revealed in our questionnaire data. Interviews suggested that this early differentiation is non-rational and non-political. A belief in the superiority of one's own country and language appeared frequently in the responses of children in the early grades. The essence of this feeling is that "ours," per se, is superior to "theirs." One second grade boy, when asked if he would rather be an Englishman or an American, said:

> Well, I wouldn't like to be an Englishman because I wouldn' like to talk their way, and I'd rather be an American because they have better toys, because they have better things, better stores, and better beds and blankets, and they have better play guns, and better boots, and mittens and coats, and better schools and teachers.

A fifth grade girl expressed it in this way when asked if she would rather be American or English, "I guess I was just born American and the United States is a nice place to live in."[15]

The readiness to identify with one's country is perhaps an extension of the desire for group association which is exhibited in numerous settings. The child's first group identification is with his family. It seems to us likely that feelings of membership in the larger national unit are generalized from this early experience. The strength in adults of these feelings for country is best illus-

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[15] Meltzer (1941) also reported that children's most popular response when asked why they like Americans best was, "I am one."

TABLE 16

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF "WHO WORKS FOR THE GOVERNMENT"
(Percentages: children answered "Yes" or "No" for each figure)

Grade Level	N	Milkman Works for Government	N	Policeman Works for Government	N	Soldier Works for Government	N	Judge Works for Government	N	Postman Works for Government	N	Teacher Works for Government
Grade 2	1620	29.1	1625	86.0	1622	68.3	1626	86.4	1601	56.9	1607	48.0
Grade 3	1641	30.8	1643	89.1	1641	79.2	1656	88.4	1640	62.7	1627	55.0
Grade 4	1702	28.0	1730	91.0	1729	83.2	1726	88.7	1721	71.4	1707	58.3
Grade 5	1782	20.5	1790	89.0	1792	90.2	1790	90.4	1787	80.0	1778	62.6
Grade 6	1730	16.2	1743	87.8	1741	93.3	1747	91.7	1741	85.5	1737	64.5
Grade 7	1697	12.8	1711	82.5	1718	95.5	1712	94.2	1712	89.0	1707	64.0
Grade 8	1683	8.4	1685	81.0	1692	98.1	1688	93.7	1690	93.2	1681	59.3
Teachers	375	1.1	377	77.5	386	99.7	379	91.1	386	98.4	375	44.8

Notes.--Items: Here are some people. Which ones work for the government? (49) Does the milkman work for the government? - 1) Yes; 2) No. (50) Does the policeman work for the government? (51) Does the soldier work for the government? (52) Does the judge work for the government? (53) Does the postman work for the government? (54) Does the teacher work for the government? Questionnaire, pages 11 and 12, items (49) through (54).

--Significance Unit: 3%

TABLE 17

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CHOICE OF "THE BEST PICTURE OF GOVERNMENT"
(Percentages: children were asked to choose two alternatives)[a]

Grade Level	N	Policeman	George Washington	Uncle Sam	Voting	Supreme Court	Capitol	Congress	Flag	Statue of Liberty	President	Don't Know
Grade 2	1619	8.2	39.4	15.6	4.3	4.5	13.6	5.9	15.7	12.1	46.2	15.7
Grade 3	1662	4.1	26.8	19.0	8.4	6.4	16.1	12.9	16.5	14.3	46.8	12.9
Grade 4	1726	5.7	14.2	18.0	10.8	10.2	16.6	29.0	13.3	12.9	37.2	13.2
Grade 5	1789	2.7	6.9	19.4	19.2	16.8	11.6	49.0	11.6	11.2	38.5	4.9
Grade 6	1740	2.4	4.9	16.8	28.0	16.8	9.9	49.7	11.4	17.1	30.3	4.7
Grade 7	1714	3.0	3.4	18.3	39.4	13.5	9.4	44.2	12.8	18.6	27.9	3.0
Grade 8	1689	1.7	1.7	16.4	46.8	15.9	6.9	49.1	11.8	19.6	22.9	1.5
Teachers	390	1.3	1.3	4.6	71.8	12.8	5.1	71.0	6.2	8.5	15.1	.2

Notes.--Item: Here are some pictures that show what our government is. Pick the two pictures that show best what our government is. (1) Policeman; (2) George Washington; (3) Uncle Sam; (4) Voting; (5) Supreme Court; (6) Capitol; (7) Congress; (8) Flag; (9) Statue of Liberty; (10) President; (11) I don't know. Questionnaire, page 4, item (24).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] Percentages do not always sum to two hundred per cent for any grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

TABLE 18

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CHOICE OF "THE BEST PICTURE OF AMERICA"
(Percentages: children were asked to choose two alternatives)[a]

Grade Level	N	Policeman	George Washington	Uncle Sam	Voting	Supreme Court	Capitol	Congress	Flag	Statue of Liberty	President[b]	Don't Know
Grade 2	94	5.3	38.3	10.6	4.3	3.2	21.3	5.3	57.4	17.0	35.1	1.1
Grade 3	105	9.5	18.1	8.6	10.5	3.8	22.9	9.5	48.6	38.1	28.6	1.0
Grade 4	126	4.8	19.8	5.6	8.7	2.4	15.1	11.9	69.8	38.1	20.6	.8
Grade 5	127	4.7	18.9	13.4	17.3	3.9	5.5	20.5	59.1	42.5	13.4	0
Grade 6	128	2.3	10.2	25.8	26.6	4.7	10.9	10.9	53.1	43.8	11.7	0
Grade 7	135	0	3.7	30.4	42.2	8.2	7.4	15.6	38.5	43.0	11.1	0
Grade 8	85	1.2	3.5	18.8	32.9	9.4	2.4	24.7	47.1	51.8	7.1	0

Notes.--Item: Here are some pictures that show what our country is. Pick the two pictures that show best what America is (17) Policeman; (18) George Washington; (19) Uncle Sam; (20) Voting; (21) Supreme Court; (22) Capitol; (23) Congress; (24) Flag; (25) Statue of Liberty; (26) President; or I don't know. From Supplementary Study questionnaire, items (17) through (26).

--Significance Unit: 13%

[a] Percentages do not always sum to two hundred per cent for any given grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

[b] The instrument from which these data were derived was administered in early 1964; President Johnson was pictured.

trated by the hostility and rejection directed toward anyone who deserts the group and transfers allegiance to another country, particularly to an enemy, as in the case of the "turncoats" during the Korean War. Public officials, especially those who wish to be re-elected, take every opportunity to demonstrate their patriotic attachment to the country. In the last two decades in this country, probably the most damaging accusation that could be levelled against a citizen or public official has been that he is not sufficiently hostile toward enemies of the United States. The feeling of national loyalty is not only an individual covenant between the citizen and his country, but it is also a bond guarded by considerable group pressures and sanctions. Feelings of allegiance and patriotism reflect a need for group affiliation, providing symbols to which loyalty can be pledged by reinforcing this attachment. At an early age, national affiliation becomes firm and almost unwavering. Although the positive character of national loyalty is fixed at an early age, it appears to progress through three stages.

In the first stage, national symbols such as the flag and Statue of Liberty are crucial points of focus for this attachment. Since the child's initial identification with his country is supported by little specific information, symbols are important because they provide tangible objects toward which feelings of attachment can be socialized. An illustration of the diffuseness of the conception of the nation and the use of symbols appears in an interview with a second grade boy whose father is a skilled worker.

I: What is a nation?

S: A nation is a state isn't it? Certain places in it that are important.

I: Can you name a nation?

S: Washington, New York.

I: You see the flag up there? What does the flag mean?

S: Well, I don't quite know. It just stands up there and you say something to it. We put our hands over our heart and say the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

I: What does it mean when you pledge allegiance?

S: Well, we're pledging to the flag.

I: What do you pledge to the flag?

S: To give us freedom.

I: What does the flag stand for?

S: It stands for freedom and for peace.

I: Well, what about the Statue of Liberty, what's that?

S: Well, doesn't he stand to help us and to give us liberty and beauty?

I: Where is he?

S: He's in New York City, not very far out in the ocean. I've never been there.

I: Is it alive?

S: I don't think so. I've never seen it, so I don't know.

The link between these sumbols and terms associated with the United States is illustrated by the previous interview and by the following with a second grade boy:

I: What does the Statue of Liberty do.

S: Well, it keeps liberty.

I: How does it do that?

S: Well, it doesn't do it, but there are some other guys that do it.

I: Some other guys do it for the Statue of Liberty?

S: The Statue is not alive.

I: Well, what does it do?

S: It has this torch in its hand and sometimes they light up the torch and if the Statue of Liberty was gone, there wouldn't be any liberty.

Children at all grade levels chose the flag and the Statue of Liberty (Table 18) as the best pictures to represent America.[16]

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[16] This information comes from a supplementary questionnaire administered in the Chicago area (N=811) two years after our nationwide study. One purpose of testing was to determine whether children made a distinction between the country (America) and the government. In the nationwide testing, the flag and the Statue of Liberty were chosen as the best representatives of government by less than 20 per cent of the sample. In the subsequent testing discussed above, the question required a choice of the two best pictures of our country. As Table 18 illustrates, the flag and the Statue of Liberty were chosen as the most appropriate symbols of America. Clearly, then, children do distinguish between the government and the country.

In fact, second and third grade students overemphasized the flag's importance, seeing it not only as a symbol of the country but as an object of independent worth. A large percentage of children in grades two through five agreed that "the American flag is the best flag in the world."[17] This is consistent with Weinstein's (1957) finding that young children think our country is the only one with a flag and that the flag is possessed of magical properties. Socialization of attachment to concrete national symbols and to vaguely understood but highly valued "America" apparently occur simultaneously.

National symbols are vital unifying forces in the process of socialization; as Warner (1959) commented in discussing rituals and symbols, "Complex societies . . . need a general symbol system that everyone not only knows but _feels_" (p. 233). Symbols of this type are necessary not only to the society as a whole but particularly to young people who must be initiated into allegiance to America. As Allport (1950) also noted:

> As a rule, personal loyalty can adhere to an abstraction only when the abstraction is richly symbolized. Christianity rivets attention upon the cross, nations focus upon their respective flags. . . . Greece has its Acropolis, America its statue of liberty [p. 153].

The attitudes of national attachment which are established are fairly permanent, as indicated by relatively stable age pattterns in response to items concerned with the flag and "our country." There was no change with age in high endorsement of the item, "America is the best country in the world." Our pilot study item, "Other countries have freedom, but it is not as good as the freedom we have in this country," also received a high level of agreement at all grades as did choice of the American flag as a symbol of the country.

In the second phase, the concept of the nation acquires cognitive substance, including abstract qualities and ideological content. Concrete objects and symbols become less important. The increase across the age range in ideological components of national pride is shown in Table 19. "Freedom" and "right to vote" became

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[17] Less than 7 per cent of the total group disagreed with the statement, "America is the best country." Those who did not agree strongly most frequently picked the less extreme response.

Lawson (1963) replicated an earlier study by asking children to rank twenty flags on the basis of their attractiveness. The U.S. flag was among the top five chosen by 70 per cent of the children, starting at kindergarten. The Soviet flag was chosen by 10 per cent of kindergartners, dropping to 1 per cent at grade two. Lawson justified the use of this measure of national attachment as follows: "Flags are important symbols of patriotic feeling and often evoke emotional responses even when the immediate purpose of the symbol is no longer served" (p. 284).

TABLE 19

CHANGES BY GRADE IN BASIS OF PRIDE IN AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP
(Percentages: children were asked to choose two alternatives)[a]

Grade Level	N	Americans Are Generous	America Has Beautiful Parks	Americans Vote for Leaders	Americans Have Freedom	Our President
Grade 2	1640	34.8	36.9	24.2	51.9	45.8
Grade 3	1644	22.2	29.7	35.3	75.7	30.7
Grade 4	1729	14.4	21.8	47.2	85.5	21.3
Grade 5	1786	10.0	12.9	64.7	92.4	11.4
Grade 6	1741	8.6	8.1	72.4	94.4	7.0
Grade 7	1717	5.0	4.4	81.5	95.6	5.9
Grade 8	1677	3.4	3.7	83.5	96.0	3.9
Teachers	385	4.2	.8	90.1	95.8	1.6

Notes.--Item: What makes you the most proud to be an American? Check two things that make you most proud. (1) Americans are the most generous people in the world; (2) America has beautiful parks and highways; (3) Amercians can vote for their own leaders; (4) Americans have freedom; (5) our President. Questionnaire, page 12, item (57).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] Percentages do not always sum to two hundred per cent for any grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

increasingly popular (approximating responses of teachers by grade eight). In contrast, "beautiful parks and highways" and "our President" decreased as sources of pride after the second grade. When asked in interviews why they preferred being American to being another nationality, older children preferred more specifically to freedom and democracy; they placed less emphasis upon concrete, material aspects of our country and more on these ideological features emphasized in school. An interview with a fifth grade boy expresses this:

> I: What is freedom?
>
> S: Well, to be free, you could vote any way you want. Like Kruschchev makes everybody vote for him, because he uses force, and in America, in a free country, you can do whatever you want, free speech, I guess that's what it means.

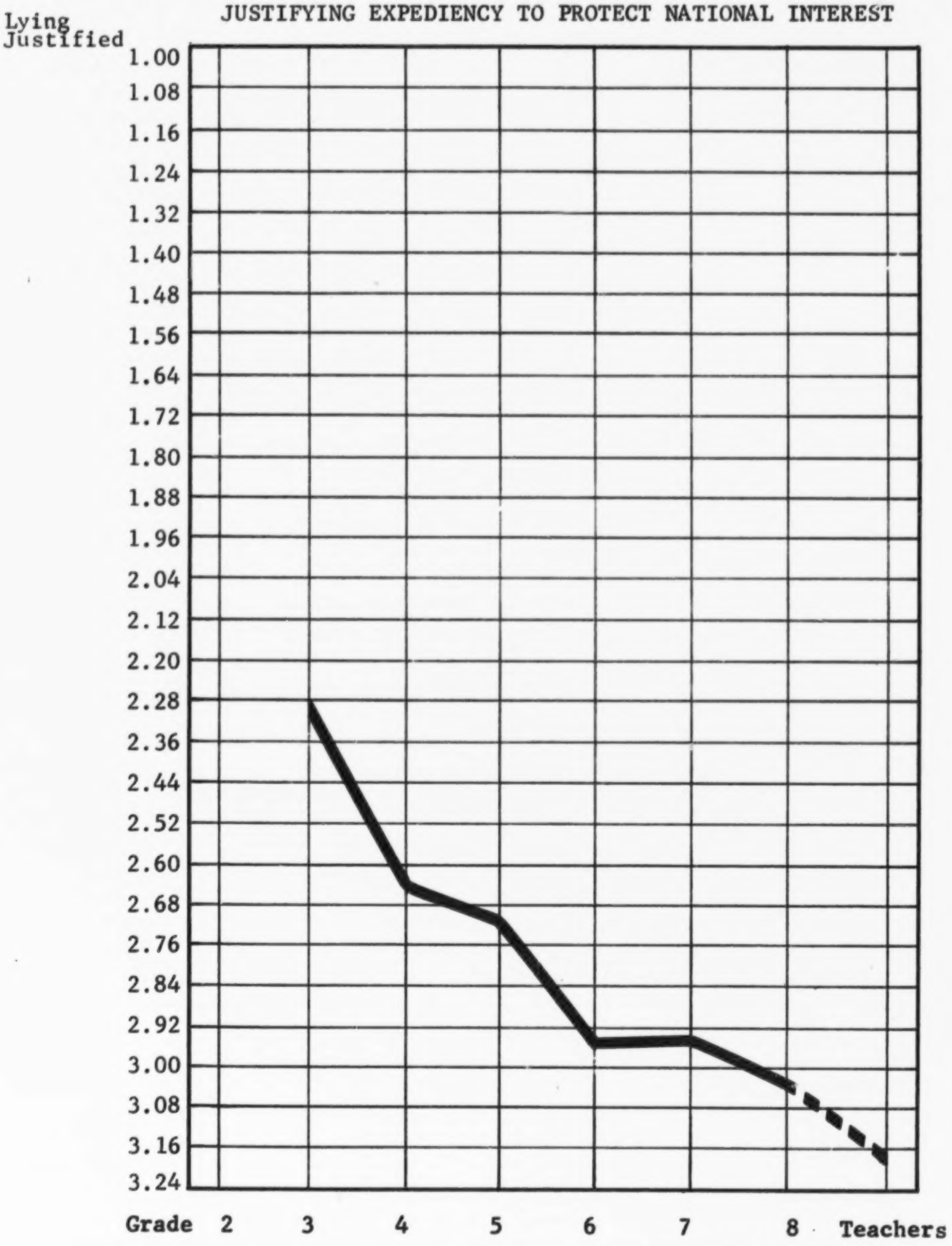
Younger children simply evaluated the United States as "good" and Russia as "bad." The evaluation of the fifth grader had more substance. He used ideological arguments to justify his comparison of the two countries, thinking of them as countries with different political processes. His evaluations were based upon ideological conceptions. In some children, who are between the first and second stage, concepts such as freedom maintained an ethnocentric character and retained qualities of magic. Many fourth graders, for example, said that freedom prevents war; there was also a tendency to view freedom as exclusive to the United States.

In the third phase, our country is seen as part of a larger, organized system of countries. The child's view gains a perspective which includes many other nations and our relationships to them. The The most dramatic example of change in perception of the United States' relationship to the rest of the world is shown in Table 20, in response to the question, "Who does most to keep peace in the world: the United States or the United Nations?" At grade two the choice was overwhelmingly "the United States"; by grade eight, the choice was just as decidedly "the United Nations," a response approximating that of teachers. There is also a growing sense of international morality as it applies to our government's relations with other countries. Figure 5 presents the mean agreement with the statement, "It is all right for the government to lie to another country if the lie protects the American people." There was a rapid age-related drop in agreement with this item; at grade eight it was relatively close to adult responses.

In summary, early attachment to the nation is basic to poliical socialization and to subsequent learning and experience. It is interesting that feelings of attachment do not call for a response; the citizen does not expect something from the country in return for his allegiance. It is when the relationships with persons in the government and the political system become established that a range of reciprocal role relationships become important.

FIGURE 5

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES THREE THROUGH EIGHT IN JUSTIFYING EXPEDIENCY TO PROTECT NATIONAL INTEREST



Item: Is it all right for the government to lie to protect America?

Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 - Strong disagree

Range of N: 1379 - 1564

Significance Unit: .08

TABLE 20

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF UNITED STATES AND UNITED NATIONS IN PREVENTING WAR
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	United Nations Keeps Peace	United States Keeps Peace	Don't Know
Grade 2	1630	14.4	70.7	14.9
Grade 3	1646	27.3	62.3	10.3
Grade 4	1727	48.9	40.2	10.9
Grade 5	1786	68.2	27.3	4.5
Grade 6	1742	78.8	16.5	4.7
Grade 7	1717	84.6	12.5	2.9
Grade 8	1689	86.9	10.2	2.8
Teachers	369	87.0	13.0	a

Notes.--Item: Which one of these does most to keep peace in the world? (1) United Nations; (2) United States; (3) I Don't Know. Questionnaire, page 12, item (56).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] No DK alternative.

3. Attachment to Figures and Institutions

In the previous section data concerning the child's developing conception of America and his attachment to it were presented and discussed. The child's involvement is based in part on recognition of himself as an American; national symbols and ideals serve as objects for his loyalty. In this section the development of similar feelings toward government will be discussed.

a) Concept of the system

It is difficult for a child to comprehend a complex political institution. Unlike the nation, for which agents of socialization provide symbols as points of contact, conceptualization of governmental institutions must arise without aid from such concrete objects and familiar rituals. It appears from our data that complex social systems are initially conceptualized as persons to whom the child can relate. It is through attachments to these persons that the individual becomes related to the system. These attachments may or may not be transformed later into more impersonal orientations. During the developmental period when a child begins to build a positive regard for institutions and becomes subject to their sanctions, complex social systems must be represented by personal figures who can act as sanctioning agents and objects of attachment.

The importance of personal symbols to a young child is supported by several investigations and discussions of children's social concepts; Kelley and Krey (1934) suggested that systems of ideas and patterns of relationships are grasped first as single ideas which require a material association to be retained; frequently, this association is some imaginative personification or symbol. The concept that institutions and ideologies are structures through which society attempts to satisfy fundamental needs would be the most difficult to grasp, according to these authors. Wesley and Adams (1952) classified persons, events, and other tangible objects as the social concepts which are most easily acquired. Relationships among groups, social codes and standards, and interactions between the society and groups are much more difficult for children to understand.

The second or third grade child's image of government is largely confined to persons. In interviews, these young children referred to government as "the man who signs the checks," "the state and city governments are different men, but they are both governments," or "the government is a nice man." On a pretest questionnaire, 60 per cent of a group of fourth graders expressed agreement with the statement, "The government is a man."[18]

Data from a question asking children to select the two pictures that best showed what the government is are presented in Table 17. Pictures of President Kennedy and George Washington were chosen by 46 per cent and 39 per cent of the second graders, respectively. For older children, choices of these personal figures, particularly Washington, dropped off sharply. Congress and voting, which represent government as an institution and a process, were chosen by less than 10 per cent of the second graders. Eighth graders (between 45 and 50 per cent) found these impersonal aspects of government to be more appropriate symbols. This approached the 72 per cent choice by teachers. Selection of Congress increased at an earlier grade level than did voting. "Government" is represented by the "President" for second graders, while older children include governmental institutions and citizens' influence in their conception of the ruling order.

This personalization of government is also true for elements of the political system associated with legislative and administrative processes (Table 21). As children grow older, they learn that Congress is more important in law-making than the President; in the second grade, 76 per cent chose the President and 5 per cent the Congress. By eighth grade, 85 per cent chose Congress and 5 per cent selected the President. The most striking change occurred between grades four and five. Younger children were also more likely to say that the "President runs the country" (Table 22). The tendency to select Congress as the most important administrative unit was much less marked than the tendency to choose Congress as the legislative unit. At grade eight, 58 per cent believed the President ran the country. Although teachers and students

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[18] Pilot Study 5.

TABLE 21

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE SOURCE OF LAWS
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Congress Makes Laws	President Makes Laws	Supreme Court Makes Laws	Don't Know
Grade 2	1627	4.8	75.6	11.5	8.2
Grade 3	1648	11.4	66.1	17.0	5.5
Grade 4	1723	27.5	44.1	21.1	7.3
Grade 5	1793	57.4	19.4	19.8	3.4
Grade 6	1743	65.1	13.2	18.3	3.4
Grade 7	1712	72.1	8.9	16.4	2.6
Grade 8	1690	85.3	5.4	7.9	1.4
Teachers	384	96.4	.5	3.1	a

Notes.--Item: Who makes the laws? Put an X next to the one who does most to make laws, (1) Congress; (2) President; (3) Supreme Court; (4) I Don't Know. Questionnaire, page 7, item (33).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] No DK alternative.

perceived the locus of law-making quite similarly, teachers' choice of Congress as "running the country" was much higher than that of eighth graders. Material from interviews and questionnaires suggests that, beginning about grade four, administration and decision-making are perceived as the most important responsibilities of the President.

A young child's image of the national government is largely restricted to the President, who makes its laws, represents and runs it. He is the figure about whom children believe they know most. They reported seeing him on television, and 95 per cent of the second grade children knew his name. The President is a source of national pride, and is seen as serving a vital function in protecting and representing the nation and watching over its administration (Table 23). The following excerpts from an interview with a third grade boy, the son of a teacher, give a fairly representative impression of the younger children's image of the President, although these responses are more complete and articulate than those of most subjects this age.

I: Have you ever seen the President?

S: I've seen him on television, and heard him on the radio, and seen him in newspapers.

I: What does the President do?

TABLE 22

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF "WHO RUNS THE COUNTRY"
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Congress Runs Country	President Runs Country	Supreme Court Runs Country	Don't Know
Grade 2	1627	3.9	86.3	3.3	6.5
Grade 3	1662	6.7	85.4	3.1	4.7
Grade 4	1725	13.2	77.0	3.4	6.5
Grade 5	1796	20.0	71.8	3.8	4.3
Grade 6	1744	24.9	66.2	4.5	4.4
Grade 7	1711	27.8	64.0	5.3	2.9
Grade 8	1683	35.1	58.4	3.6	2.9
Teachers	383	61.4	35.8	3.0	a

Notes.--Item: Who does the most to run the country? Put an X in the box next to the one who does most to run the country, (1) Congress; (2) President; (3) Supreme Court; (4) I Don't Know. Questionnaire, page 9, item (41).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] No DK alternative.

S: He runs the country, he decides the decisions that we should try to get out of, and he goes to meetings and tries to make peace and things like that.

I: When you say he runs the country, what do you mean?

S. Well, he's just about the boss of everything. . . .

I: And what kind of person do you think he is?

S: Well, usually he's an honest one.

I: Anything else?

S: Well, loyal and usually is pretty smart.

I: Usually, but not always?

S: Well, they're all smart, but they aren't exactly perfect (pause) . . . most of them are.

TABLE 23

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S JOB
(Percentages: children were asked to choose two alternatives)[a]

Grade Level	N	Keep Us Out of War	Make Friends With Other Countries	Help People in Our Country	Stand for Our Country	Make People Obey Laws	Make Sure Our Country Is Run Well
Grade 3	1645	41.2	34.7	25.8	22.4	10.9	54.0
Grade 4	1726	37.3	37.7	26.9	21.4	8.2	59.0
Grade 5	1791	31.8	44.8	26.7	23.4	5.1	58.4
Grade 6	1742	27.3	40.9	32.7	25.1	2.6	60.1
Grade 7	1704	22.4	35.9	31.8	29.8	1.9	64.4
Grade 8	1678	16.8	29.6	32.7	33.2	5.2	68.7
Teachers	371	2.4	15.9	28.6	33.8	4.3	86.2

Notes.--Item: Here are some things that boys and girls have said about what the President's job is. What do you think the job of the President is? Put an X beside the two things below that say what you think the job of the President is, (1) His job is to keep us out of war; (2) his job is to make friends with other countries; (3) his job is to help people in our country; (4) his job is to stand for our country; (5) his job is to make people obey laws; his job is to make sure our country is run well. Questionnaire, page 22, item (44).

--Significance Unit: 3%

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[a] Percentages do not always sum to two hundred per cent for any given grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

I: Who pays him?

S: Well, gee, I don't know if anybody pays him, he probably doesn't get too much money for the job--I don't even know if he gets any money.

I: Why would he take the job?

S: Well, he loves his country, and he wants this country to live in peace.

The child subsequently develops a more impersonal and institutionalized conception of the government. Interviews provide clues to the development of this view. Responses such as this come from older children: "The government is made up of representatives that the people elect," or "The government is just an organization that the people formed to rule themselves." Instead of focusing on one person, these children emphasized a group of persons elected by, and responsible to, the citizens. Perceiving government as synonymous with the President is a simple way for children to organize perceptions of the political world. The school is important in fostering the more refined, complex picture of government which develops later. Our evidence indicates, however, that schools put equal and concurrent emphasis upon the President and Congress (see Chapter IV). The importance of the President in the young children's conceptualization of government is not determined primarily by classroom learning but by the child's tendency to focus upon a personal representative of the system.

b) Concept of the citizen's role

The initial conception of a "good citizen" is largely one of the "good person." The young child's image of the good citizen contains prominent elements of personal worth. Interview responses suggest that the second and third grade children made little distinction between a good person and a good citizen.[19] They stressed the image of general goodness, although concern with the country was of some importance. An interview excerpt from a conversation with the fourth grade son of working class parents illustrates this point:

I: Well, what is a good citizen?

S: A person whose house is clean and who is polite.

A second example is from a fourth grade, working class child born in Germany:

I: How could a citizen help his country?

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[19] In one city where a clean-up campaign had recently been conducted, 62 per cent of the children agreed that keeping the city clean was one of the citizen's major duties.

S: Well, follow the laws, don't get in accidents, and do practically everything as hard as he can.

Children in our study chose from seven alternatives the two which they believed characterized the good child citizen and the good adult citizen (Tables 24 & 25). Seventy-four per cent of second and third grade children reported that the "boy who helps others" is the best citizen. Choices of this alternative declined with age, replaced by a conception of the citizen in more specifically political terms--voting (for the adult citizen) and showing interest in government. The absence of distinctions between personal goodness and politically oriented citizenship exemplifies the low level of differentiation in children's thinking and the assimilation of the political world to personal experiences.

c) Interaction with the system

The initial relationship with governmental authority is with the President, whom the child sees in highly positive terms, thus indicating his basic trust in the benevolence of government. Young children relate to the President as to figures they know personally, expressing strong emotional attachment to him and expecting protection from him. They believe that the President is intimately involved not only in momentous decisions concerning the fate of the country but also in more mundane decisions that affect them and their neighborhood: how much meat will cost, whether people must remain in jail or be freed, establishing traffic laws. A strong sense of trust is evident in their responses; they think that the President is personally responsive to children's wishes. An excerpt from an interview with a third grader suggests the extent of this belief:

I: Can you ever tell the President . . . what kinds of things you think he should do?

S: Yeah, you can talk with him. . . .

I: How?

S: You go to the White House, most people do. . . .

The child's conception of the President's concern for the individual is also indicated by responses to the item, "If you write to the President, does he care what you think?" Age trends in this item appear in Table 26. Seventy-five per cent of second grade children felt that the President would care about their ideas if they wrote to him. The mean response to this item declined, but eighth graders also believed that the President would pay some attention to their opinions. This level of opinion was similar to the teachers' responses.

Young children also believe that the President personally would help them if they needed it (Figure 6--page 101). The average second grade child in our sample reported that the President would be nearly

TABLE 24

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE QUALITIES OF THE GOOD CITIZEN (CHILD)
(Percentages: children were asked to choose two alternatives)[a]

Grade Level	N	Helps Others	Does What He Is Told	Gets Good Grades	Interested in Way Country Is Run	Everybody Likes Him	Works Hard	Goes to Church	Don't Know
Grade 2	1626	73.6	17.2	21.2	16.2	4.7	20.1	34.8	3.7
Grade 3	1659	73.7	17.8	15.8	25.8	6.4	15.9	37.4	1.9
Grade 4	1720	69.5	16.7	13.8	33.3	8.7	13.3	34.1	1.7
Grade 5	1784	69.2	17.5	11.0	43.8	10.4	12.8	30.0	.4
Grade 6	1726	63.8	16.4	9.2	52.6	11.9	12.6	25.4	.6
Grade 7	1708	59.0	15.4	11.8	56.7	13.3	14.5	23.3	.2
Grade 8	1663	52.4	12.0	12.2	66.8	12.9	14.9	20.9	.9
Teachers	392	68.4	14.8	5.6	68.6	6.9	25.5	8.2	.5

Notes.--If the President came to your school to give a prize to two boys who were the best citizens and the teacher offered him these boys, which two boys would he pick? Put an X by the two he would choose as the best citizens, (1) A boy who helps others; (2) ... does what he is told; (3) ...gets good grades; (4) ...is interested in the way our country is run; (5) ... everybody likes; (6) ... works hard; (7) ... goes to church; (8) I don't know what citizen means. Questionnaire, page 5, item (25).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] Percentages do not always sum to two hundred per cent for any given grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

TABLE 25

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE QUALITIES OF THE GOOD CITIZEN (ADULT) (Percentages: children were asked to choose two alternatives)[a]

Grade Level	*N*	Works Hard	Everybody Likes Him	Votes and Gets Others to Vote	Helps Others	Interested in Way Country Is Run	Always Obeys Laws	Goes to Church	Don't Know
Grade 4	1719	13.5	7.0	26.4	47.8	28.2	44.3	23.6	2.0
Grade 5	1780	11.3	8.5	29.8	42.1	41.8	42.0	20.6	.6
Grade 6	1736	10.7	9.0	35.8	35.4	50.5	37.4	16.0	.6
Grade 7	1710	11.1	8.3	35.9	34.2	57.7	32.7	14.6	.2
Grade 8	1674	10.0	8.1	44.6	26.3	65.0	29.0	11.8	.7
Teachers	392	7.9	3.6	51.5	31.6	72.4	22.4	3.8	2.3

Notes.--Item: If the President came to your town to give prizes to the two grown-ups who were the best citizens, which grown-ups would he choose? Put an X beside the *two* he would choose as the best citizens, (1) Someone who works hard; (2) someone everybody likes; (3) someone who votes and gets others to vote; (4) someone who helps others; (5) someone who is interested in the way our country is run; (6) someone who always obeys the laws; (7) someone who goes to church; (8) I don't know what *citizen* means. Questionnaire, page 26, item (*63*).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] Percentages do not always sum to two hundred per cent for any given grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

TABLE 26

CHANGES BY GRADE IN THE BELIEF THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD CARE WHAT CITIZENS THOUGHT IF THEY WROTE TO HIM
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	President Would Care a Lot	President Would Care Some	President Would Care a Little
Grade 2	1639	75.2	19.6	5.1
Grade 3	1664	68.5	26.0	5.5
Grade 4	1738	56.4	36.3	7.2
Grade 5	1795	51.5	39.8	8.7
Grade 6	1744	46.3	42.3	11.4
Grade 7	1710	45.0	43.9	11.2
Grade 8	1686	43.1	43.0	13.9
Teachers	385	47.3	44.7	8.0

Notes.--Item: Which do you think is the most true? (Choose one) If you write to the President, (1) ... he cares a lot what you think; (2) ... he cares some what you think; (3) ... he cares a little what you think. Questionnaire, page 7, item (34).

--Significance Unit: 3%

as helpful to him if he were in trouble as the policeman or his father. For students in grade eight, the mean score for these figures diverged; the President was rated similarly to impersonal agencies such as the Supreme Court and government.[20] Teachers and eighth grade students were nearly alike in their view of the helpfulness of the President. The child's early approach to the system is highly personal; he expects from personal representatives of the political system the same help and nurturance he receives from his parents.

In one pilot study (No. 3) the percentage of children choosing the alternative, "The President is about the best person in the world" declined from approximately 52 per cent at grade two to 10 per cent at grade eight. This illustrates the charismatic quality in second graders' relationship to the President (Weber, 1946; Davies, 1954). Davies, in analyzing charisma in the 1952 campaign, suggested that it was the result of insecurity generated either by unstable upbringing or situations of national crisis. We have suggested in previous work that idealization of the President as an authority figure is a technique children utilize in dealing with feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness (Hess and

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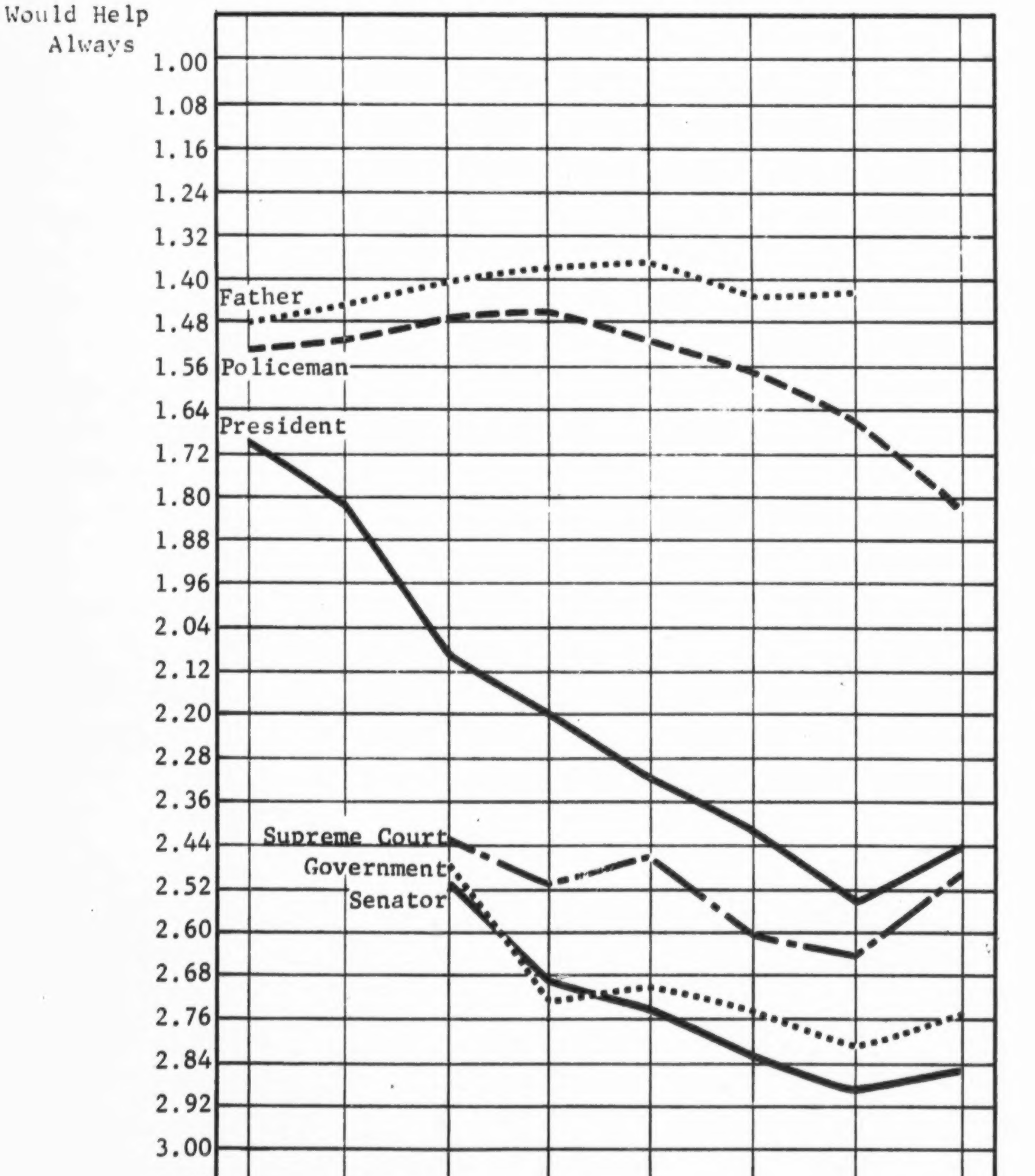
[20] Greenstein (1965) also reported that spontaneous references to the President's benevolence declined with age.

FIGURE 6

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE RESPONSIVENESS OF FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS TO THE INDIVIDUAL: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER, SENATOR, SUPREME COURT, GOVERNMENT



Item: ....would always want to help me if I needed it.

Index Scale: 1 - Always
6 - Not usually

Range of N: 1299 - 1794

Significance Unit: .08

Easton, 1960; Torney, Hess, and Easton, 1962).

Since government is perceived as personally responsive to the individual, the second or third grade child might be expected to be attached to the President in the same manner he is attached to his father; and, indeed, a positive feeling was reflected in ratings of the President as a personal favorite (Figure 7). The age trends and relative positions of father and President on these ratings resembled those on the item dealing with helpfulness. Expressions of extreme emotional attachment to the President declined most rapidly between grades two and five. Teachers and eighth grade students expressed a similar level of affection for the President.

The degree of personal liking for governmental figures was also rated by children of the fourth through eighth grades (Figure 8). This item showed a less pronounced decline in personal regard for the President. Although the Senator would be appropriate as a personal link between the child and the system, children do not develop a high level of regard for him. At all grade levels, the Senator was rated below all other figures in willingness to help. He was also less well liked than the President. Our interviews indicated that children know little about the Senator; references to his function were vague--"to help the President when he asks them."

The reciprocal nature of children's attachments is illustrated by children's expectation that the President would be concerned with their welfare: they reciprocate by extending loyalty and affection. This is the essence of a reciprocal role relationship, one of the most basic personal attachments: protection reciprocated by love. The importance of these personal feelings toward the President contributes to an understanding of the strength of early attachment and its implications for the stability of the political system. The President, who is personally concerned with the individual, and for whom the citizen feels a love almost comparable to that he has for his family, can do no wrong.[21]

The image of the President changes with age to one which differentiates between personal-affective and role qualities. Two features characterized age changes in attachment to figures and institutions. First, while conceptions of personal nurturance and attachment, and idealized images of the President's qualities declined somewhat, ratings of his role performance remained high. Second, as compared with the younger children, the older ones rated institutions and imper-

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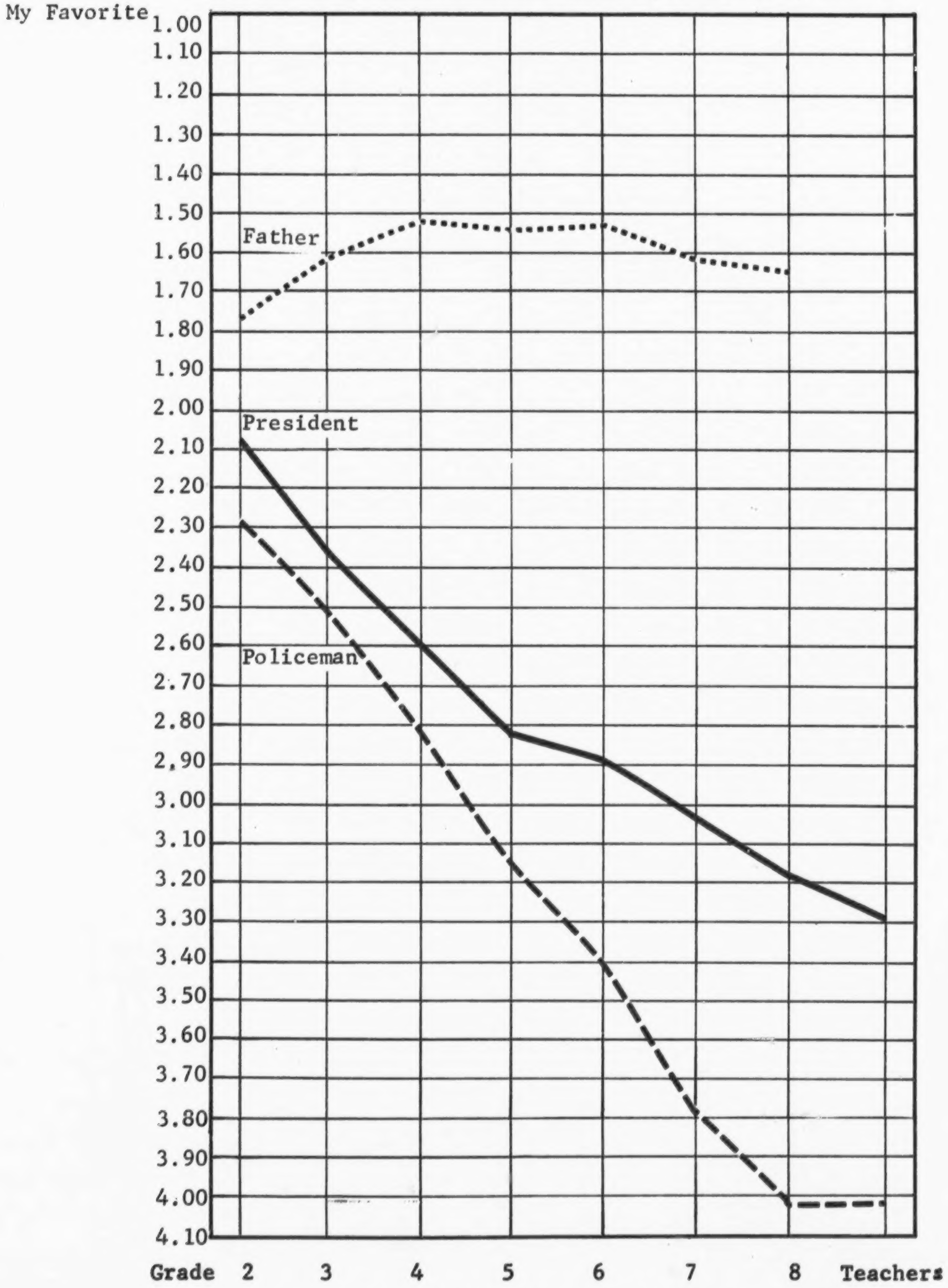
[21] The extent to which adults also feel this personal attachment is documented by reactions to Kennedy's assassination. Greenstein reported that college students compared the event to deaths within their immediate group, and it was clear that part of the attachment to Kennedy was like attachments to friends and relatives (Greenstein, 1964, pp. 44-45). Other political leaders have capitalized upon their personal, protective images in election campaigns (Bruner and Korchin, 1946).

FIGURE 7

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN ATTACHMENT TO FIGURES: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER

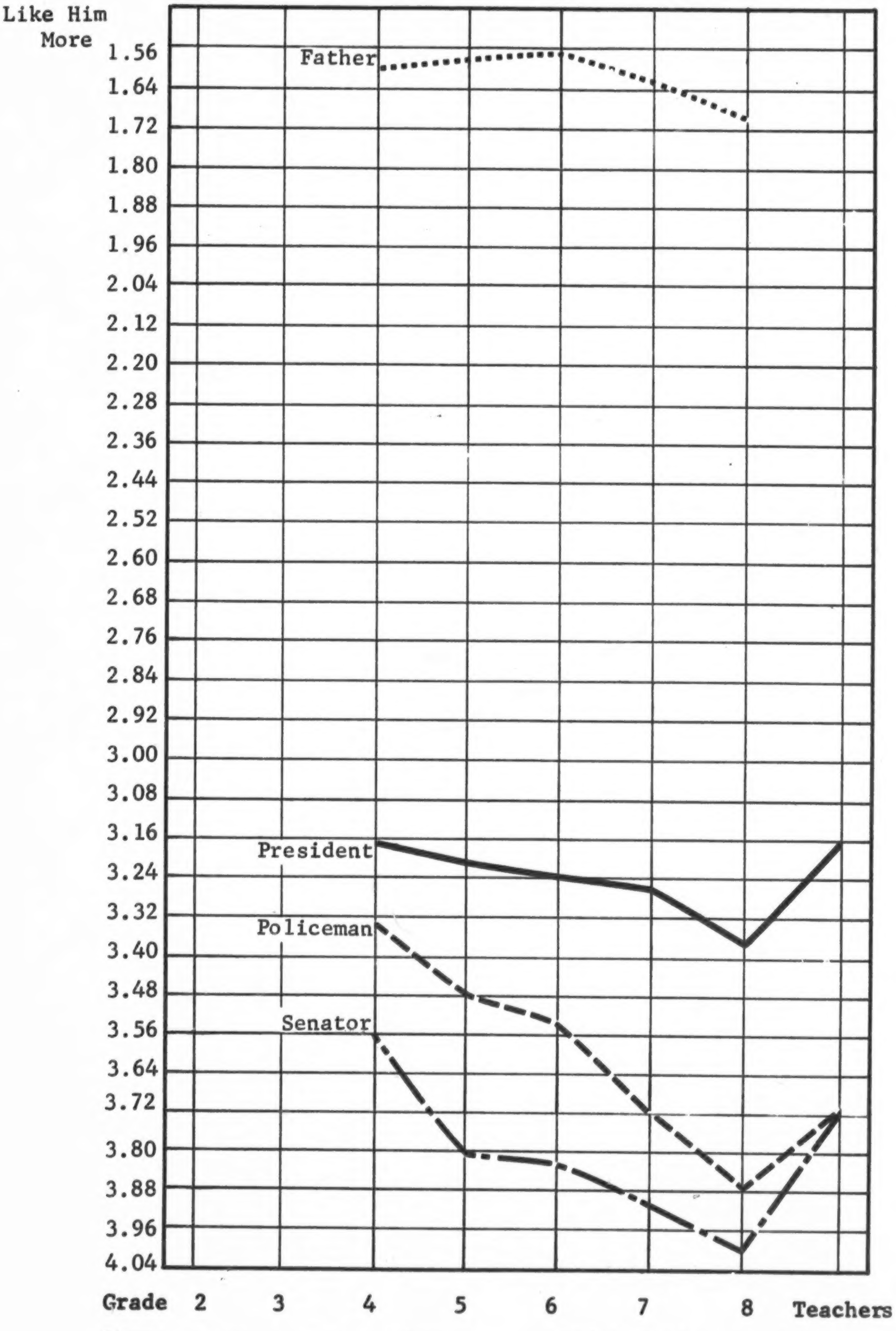


Item: ....is my favorite of all. **Index Scale:** 1 - Favorite
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 1422 - 1787

Significance Unit: .10

FIGURE 8
COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN LIKING FOR FIGURES: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER, SENATOR



Item: I like .....more than anyone.

Index Scale: 1 - More
6 - Less

Range of N: 1400 - 1785

Significance Unit: .08

sonal agents of government as high or higher than the President on all dimensions. Our interviews indicated that children often saw the President's most important duty as being an administrator of the country, making decisions which affect the nation and the world. Mean ratings of the President on these aspects of performance classified him as knowing more and working harder than most people, always a leader, making important decisions all the time. These mean ratings were reasonably constant from the fourth through eighth grade, and ratings of his decision-making role rose (Figures 9, 10, 11, 12). Teachers and eighth graders differed only slightly.

The policeman and father were rated below the President on all of these attributes. Apparently, leading, working hard, being knowledgeable, and making decisions are defined, even by younger children, as Presidential qualities, and these characteristics clearly differentiate his role from that of other authority figures. Unlike his personal qualities, these characteristics do not place him in a role relationship with the child. With increasing age, children see the President as one whose abilities are appropriate to the demands of his office[22] and whose behavior is shaped by these demands, rather than as a personal authority directly related to the child.[23]

The child perceives institutions of government as powerful, competent, benign, and infallible. The Presidency is an office occupied by one man. Children have a high regard for this office, and as they grow older develop respect for several other offices held by persons who are much less visible to them. These formally defined offices, represented in our questionnaire by the Supreme Court and the government, are institutions. The child's growing respect for these institutions, accompanied by an increasingly differentiated perception of them, is illustrated by Figures 6, 9, 12, 13. The Supreme Court and government are rated quite similarly on most qualities and are not clearly distinguished from each other. The child does not perceive these institutions to be highly protective, nor does he seek a personal relationship with them (Figure 6). Both the Court and government were rated much lower than father or the policeman at all grades and lower than the President at grades four and five.

The Senator, a personal figure, was rated as less responsive

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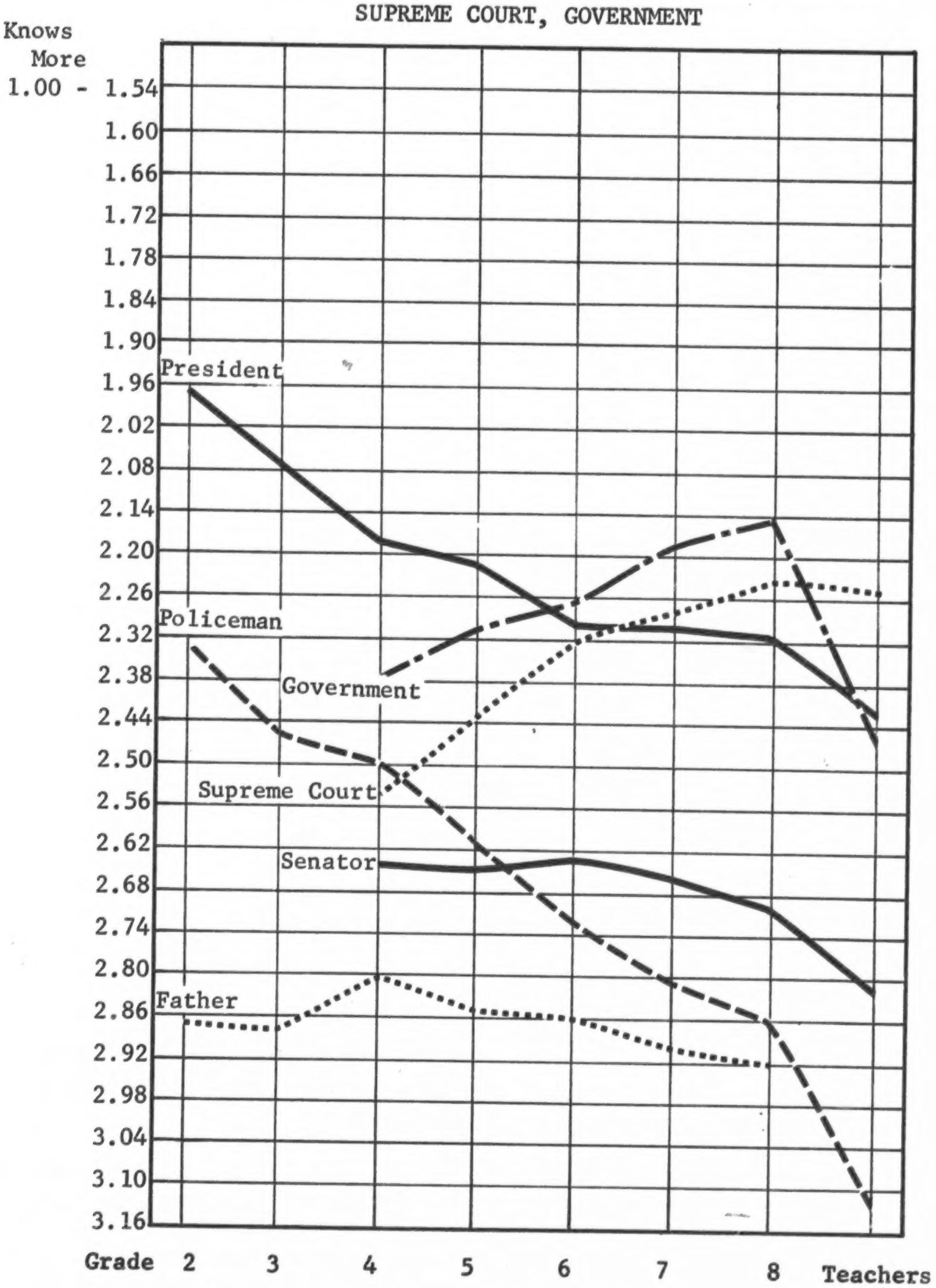
[22] "Office" is used here as it is defined by Hughes (1937): a standardized group of duties and privileges which are consciously fulfilled and which form the basis of an institution.

[23] Being elected to the Presidency confers an aura of competence in itself. Other authors (Paul, 1956) have called this the fait accompli effect. In our pilot data, we found that within three months after he took office, Kennedy was rated equal with Eisenhower on a number of dimensions and much more favorably than Nixon (even by middle class children who, presumably, were pro-Nixon at election time). Greenstein (1960) also reported that in 1958, Adlai Stevenson was evaluated much less favorably than Eisenhower.

FIGURE 9

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE (KNOWLEDGE) OF FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER, SENATOR, SUPREME COURT, GOVERNMENT



Item: ....knows more than anyone.

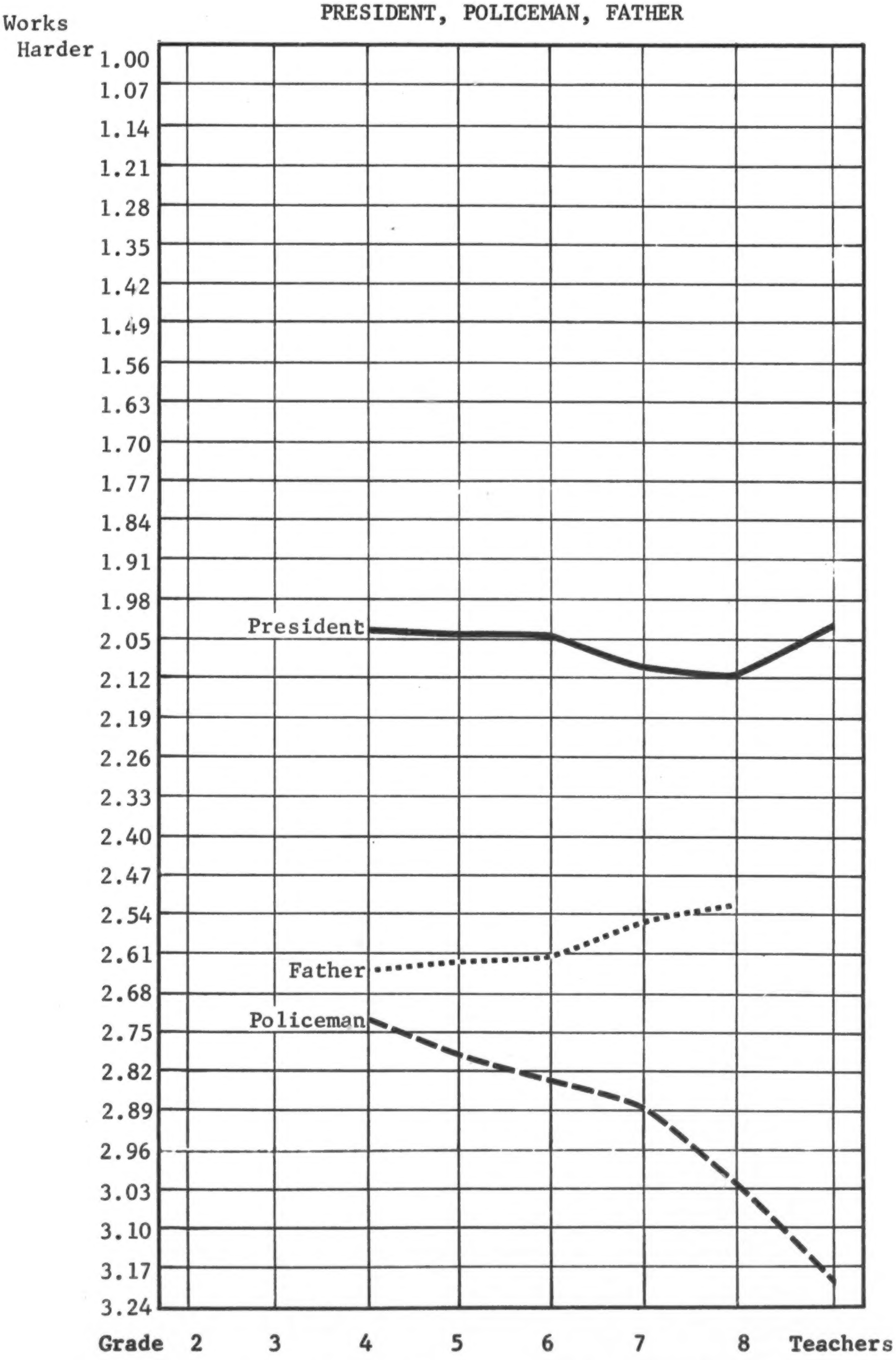
Index Scale: 1 - More
6 - Less

Range of N: 1299 - 1798

Significance Unit: .06

FIGURE 10

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE (HARD WORK) OF FIGURES: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER



Item: ....works harder than anyone.

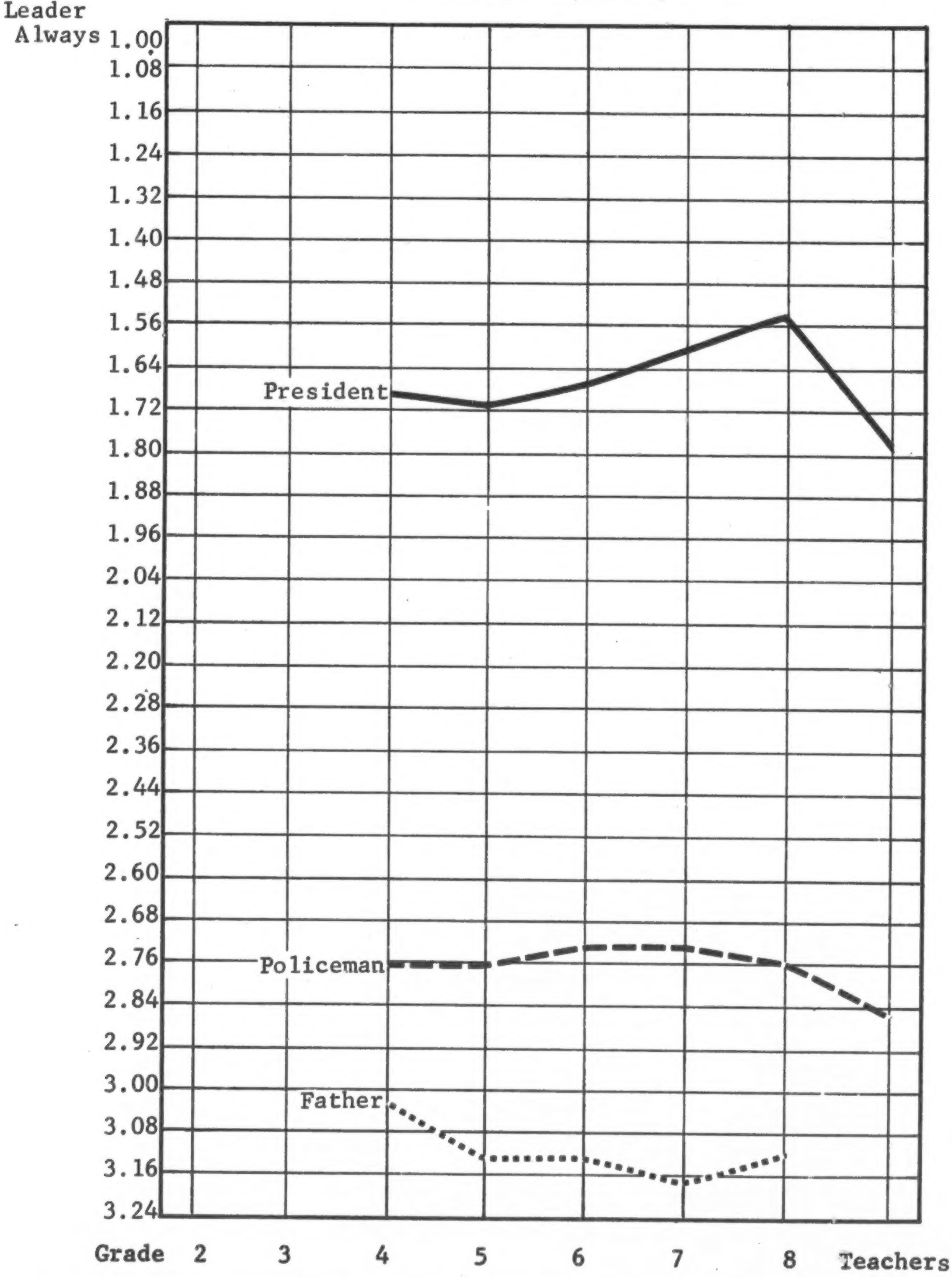
Index Scale: 1 - Harder
6 - Less Hard

Range of N: 1444 - 1788

Significance Unit: .07

FIGURE 11

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE (LEADERSHIP) OF FIGURES: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER



Item: ....is always a leader.

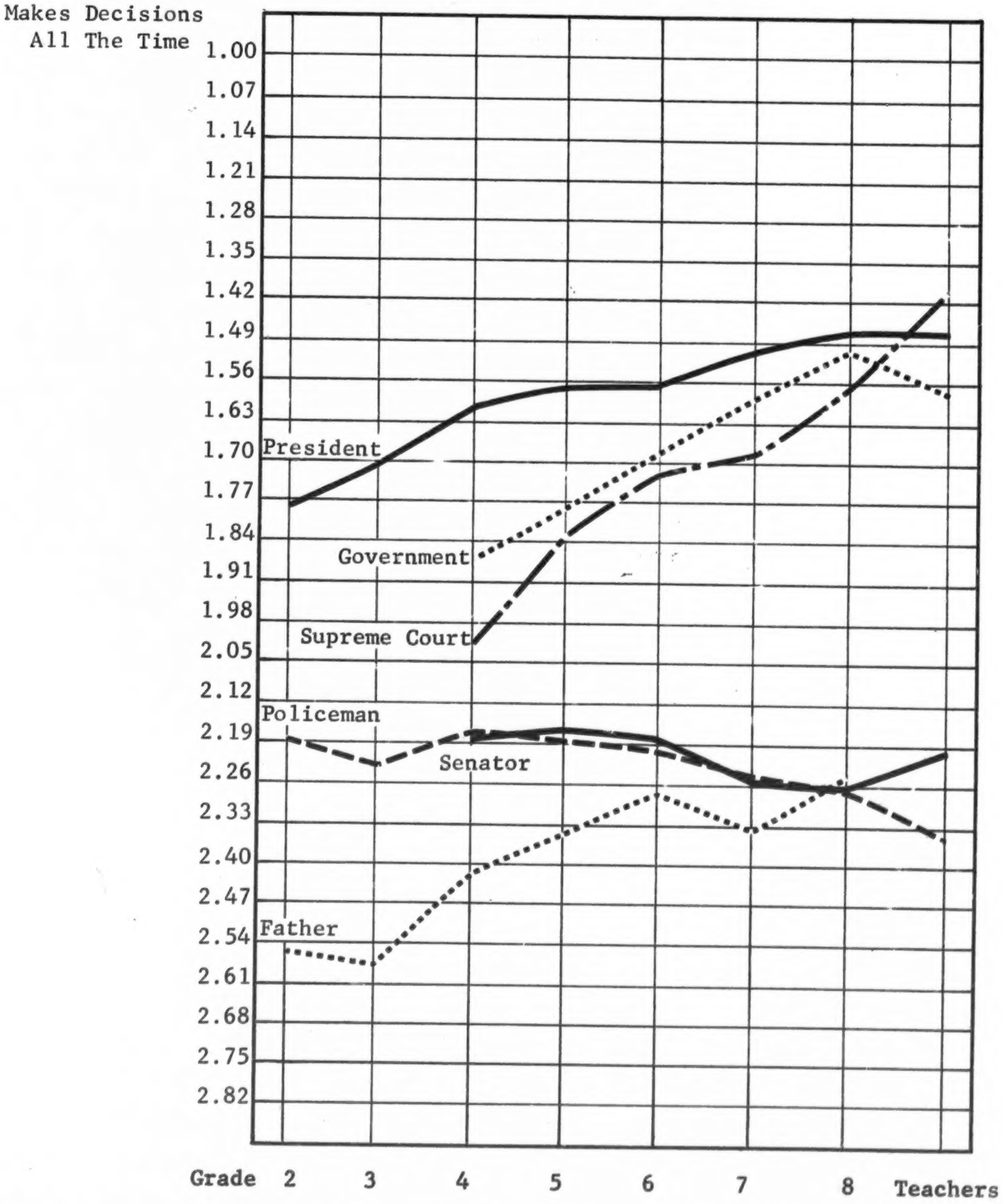
Index Scale: 1 - Leader
6 - Follower

Range of N: 1434 - 1794

Significance Unit: .08

FIGURE 12

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE (DECISION MAKING) OF FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER, SENATOR, SUPREME COURT, GOVERNMENT



Item: ....makes important decisions all the time.

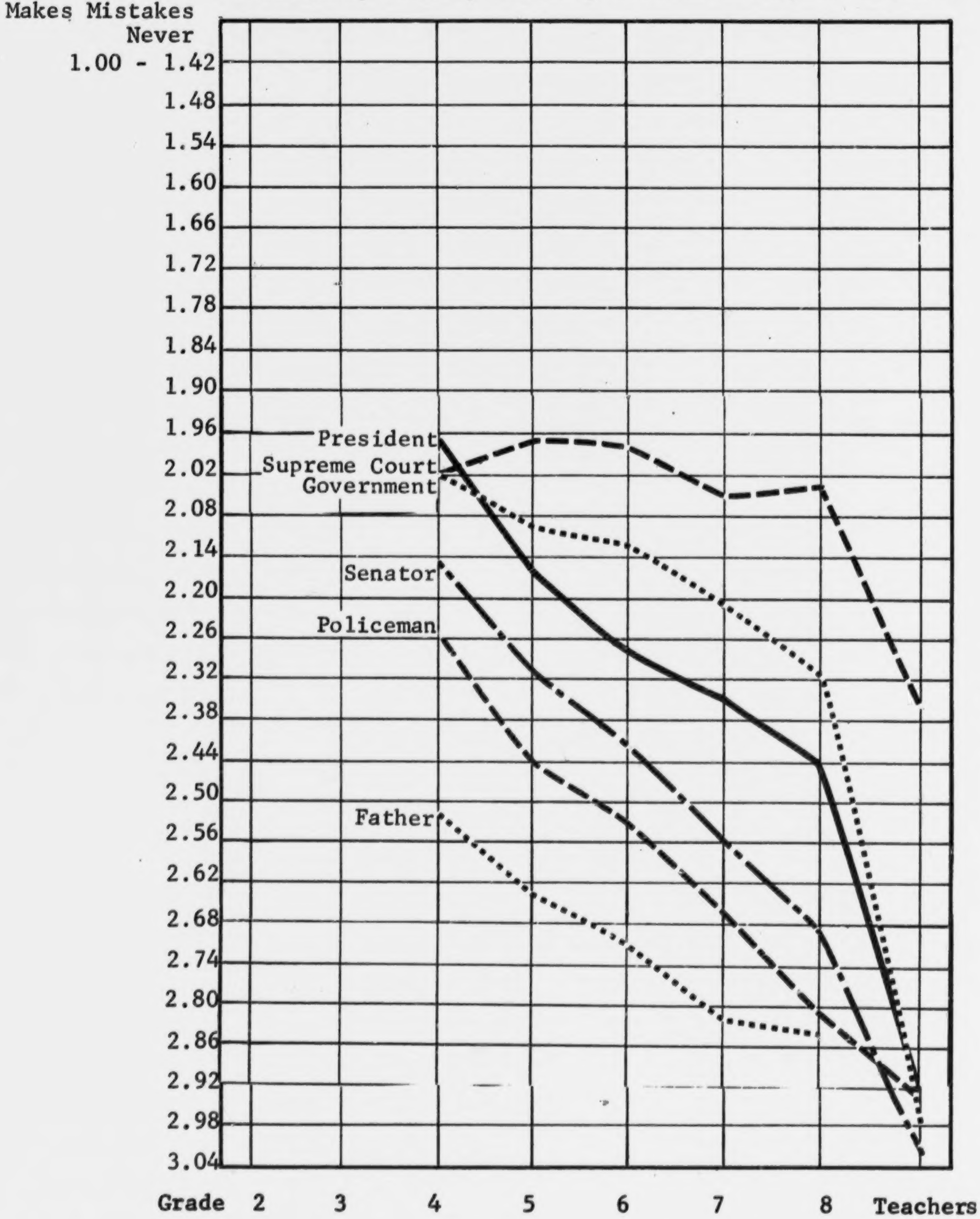
Index Scale: 1 - All the time
6 - Never

Range of N: 1307 - 1800

Significance Unit: .07

FIGURE 13

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE INFALLIBILITY OF FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER, SENATOR, SUPREME COURT, GOVERNMENT



Item: ....almost never makes mistakes.

Index Scale: 1 - Almost never
6 - Almost always

Range of N: 1304 - 1795

Significance Unit: .06

than institutions, which have no personal content. This suggests that the personal relationship existing between the child and the President before the sixth grade is possible because the President is an individual whose name and face are known. Children's relationships with him are comparable to the para-social interactions that television audiences experience with performers (Horton and Wohl, 1956). This intimacy and perceived reciprocity of relationship was based upon the existence of a living, visible person--President Kennedy for these children--not a figure such as the average U.S. Senator, whose name and person were unknown to most children. The clearest distinction children make in judging responsiveness is between the figures in their immediate environment (father and policeman) and those who are not known personally (institutions, Senator). The President, for second and third graders, is intermediate in this dichotomy; the relationship with him is para-social. Older children perceive the President as a distant figure similar to the Senator, Supreme Court, and government.

The infallibility of figures and institutions is an important aspect of children's perceptions. Representing the legitimacy and authoritativeness so important to authority relationships, children's judgments of all figures and institutions on the item "never makes mistakes" appeared as a single, independent dimension in our factor analysis of ratings. With increased age, all objects except the Supreme Court were judged more likely to make mistakes (Figure 13). In judgments of infallibility, the President held a position equal to that of institutions only in fourth graders' responses. At later grades, all personal authority figures were judged more fallible than institutions, which suggests that institutionalized rule, independent of an individual's whim, is perceived as more legitimate. Early belief in the benign qualities of political authority sets a level of expectation that is never completely abandoned. As a maturing child becomes aware of the fallibility of persons in authority he looks to institutions for the protection he formerly sought from parents and personal figures. Mean ratings given by teachers accentuate the distinction between the Supreme Court and all other figures and institutions, including the government.

There was an increase with age in the tendency to see government and Supreme Court as making important decisions and being knowledgeable (Figures 9, 12). Positive ratings of institutions approach, or surpass, ratings of the President as the child learns more about the political system. Eighth graders distinguish between persons and institutions that are highly knowledgeable and make many important decisions (President. government, Supreme Court), and figures who are not noted for either superior knowledge or decision-making (Senator, father, policeman).

Low ratings given the Senator on both and role qualities are puzzling. Information from interviews and pilot testing indicated that children knew very little about the Senator. Either they did not know that the Senator is a member of Congress (which makes laws and other important decisions) or the prestige of Congress as an institution did not extend to individual members who were not known personally.

The increase with age in regard for the office of the Presidency and for institutions composed of offices whose incumbents are unknown, are examples of relationships with roles rather than with persons. The necessity of maintaining stable support for offices and rules, even when incumbents change, is the reason that socialization to roles and institutionalized offices rather than to personal figures is important. (Parsons (1959) gives a similar example in discussing socialization occurring as a result of the change in classroom teachers with each new school year:

> More than in the parent child relationship, in school the child must internalize his relationship to the teacher's role rather than to her particular personality; this is a major step in the internalization of universalistic patterns [p. 309].

d) Discussion

The child's attachment to figures and institutions of government presumably is maintained into adulthood. This basic trust in government is an important source of stability in the system. In societies where this trust in officials is not maintained, as in the amoral Italian society described by Banfield (1958), long term planning and cooperative improvement of living conditions are difficult if not impossible.

This affiliation with the system is mediated by a relationship with a personal figure--the President of the United States, with whom children feel they have a particularly strong relationship. The chief executive serves as a "living symbol"[24] and a basis from which the child later progresses to awareness of other elements of the political system. Impersonal and institutionalized role systems into which children are socialized must be represented initially by individuals--persons that children know--who can be objects of affection and agents of punishment, either in reality or fantasy.[25,26] This attachment is not developed through the school curriculum, but emerges with relatively little specific information. Attachment to the President is based upon knowledge that there is a very powerful "boss" of the United States; this awareness or belief may be the basis for children's need to perceive powerful figures as benevolent, in order to deal with their own feelings of powerlessness. In the early school years, the relationship between child and chief executive is highly particularistic, echoing many modes characteristic of the child's family relationship. Children expect the President to be personally concerned for their welfare, for which they reciprocate with respect and affection.

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[24] A term used by David Truman (1963) to describe the President.

[25] Finley (1955), in a study of social maturity, asked children to check names of persons, community institutions, and laws which did not personally concern them, and thus found that young children were concerned only with persons.

[26] F. H. Allport (1933) also asserted that children's first contact with institutions is through relationship with people, unencumbered by notions of institutions. It is his opinion, however, that the naive child who does not believe in the reality of the nation and other institutions existing apart from individuals is "wiser than a man."

In the early school years, the President as an individual and the office of the Presidency are not separated in the child's mind.[27] The maturing child learns to distinguish between the role and its occupant and develops respect for institutions of government, which do not have personal representatives.

Although this fund of attachment for the President is vital to society's stable growth, it also may have negative effects. As Kornhauser, Sheppard, and Mayer (1956) and Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950) reported, absolute faith in powerful leaders combined with complete obedience is characteristic of authoritarian personalities and threatens democratic institutions.[28] Davies (1954) asserted that strong, institutionalized patterns which limit government are the major forces for minimizing the charismatic relationship between candidate and voter. For this reason, a system of institutional structures must be accepted by citizens as the most legitimate mechanism for the realization of values. One of the functions of socialization is to modify object attachment to include roles, organizations, and principles.

The role of affective ties to the governmental system in adult political involvement is discussed by Verba (1961):

> The political system can offer some satisfaction for the individual's affective needs through emotional attachments to the symbols of the state, to a charismatic leader, or to some "cause" for which the state stands. But the specific demands that the larger system places upon the individual and the distance of the center of authority from the individual makes it difficult for the system to satisfy his affective needs adequately [p. 56].

Small groups in which the adult has direct involvement must substitute for these strong personal ties to the nation and government, modifying them so that positive regard is not lost but is effectively channeled into active involvement combined with critical consideration of issues and candidates.

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[27] Hartley and Krugman (1948) have reported that young children see an individual as identical with and limited to the single role in which he is momentarily observed.

[28] ". . . people [must] remain skeptical of the leader's aims, motives, and intentions, for hero worship of leaders [while they are living] constitutes a definite threat to the associational society by inducing attitudes of servility and dependence which lead ultimately to the acceptance of authoritarianism" (Wilson and Kolb, 1949, p. 519).

4. Compliance and Response to Law

Assuring that members of a social system will comply with its regulations is also crucial to the system's stability. The compliance system is a network of laws, persons, and institutions vested with authority to enforce their demands. Orientations toward law and its administrators are partially determined by an individual's involvement with the entire governmental system, just as orientations toward the family rule system are crucial to the integration of its members.[29] The emergence of compliance to formal commands depends upon two characteristics of the figure (or social structure) in whom power is vested: benevolence, which motivates the individual to seek rewards, and the power to punish defiance. Although these qualities are logically distinct, children frequently appeared to associate power and benevolence.[30] Benevolent qualities, attributed both to authority figures and to the system of laws, offer a basis of positive regard which justifies and encourages compliance. As previously mentioned, attachment to government leaders motivates personal obedience in hope of reward.[31] A child also trusts the system of laws, believing that all laws are fair and that those who enforce them do so in order to protect citizens.

The young child views law as benign and immutable. The children in our group perceived laws as positive forces in society, seeing their major functions to keep people safe and, increasingly with age, to help run the country. Statutes are not intended primarily to punish wrongdoers (Table 27). Interviews showed that a sense of being protected by law is important to the child's acceptance of the legal system. An excerpt from an interview with a kindergarten girl illustrates this point:

I: What is law?

S: If someone steals something or that . . . it's a law and the policeman had to go looking for it, and when they find him they put him in jail and lock him up and then the law is done.

I: Do you think laws are a good idea?

S: Yes, because so far no one has stealed anything from us.

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[29] The importance of compliance in family relationships is indicated by parents' concern with disciplinary and control problems, documented by all studies of child rearing.

[30] Obedience is also determined by one's conception of subordinate roles (roles of citizen, child, or subject) as compliant. In this country, obedience to adults and law is taught by home and school.

[31] "Reward" is used here as in theoretical discussions of identification. A child experiences positive reinforcement when he behaves as his model does, even when the model does not directly reward him. The same kind of process is important in all situations where the child emulates an ideal.

TABLE 27

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF LAWS
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	To Punish People	To Run Country	To Keep People From Doing Bad Things	To Keep People Safe
Grade 2	198	16.2	6.6	16.7	60.6
Grade 3	217	7.4	14.3	14.7	63.6
Grade 4	211	6.6	14.7	13.3	65.4
Grade 5	210	3.3	20.0	10.5	66.2
Grade 6	233	3.9	27.0	14.6	54.5
Grade 7	226	4.0	28.3	8.0	59.7
Grade 8	89	2.2	34.8	9.0	53.9

Notes.--Item: Why do we have laws? Put an X beside the one that is most true, (1) We have laws to punish people who have done bad things; (2) We have laws to help run the country; (3) We have laws to keep people from doing bad things; (4) We have laws to keep people safe. From Pilot Study 14 questionnaire.

--Significance Unit: 10%

A second illustration comes from an interview with a third grade girl:

I: Well, what do you think about laws? Do you like them?

S: Well, it's for us to obey, it's for our safety. They're fair, and people who make them think of the people.

I: Could there be bad laws?

S: I don't think there are any laws that would be cruel.

Finally, a fourth grade boy explained:

I: Why should we obey laws?

S. You may get hurt, or our country might get hurt.

The young child's perception of law draws from a general feeling that it is important to obey adults. His conception of laws and law enforcement is undifferentiated. He typically does not distinguish rules at home and school from the more formal laws of government, though he knows that all rules are important. Responses given by a fifth grade boy from a middle status home illustrate this confusion:

I: Will you tell me what a law is?

S: A rule that a city makes up.

I: Can you name a law?

S: School or government law? Well, like don't run down the stairs and don't slide down the bannister.

Children recognize the additional importance the status of law gives to general rules of behavior, as evidenced by this exchange with a fifth grade boy of upper status:

I: What's a law?

S: Something to prevent something; it rules out the bad things and enforces it more than if somebody were to just say it.

Traffic laws are among the child's first contacts with the legal system. More than 97 per cent of children at all grade levels identified "cars must stop at stop signs" as a law. Laws prohibiting stealing and killing are also frequently mentioned in interviews with young children.

The young child sees laws as just and unchanging. Positive orientations toward laws and faith in their absolute justice apparently characterize the attitudes of young children. Induction into the compliance system occurs through acceptance of its infallibility; the system is perceived as so perfect that there can be no thought of resisting its demands. This unrealistic conception, coupled with the subordinate role he has learned in the home and classroom, leads a child to accept the law's absolute legitimacy and the citizen's unquestioning compliance.[32] Figure 14 shows the rapid decline with age in agreement that "all laws are fair." The mean response at grade two was closest to strong agreement. Teachers showed even more skepticism than eighth graders, though the difference was not great.

Though implicit trust in law decreases with age, it establishes the criteria a child may use later in assessing the performance of all authority figures. If, at a later age, he discovers that laws are not

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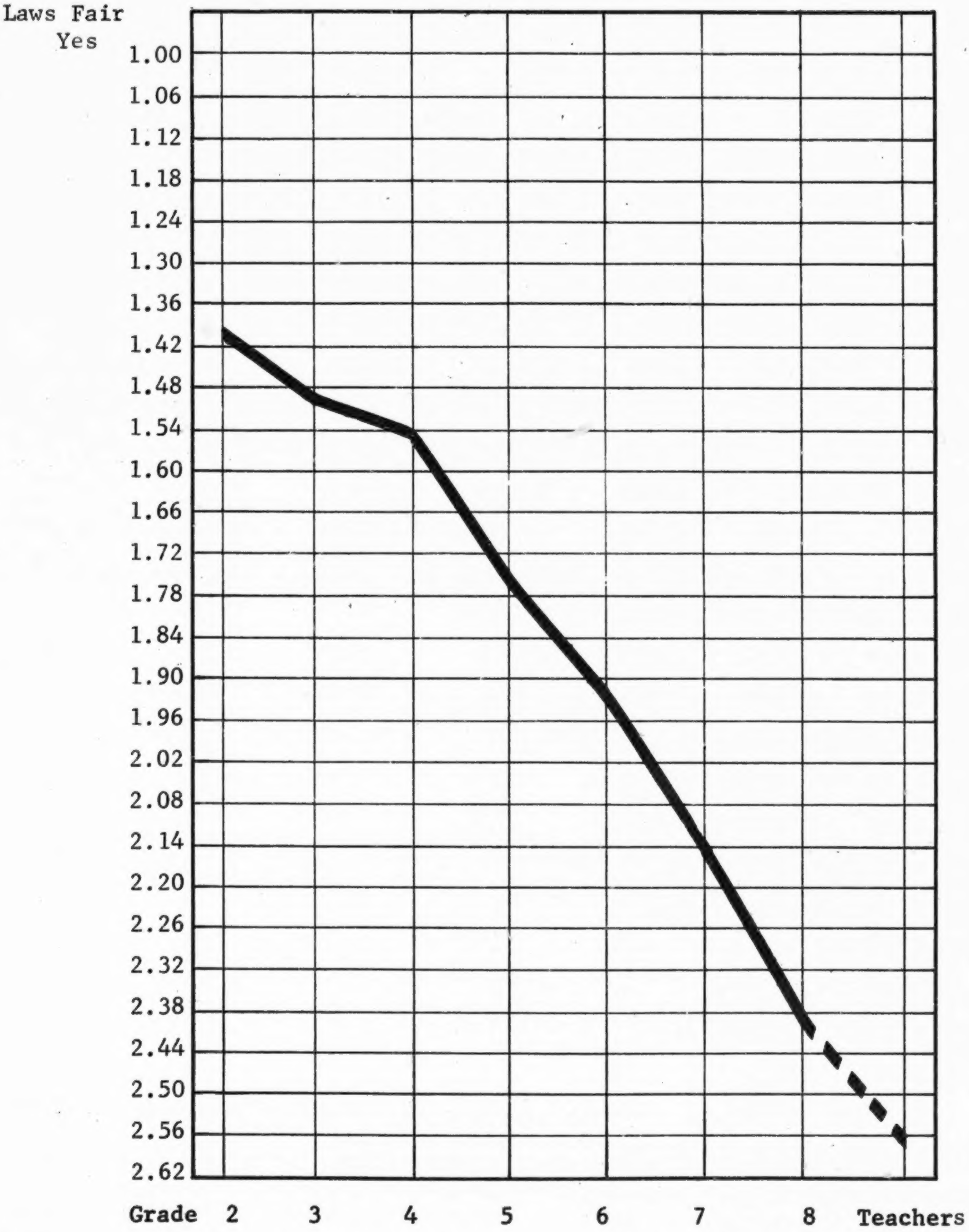
[32] Frank (1949) proposed a different basis for attributing infallibility to the system of laws. "The Law--a body of rules apparently devised for infallibly determining what is right and wrong and deciding who should be punished for misdeeds--inevitably becomes a partial substitute for the Father-as-Infallible Judge" (p. 18). The individual seeks stability in his world by attributing absolute virtue to the legal system. Kohlberg (1963), reviewing Piaget's theories of moral development, suggested that conceiving rules as sacred and unchangeable results from two cognitive defects in children: egocentrism (the inability to see moral values as related to persons other than oneself), and realism (the conception that rules are not subjective phenomena).

FIGURE 14

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN THE BELIEF THAT LAWS ARE FAIR



Item: Are all laws fair?

Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 - Strong disagree

Range of N: 1467 - 1688

Significance Unit: .06

always just, he may nevertheless believe they should be; if he has experience with authority figures who enforce law arbitrarily, he may be disillusioned, yet hold to the principle of fair administration of laws.

Young children believe laws are unchanging, as well as just. At grade three 24 per cent of our group selected the alternative "no laws will change" when asked to predict alterations in the legal system during the next decade (Table 28). Choice of this alternative declined rapidly, so that by grade five, only 6 per cent of our research population subscribed to this statement. Young children also perceived most laws to have been made in the distant past, with the permanence and weight of tradition already behind them (**Figure** 15). Eighth grade children and teachers, however, commonly perceived law making to be a continuous process.

TABLE 28

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF WHETHER LAWS WILL CHANGE
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	All Laws Change	Most Laws Change	Half the Laws Change	A Few Laws Change	No Laws Change
Grade 3	1212	7.9	15.5	11.3	40.8	24.4
Grade 4	1278	3.7	18.5	14.4	52.7	10.7
Grade 5	1417	2.8	17.4	12.4	61.1	6.4
Grade 6	1452	1.9	14.3	12.7	66.0	5.0
Grade 7	1456	1.1	12.2	9.3	75.5	1.9
Grade 8	1468	1.0	8.7	10.3	78.3	1.6

Notes.--Item: By the time you are grown up....(choose one), (1) all laws will change, (2) most laws will change, (3) half the laws will change, (4) a few laws will change, (5) no laws will change, (6) I don't know. Questionnaire, page 21, item (42).

--Significance Unit: 4%

Induction into the compliance system is through visible authority figures—the President and the policeman. To the young child, political authority figures and institutions appear to be highly powerful. They both make and enforce laws and rules. A child's first contact with the system of laws is mediated by specific authority figures, particularly the President , who is perceived as author of the laws (Table 21).[33] Children attributed omniscience to the President as a

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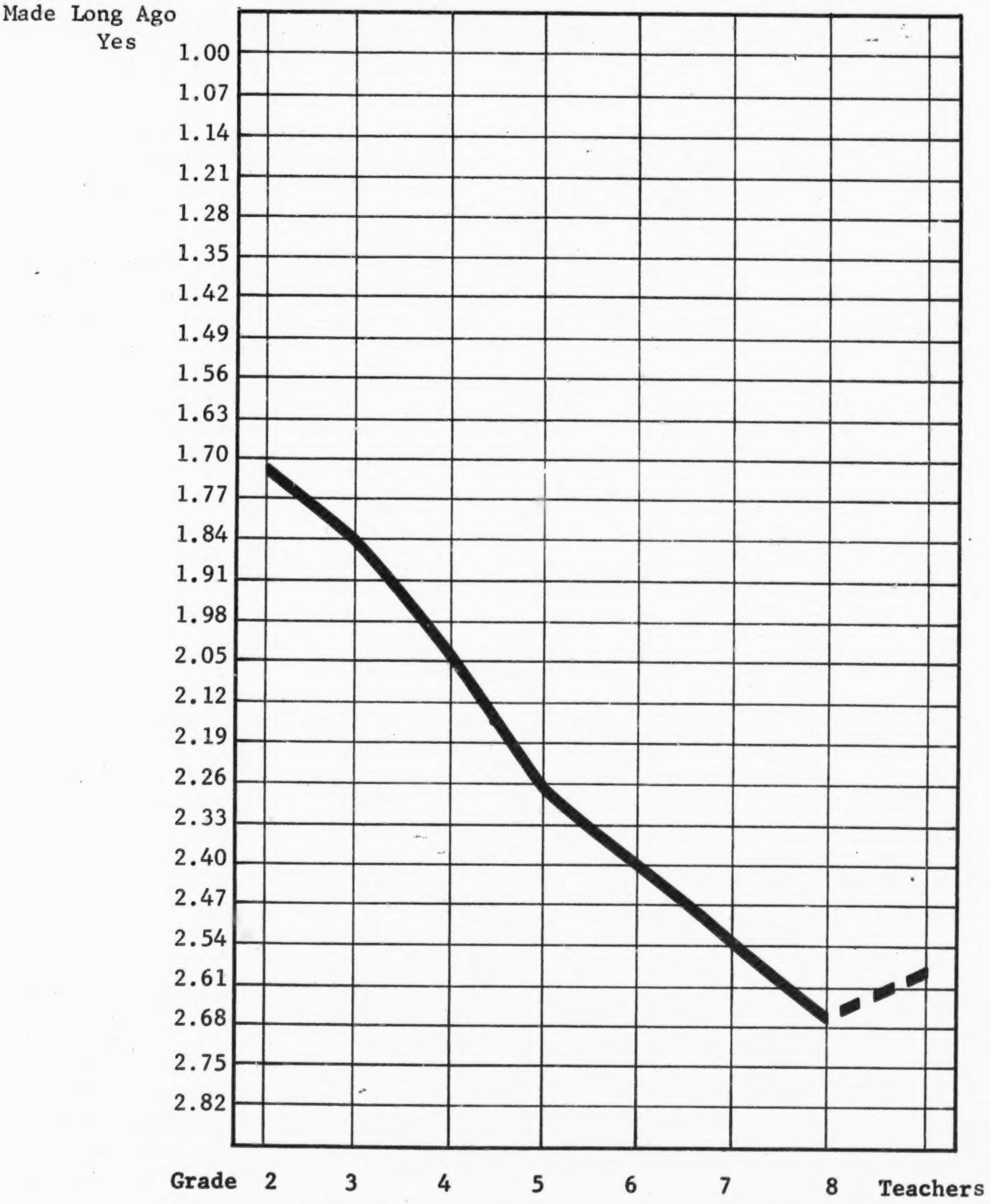
[33] Our preliminary interviews suggest that small children view

FIGURE 15

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN THE BELIEF THAT LAWS WERE "MADE A LONG TIME AGO"



Item: Were most laws made a long time ago?

Index Scale: 1 - Most made long ago
4 - Most not long ago

Range of N: 1315 - 1586

Significance Unit: .07

law-maker, a view consistent with their generally positive evaluation of him. A fifth grade girl from the working class expressed this feeling:

> I: Well now, suppose Mr. Jones said he would not obey the law because it is a bad law. What kind of law do you think that could be?
>
> S: Well, it might be something that the citizens don't like, and it may be just his opinion of just a bad law. The President okays them before they're obeyed, so I guess if it is good enough for him, it is good enough for anybody.

The President is also perceived by young children as the figure most capable of decisive action. His power to "make other people do what he wants" was rated greater than that of the policeman and markedly superior to that of the father (Figure 16). The policeman and President were equally respected for their authority by eighth graders, with the age trend resulting from a decline in positive ratings of the President. Fourth graders also perceived the President as approximately equal to the policeman in ability to "punish anyone" (Figure 17). The Senator was seen by older children as having narrower ranges of authority, eighth graders having little more respect for the Senator's power than for that of their own fathers. Eighth graders attributed much more authoritativeness to government and Supreme Court than to either the President or the Senator.

In summary, the Supreme Court, President, government, and policeman are, for the most part, indistinguishable to the fourth grader. By the eighth grade, institutions are seen as most powerful, the policeman and the President having intermediate amounts of power, while the Senator and father have least. The consistently lower ratings given by teachers to these figures may result from use of the word "punish" in this item. Although appropriately expressing a subordinate relationship for children, it was perhaps less appropriate for adults.

The policeman is seen in positive terms with respect to power; this image is relatively stable with age. Although he was rated as having no more power than the President, respect for his power was highly stable across the age range. Moreover, the policeman was judged to be nearly as concerned for the child's welfare as his own father (as expressed by the policeman's desire to be helpful), a perception which was also stable with age. These are the only three items in which the policeman was rated high and where this rating remained stable. On elements of general role competence--leadership, infallibility, decision-making, working hard, knowing a great deal--the policeman was

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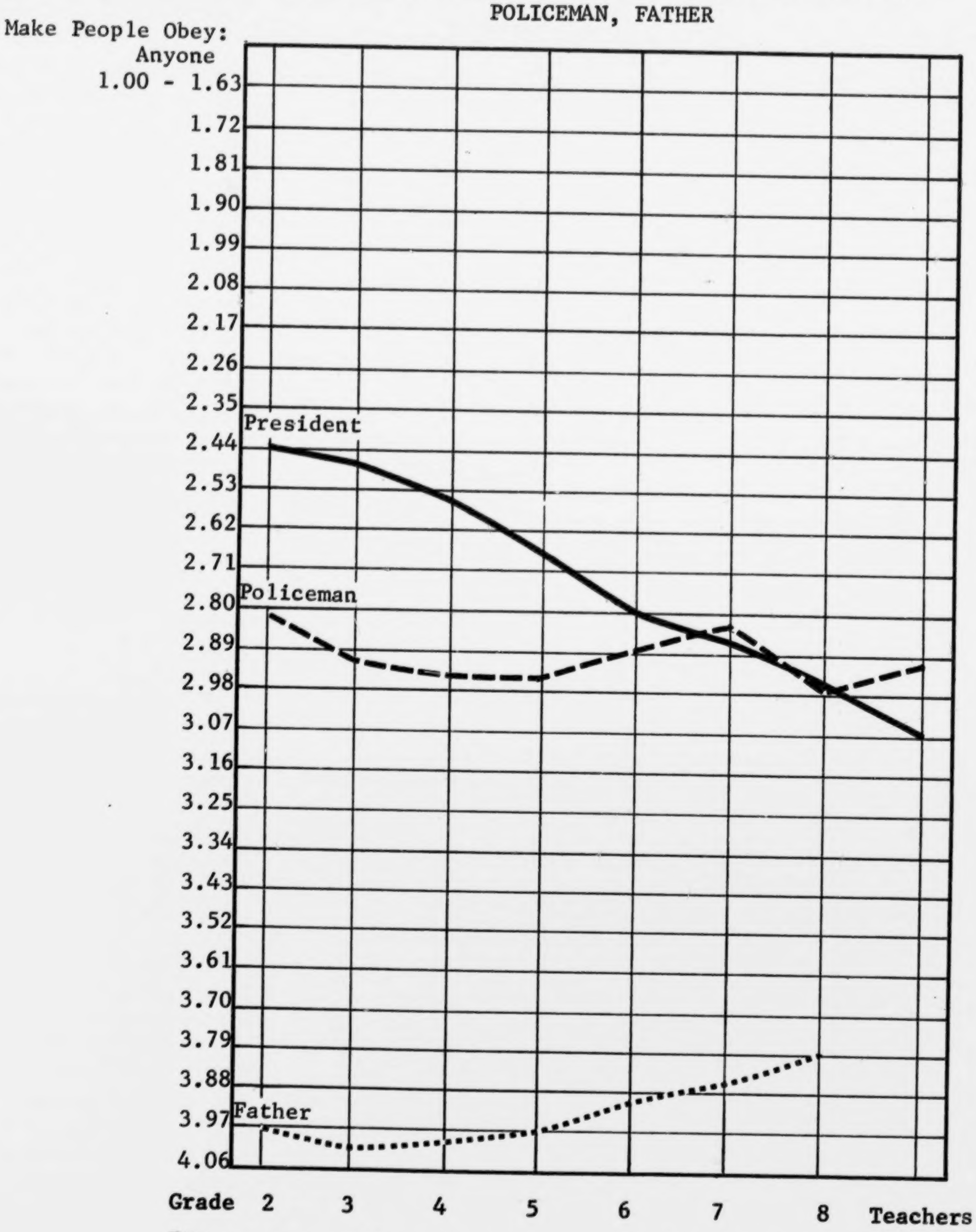
Congress, the Supreme Court, and Senators as the President's assistants and helpers. The concept of checks and balances is foreign to the child, who has difficulty understanding that there is more than one valid side to an issue.

FIGURE 16

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE COERCIVE POWER OF FIGURES: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER



Item: ....can make anyone do what he wants.

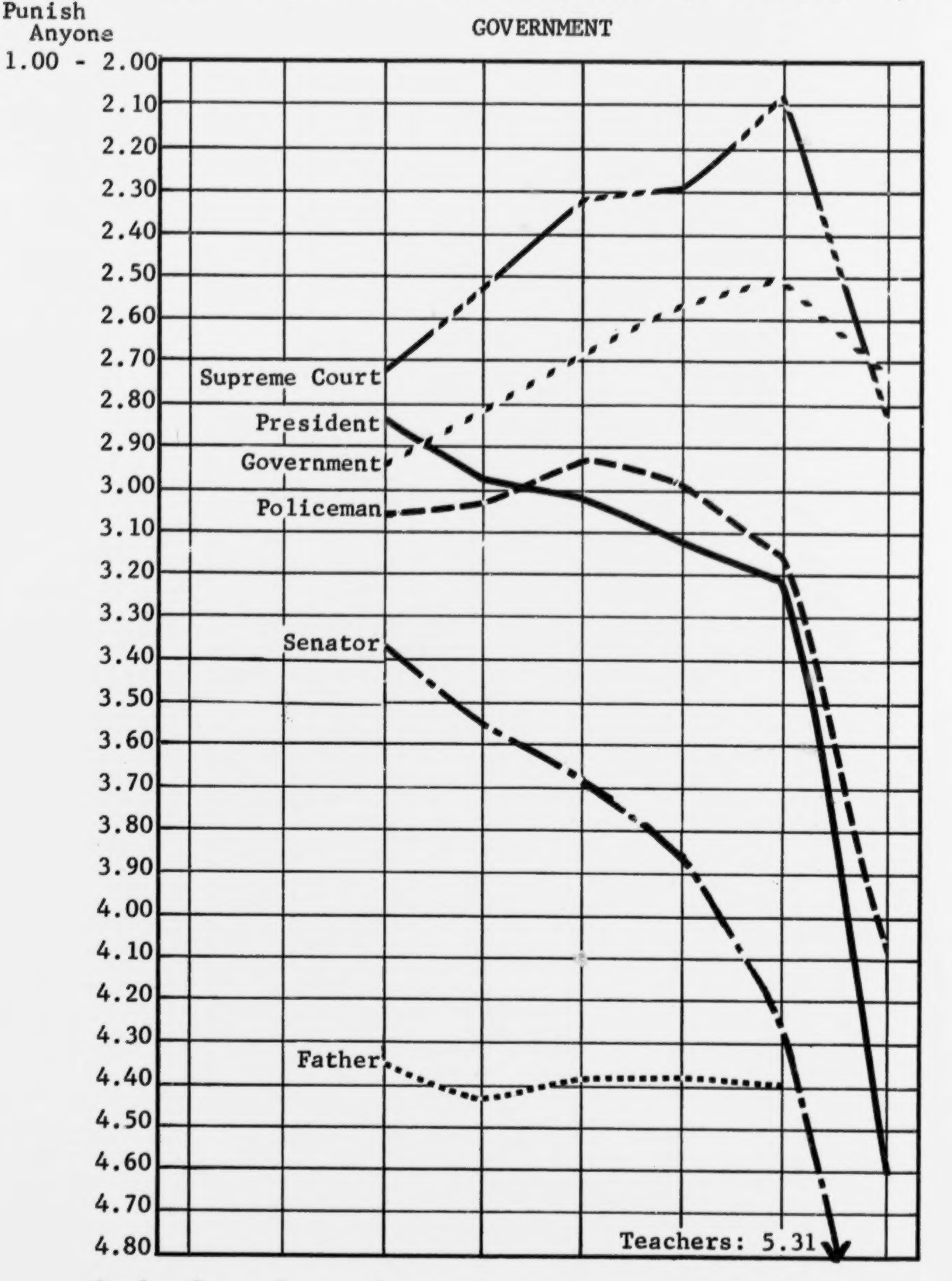
Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - Almost no one

Range of N: 1397 - 1791

Significance Unit: .09

FIGURE 17

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE PUNITIVE POWER OF FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS: PRESIDENT, POLICEMAN, FATHER, SENATOR, SUPREME COURT, GOVERNMENT



Item: .... can punish anyone.

Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - No one

Range of N: 1302 - 1793

Significance Unit: .10

perceived as similar to the children's fathers, but considerably below the President (Figures 9, 10, 11, 12, 13).

Children have dual role expectations of the policeman; he will enforce laws but he will help the child when necessary. Table 29 indicates the importance to children at all grade levels, of the policeman's being able to make people obey laws, and the increasing importance of his helping people in trouble. Thus, we may expect children to react to the policeman's power with compliance, and to his nurturance with affection.

TABLE 29

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF POLICEMAN'S JOB
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Make People Obey the Law	Help People Who Are in Trouble	Catch People Who Break the Law
Grade 4	1526	38.3	23.0	38.7
Grade 5	1787	42.4	29.6	28.0
Grade 6	1731	42.8	32.5	24.7
Grade 7	1709	44.5	34.0	21.5
Grade 8	1680	41.6	39.6	18.8
Teachers	382	50.3	38.5	11.3

Notes.--Item: Which is the most important for the policeman to do? (Choose one), (1) Make people obey the law; (2) Help people who are in trouble; (3) Catch people who break the law. Questionnaire, page 31, item (31).

--Significance Unit: 3%

What will be the child's response to these perceptions of the policeman? Compliance is clearly evident, particularly in responses of young children to the question, "If you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what would you do?" Only 6 per cent of our pilot test group stated, "I would not do it."[34] Non-compliance in a face-to-face encounter with the policeman is an untenable idea to young children; only the extent to which compliance is unquestioning may vary (Table 30). A very small percentage of children would do what the

---

[34] Since there were so few responses of non-compliance, and because the inclusion of this alternative was disturbing to some children and teachers, it was eliminated from our final instrument.

TABLE 30

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CHILD'S RESPONSE IF HE "THINKS A POLICEMAN IS WRONG" (Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Do What He Tells You and Forget About It	Do What He Tells You but Tell Your Father	Do What He Tells You but Ask the Policeman Why	Do What He Tells You but Tell Him He Is Wrong
Grade 2	1635	19.6	45.5	24.0	10.9
Grade 3	1663	20.8	41.8	27.8	9.5
Grade 4	1729	17.0	38.7	34.3	10.0
Grade 5	1791	17.3	33.1	37.9	11.7
Grade 6	1740	15.4	24.9	48.1	11.6
Grade 7	1708	13.4	23.0	52.5	11.1
Grade 8	1677	11.5	17.3	58.4	12.8

Notes.--Item: If you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what should you do? Put an X beside the one that tells what you would do, (1) Do what he tells you and forget about it; (2) Do what he tells you but tell your father about it; (3) Do what he tells you but ask the policeman why; (4) Do what he tells you but tell the policeman he is wrong. Questionnaire, page 9, item (40).

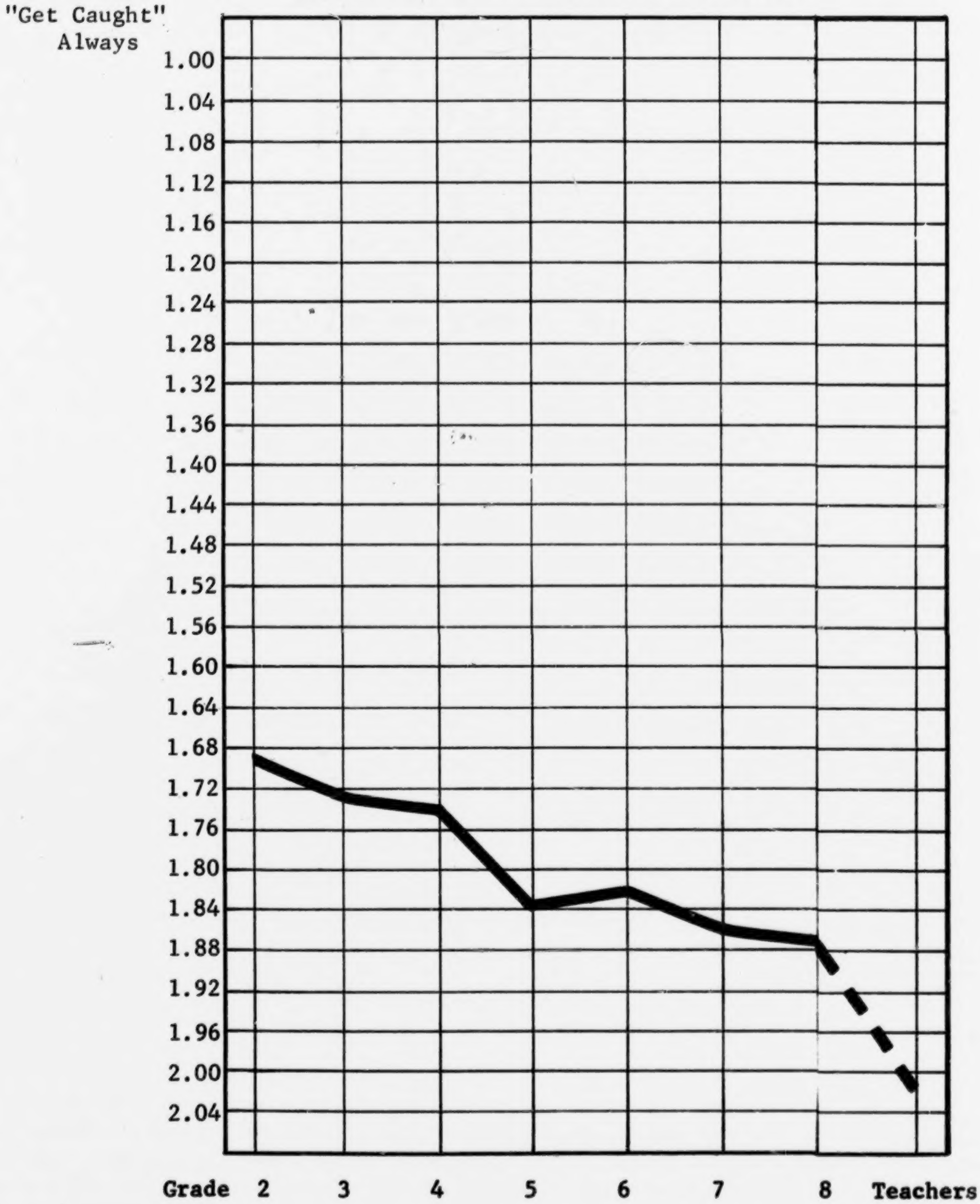
--Significance Unit: 3%

policeman said but tell him they thought he was wrong. Compliance either without comment or coupled with a later report to one's father are model responses for young children but are less popular for older children. Asking the policeman to explain an unjust command is a more common response among older children, which represents an increasing tendency to question authority within a framework of compliance.

The young child believes that punishment is an inevitable consequence of wrongdoing; this view declines with age. Children's assessment of the efficacy of machinery for apprehending criminals was probed by the question, "Do people who break laws: (1) always get caught; (2) usually get caught; (3) usually get away; or (4) always get away?" (Figure 18). Young children believed that punishment inevitably follows crime. This certainty declined somewhat, however, with teachers being even more skeptical than eighth graders. The same type of age change appears in perceptions of the system of laws. Older children have learned, perhaps from their own experiences, that punish-

FIGURE 18

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN PERCEPTION OF THE SUCCESS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT



Item: People who break laws always get caught.

Index Scale: 1 - Always
4 - Never

Range of N: 1606 - 1784

Significance Unit: .04

ment is not the inevitable consequence of misdemeanor and they generalized this conclusion to the legal system.

The older child sees home authority and non-family authority figures as quite different. Although the thought of disobeying any authority figure is disturbing for most children, overwhelming awe for the policeman decreased with age (Table 31). This tendency, with increasing age, to be less awed by law and law enforcement figures does not suggest the development of disrespect; rather, it reflects a shift away from unrealistically positive assessments of the system to a view more congruent with the way the system actually operates.

TABLE 31

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF DISOBEDIENCE TO FOUR AUTHORITY FIGURES
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Most Wrong to Disobey Mother	Most Wrong to Disobey Teacher	Most Wrong to Disobey Father	Most Wrong to Disobey Policeman
Grade 3	1605	9.8	7.5	7.6	75.0
Grade 4	1653	10.3	5.6	11.9	72.2
Grade 5	1715	14.3	4.6	16.2	65.0
Grade 6	1673	14.3	4.0	21.0	60.7
Grade 7	1645	16.3	3.3	24.7	55.6
Grade 8	1595	19.1	3.6	27.8	49.5
Teachers	333	28.5	3.0	17.4	51.0

Notes.--Item: Disobey means to do something someone tells you not to do. Which of these is the most wrong? Put an X beside the one that is most wrong, (1) To disobey your mother; (2) to disobey your teacher; (3) to disobey your father; (4) to disobey the policeman. Questionnaire, page 24, item (54).

--Significance Unit: 3%

Children believe that the policeman helps people in trouble, but have no strong personal feeling for him (Figures 7 & 8). There was much less personal liking for the policeman than for father and somewhat less affection for him than for the President. Only the Senator was less esteemed than the policeman. These mixed feelings are illustrated by an increase with age in the number of children who saw the policeman's major function as helping people in trouble, accompanied by a decrease in the number of children who reported that they liked the policeman. Most responses to interview questions about the policeman were positive; however, there were some which showed mixed feelings. An interview with a fourth grade, working class girl illustrates this point.

I: Do you like the policemen?

S: I don't know. They help, and they give you tickets. I don't like them. I like to obey my own rules. I listen to them, but I don't like them.

Children have learned that policemen may help but also may punish them, and they respond to both punishment and nurturance.

To children, the policeman represents the authoritative ruling order; more than 80 per cent of our group knew he worked for the government. The policeman is also a well-known figure; a second grader know the postman and policeman better than other government figures (Table 32). Children expect their behavior to be directly influenced by the policeman and anticipate suffering the consequences of disobedience. Although schools probably present a nurturant image of the policeman, children learn from an early age that one of the policeman's major responsibilities is to capture (and they believe also to punish) lawbreakers. Because children's first contacts with law are through observations of its enforcement, mixed feelings about its representatives are very important in determining perceptions of law.[35]

Not all attitudes toward the system of law shift toward moderation with increased age. Norms concerning how the system should operate are distinguished from those regarding the way it actually operates. The item, "The policeman's job is to make people obey laws," is stable across the age range, although children's belief in the inevitability of punishment declines. Agreement with the statement that "laws are to keep us safe," is stable, while agreement that "all laws are fair" shows a marked decline with age.

The origin of orientations toward the compliance system is four-fold: first, the fund of positive feeling for government, particularly the President, which is extended to include laws made by government authorities; second, the core of respect for power wielded by authority figures, particularly the policeman; third, experience in subordinate, compliant roles, acquired by the child at home and school; fourth, the normative belief that all systems of rules are fair. These elements are central to a young child's induction into the compliance system.

5. Influencing Government Policy

The franchise is a central feature of a democratic government,

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[35] Only unquestioning compliance to law and commands from an authority figure were assessed. Broader social compliance, as represented by the belief in the leader's infallibility and the validity of only one side in any argument, is vital to social history but was not a primary concern.

TABLE 32

CHANGES BY GRADE IN BEST KNOWN GOVERNMENT FIGURES
(Percentages: children were asked to choose two)

Grade Level	N	Policeman	Postman	President	Soldier	Judge	Senator
Grade 2	196	64.3	52.6	41.3	23.0	18.4	1.0
Grade 3	214	65.9	54.7	36.4	26.2	15.0	2.3
Grade 4	204	65.7	46.6	50.0	27.0	9.3	1.5
Grade 5	207	61.4	45.4	51.7	23.2	9.7	6.3
Grade 6	232	42.7	34.0	59.9	39.6	12.1	9.5
Grade 7	209	43.1	27.3	66.0	33.5	13.2	15.3
Grade 8	87	35.6	18.4	73.6	42.5	6.9	23.0

Notes.--Item: Put an X by the (pictures of) two people below that you know the most about, (1) Soldier; (2) Judge; (3) Senator; (4) Policeman; (5) Postman; (6) President. From Pilot Study 14 questionnaire.

--Significance Unit: 10%

and the preparation of children to exercise this right as adults is one of the key elements of the socializing process. In the relationship between a citizen and his government, the right to vote is the power to effect change and to exert control; the successful teaching of the attitudes and behavior that attend this right is essential for the perpetuation of a democracy.

Concern with children's political attitudes could be limited to the attachment and compliance dimensions already discussed, were this study conducted in a totalitarian regime. In a democratic system, however, another major role relationship is open to the individual: watching over the government's conduct and attempting to influence its actions.[36] Because a citizen votes, he may also play an influential role in the period between elections. His power is largely based upon this right to vote and his ability to influence the votes of others. The vote is one expression of a fundamental relationship between the citizen and his country but the act of casting a ballot is not sufficient evidence that the citizen comprehends, accepts, and implements his right to influence the governing process. This orientation involves a view of oneself as effective, a view of the system as responsive, and a knowledge of the procedures and techniques of influence required to implement intent.[37]

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[36] Almond and Verba (1963) referred to this as the "citizen's role," an active one, and contrasted it with the passive "subject's role."

To attempt to intervene in the actions of the governmental system requires an assertiveness which contrasts sharply with the submissiveness of the subject's role. Yet this assertiveness must not destroy compliance with law, nor can it proceed outside of structures designed to regulate dissent. Because the power to regulate the government, which the child will share as a citizen, is unlike any relationship he has experienced within his family or school, orientations which foster this kind of active involvement must be developed during childhood. Teaching these attitudes is a lengthy and complex process built upon earlier stages of trust in the system and compliance to it. Trust in the system justifies action and motivates attempts at influence, assuring that effort will not be futile. The citizen's place in the compliance system limits and constrains the techniques of influence, keeping them within legal bounds. Failure of socialization may foster apathy on the one hand or lead to the emergence of influence techniques which are antisocial or illegal on the other.

Two types of influence are available to the individual citizen--the power to affect decisions and actions of the government and the power to influence government by changing his elected representatives. Although the techniques involved in these different types of action are not identical, the underlying orientations are essentially the same. The acquisition of attitudes in this critical area is complex and begins early in life. The intricacies of personal involvement in political behavior have been presented by Smith, Bruner and White (1956) and by Lane (1959) in extensive case histories. The origin of orientation toward elections and influence is a relevant dimension of political socialization even though the right to vote is reserved for adult years. Adult participation in government is usually intermittent. The rewards are often delayed in time and there is little direct feedback to reinforce it. Possibly one of the most difficult tasks of political socialization is to teach the individual citizen to engage in action (through community groups and other organizations) which he recognizes may either have no effect or a very delayed effect. Attitudes which will prepare individuals for participation when they have attained majority must be socialized. Norms which maintain a political environment favorable to political participation must be accepted.

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[37] Although many citizens are politically inactive, feelings of political competence are characteristic of adults in the United States. Seventy-five per cent of the sample interviewed by Almond and Verba (1963) felt that they could do something to modify or prevent the passage of an unjust or harmful law being considered in Congress:

> "Much of the influence that our respondents believe they have over government probably represents a somewhat unrealistic belief in their opportunities to participate. It is likely that many who say they could influence the government would never attempt to exert such influence; and it is likely, as well, that if they tried, they would not succeed. . . . But if the individual believes he has influence, he is more likely to attempt to use it. . . . And if decision makers believe that the ordinary man could participate--they are likely to behave quite differently than if such a belief did not exist" (pp. 182-183).

The processes of government--passing and enforcing laws, making and implementing decisions--are too complex for children to comprehend and indeed are not always well understood by adults. Developing the capacity and motivation necessary for intervening in governmental process requires a complex pattern of attitudes and beliefs. First is the belief that government needs improvement and that citizens are obligated to work for its betterment. This opposes the belief that government is perfect and that citizens fulfill their role by remaining silent and complying with law. The belief that the status quo is satisfactory acts to deter active citizen participation. This kind of apathy resembles Kornhauser's (1959) description of apathetic masses which can be easily mobilized for extreme causes during times of national crisis. Second, a citizen who wishes to influence government policies must learn the most efficient ways to make his opinion heard. This problem is complicated by the schools' emphasis upon the formal structure of governmental process, and the underemphasis on the role of group structures and interactions which constitute a pluralistic society. David Truman (1963) has summarized this:

> So strong is this awareness of the standardized, formal aspects of government . . . that we may easily fall into the error of a simplified, stereotyped picture of the process: the legislature adopts policy, the executive approves and administers it, the court adjudicates controversies arising out of it [p. 262].

The influence of interest and pressure groups is apparently often ignored in public discussion of congressional action and in school curricula. Admittedly it is not easy to each children that groups who promote their own interests rather than the public interest may be effective, even decisive, in the legislative process. But such information is useful in helping the citizen to act realistically and effectively.

The ideal of American democracy has been that each individual should be able to make his opinion count, as it did in the town meetings of early America. Banfield (1960) contrasted the American and British government in this regard: "The British . . . still believe that the government should govern. And we still believe that everyone has a right to 'get in on the act' and to make his influence felt" (pp. 61-77). Some writers, like Berelson et al. (1954), have argued that the characteristics of individuals which produce participation are unnecessary in the operation of democratic society; rather, collective properties of the electorate and the total political and social system are crucial. Others, particularly Kornhauser (1959), have suggested that the individual's most legitimate participation in larger decision-making processes is through membership in groups which mediate between government decision-makers and citizens. Face-to-face relationships provide an individual with meaningful concerns, and rather than forcing the citizen to evaluate distant events in terms of stereotypes, they are linked to personal meanings. This group mediation has two other advantages:

> Each group has interests of its own in gaining access to elites, and has organized power not available to separate individuals . . . since independent groups seek to maintain their position by checking one another's power as well as the power of higher level elites, the interactions of the groups help to sustain access to decision making processes in the larger society [p. 81].

The mobilization of individual activity into group influence not only multiplies the individual's power but also prevents the tyranny of any single group, or the chaos which would result if each individual demanded that his own suggestions be considered.

Although political and social theories have indicated that individuals must be involved in groups in which they have interest and influence and about which they have realistic information, in order for democratic processes to operate, participation of this kind is not widespread. Greer (1958) pointed to the particular absence of this type of involvement in urban areas. Here, democratic processes (shared decision making, control by consent) are common only in family and friendship groups. Formal organizations on the local or community level engage only a minority in more than token participation, and these participants are not always democratically organized.

This discussion of socialization in this area is oriented about the following questions:

1. Do children see government as so perfect that the citizen's only legitimate responsibility is to obey its commands and not interfere with its pronouncements? Do they allow other individuals the freedome to criticize the government?

2. Do children have knowledge of extra-legislative, informal processes of government and the legitimate channels of influence which are open to them as citizens?

3. Is stress placed upon individual participation or upon the goal of incorporating individuals in group action?

a) Concept of the system and the citizen's role

The concept of government as an object which can stimulate citizen protest on issues is the most crucial aspect of this relationship of citizens to government. Young children have a highly idealized acceptance of the system as a whole--an attachment both to their country and to the figures and institutions of government. Operation of the democratic system, however, demands that citizens have reservations about particular facets of public policy. Without abandoning his positive attachment to government, to the rules of law, and to the structures designed to regulate dissent, the citizen must be watchful over the government's actions. He must learn to separate particular government policies from his allegiance to the government as a whole.

The child has an implicit trust in the benevolence of government. Young children see the government as a benevolent force protecting and pointing out the right road for citizens. This is documented by agreement with the item, "What goes on in the government is all for the best" (Figure 19).

At grade three, 90 per cent of the respondents agreed with this statement (excluding those who did not respond or who did not know). At grade eight, 76 per cent of the students agreed. Among teachers, the agreement rate dropped to 46 per cent. This idealized perception of government is further documented by pilot-study responses to the question, "The United States government knows what is best for the people."[38] Between 80 and 90 per cent of students at all grade levels agreed with this statement. Clearly, children accept a system which "knows what is best for its citizens," just as their parents presumably know what is best for them. These data confirm the trend presented in Figure 13, concerning the perceived infallibility of governmental decisions. Accepting the supreme authority of government does not prepare an individual for action in pursuit of his own goals. The age changes in the item regarding perception that the government is "all for the best," show that a somewhat more realistic view of government is acquired with increasing experience. The discrepancy between eighth graders and teachers was very large, however; the experience acquired by adults, who see many governmental decisions with which they cannot agree, leads to expressions of discontent which, in turn, stimulate political activity.

Questions concerning curriculum also suggest that in the second through fourth grades teachers emphasize positive aspects of their social studies material, or at least present the material impartially (see Table 33). They do not attempt to inculcate critical faculties in assessing this material, but see their role as forming the child's lasting positive attachment to the system. Teachers of seventh and eighth grade classes reported that they tried to present material pointing out less favorable aspects. The principle that our government is good but that it is not infallible on certain issues is a highly subtle idea and one difficult to communicate even to eighth grade students. Presentation of controversial issues for discussion in the classroom and the child's increasing experience with actions of the political system which do not meet his standards modify the feeling that governmental activity and power are beyond question.

Children believe that democracy is "rule by the people," but have limited understanding of how this rule is exercised. Children hold certain norms about the operation of democracy. "A democracy

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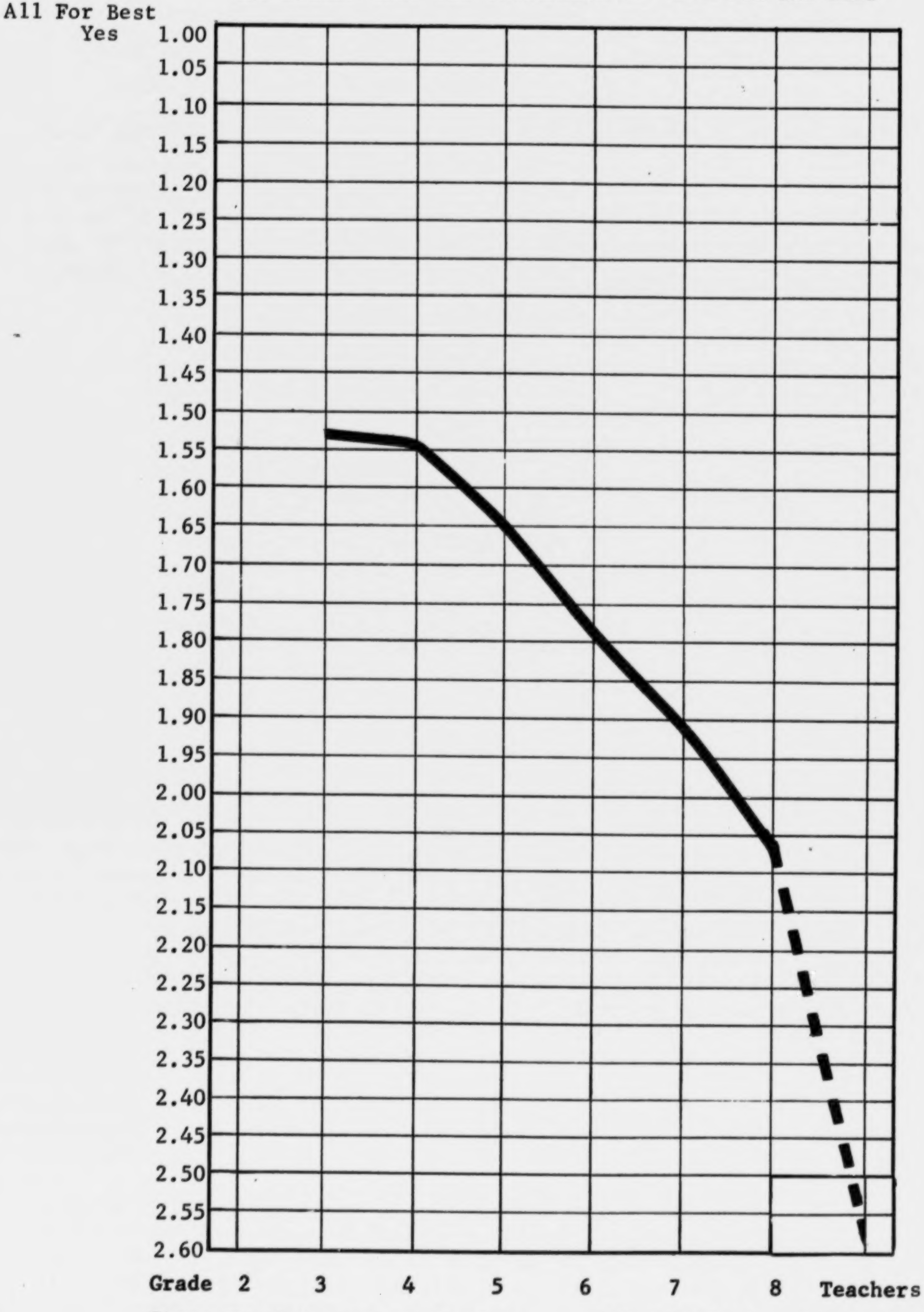
[38] Pilot Study 11.

FIGURE 19

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES THREE THROUGH EIGHT IN THE BELIEF THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS "ALL FOR THE BEST"



Item: Is what goes on in the government all for the best ?

Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 - Strong disagree

Range of N: 1368 - 1619

Significance Unit: .05

TABLE 33

TEACHERS' REPORT OF THEIR PRESENTATION OF CURRICULAR MATERIAL
(Percentages)

Grade Level Taught	Number of Teachers Responding	Impartially, Without Value Judgment	Favorably Emphasize Good Aspects	Critically Point out Bad Aspects as Well as Good
Grade 2	22	27.3	54.5	18.2
Grades 3 & 4	32	37.5	31.2	31.2
Grades 5 & 6	38	18.4	36.8	44.7
Grades 7 & 8	22	18.2	13.6	68.2

Note.--Item: I usually try to present material about the country, (1) Impartially, giving no value judgment; (2) favorably, emphasizing the good aspects; (3) critically, pointing out bad aspects as well as good. From Curriculum Questionnaire.

is where the people rule," is clearly among its most important definitions (Table 34). It would be hard for anyone to disagree with such a positive statement. An interview with a sixth grade, lower status boy points out his limited understanding of such rule by the people:

> Oh, in the United States the people are supposed to rule the government--well--I--the people make up the government. They are not the officers, the government supposedly rules, but the people have command over the government. . . . Well, I'd say really the people rule, because the people have charge over the government; it's just an organization that the people are trying to keep order. So really the people would rule, but that is kind of complicated because the government rules over the people and the people tell the government. It is kind of mixed up, but it's a good set up, but yet there's no real good rule. Everybody has power; that is, everybody's power is limited. Well, it is like an organization, if the majority doesn't like this--why then--it doesn't go. If the majority does, it's all the majority--the majority rules--nobody rules--but the majority rules. . . .

Though he repeats some of the important phrases like "majority rule," it is clear that he knows little about the operation of a democratic system.

The child has a limited knowledge of the role of pressure groups in making political policy. Children's understanding of the role pressure groups play in government is indicated in Table 35. Until the seventh grade, children rated the policeman's influence in law making as higher than that of any other individual or group except the

TABLE 34

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY
(Percentages: Children answered "Yes," "No," or "Don't know" for each definition)

Grade Level	N	The People Rule	N	No one is Rich or Poor	N	All Grown-ups Can Vote	N	All Have Equal Chance	N	You Can Say Things Against the Government	N	If Most Agree, the Rest Dould Go Along
Grade 4	1540	26.0	1532	19.4	1535	39.4	1540	35.8	1537	15.4	1530	29.9
Grade 5	1787	35.9	1783	24.3	1782	52.4	1787	50.2	1779	23.0	1774	35.5
Grade 6	1741	51.9	1735	27.1	1739	69.0	1738	66.4	1735	39.1	1734	35.2
Grade 7	1708	64.3	1704	24.2	1711	75.4	1712	76.8	1713	48.6	1706	28.2
Grade 8	1689	76.4	1672	22.7	1677	75.3	1677	82.8	1677	53.5	1673	27.6
Teachers	375	98.4	373	7.5	374	76.5	376	88.3	373	55.0	373	67.6

Notes.--Items: What is a democracy? (In each of the following questions, choose one), (1) Yes; (2) No; (3) Don't know. (37) Is a democracy where the people rule? (38) Is a democracy where no one is very rich or very poor? (39) Is a democracy where all grown-ups can vote? (40) Is a democracy where everyone has an equal chance to get ahead? (41) Is a democracy where you can say anything against the government without getting into trouble? (42) Is a democracy where if most of the people agree, the rest should go along? Questionnaire, pages 32 and 33, items (37) through (42).

--Significance Unit: 3% for all items.

TABLE 35

CHANGES BY GRADE IN RATING THE INFLUENCE OF OFFICIALS, PRESSURE GROUPS, AND THE AVERAGE CITIZEN
(Mean Ratings)

Grade Level	N	Rich People	N	Unions	N	President	N	Newspapers	N	Churches	N	Average Person	N	Policeman	N	Big Companies
Grade 4	1230	2.23	1141	1.77	1499	1.13	1407	2.33	1365	2.18	1392	2.34	1475	1.82	1314	2.14
Grade 5	1563	2.39	1540	1.79	1773	1.15	1695	2.47	1660	2.31	1703	2.32	1731	2.00	1668	2.22
Grade 6	1586	2.43	1582	1.84	1728	1.17	1673	2.50	1611	2.46	1680	2.38	1697	2.15	1646	2.30
Grade 7	1609	2.41	1596	1.90	1704	1.18	1676	2.40	1663	2.45	1681	2.38	1684	2.28	1663	2.33
Grade 8	1597	2.33	1612	1.90	1674	1.18	1642	2.26	1615	2.46	1648	2.24	1640	2.35	1627	2.33
Teachers	368	1.92	373	1.68	376	1.35	373	1.74	373	2.41	376	2.12	371	2.61	370	1.74

Notes.--Items: How much do these people help decide which laws are made for our country? (1) very much; (2) some; (3) very little; (4) not at all; (5) Don't know. Item (22) rich people; (23) unions; (24) the President; (25) newspapers; (26) churches; (27) the average person; (28) policemen; (29) big companies. Questionnaire, page 30, items (22) through (29).

--Largest Significance Unit: .06 (for comparing grades only).

President and labor unions. Children did not distinguish among the power of big companies, churches, rich people, and the average voter. Labor unions were attributed much higher power; they seemed to exemplify the concept of "pressure group" for respondents.

As a clear illustration of the strength of the American ideal of the importance of the individual, the average citizen's influence on law making was perceived as equal to the legislative power wielded by large companies, persons of wealth, and newspapers. Teachers differed greatly from eighth graders in their perceptions, rating the influence of unions, newspapers, companies, and rich people nearly equally and at a level much higher than they rated that of the average citizen. Stable age curves from grade four through eight, followed by a sharp divergence of teachers, suggest that this facet of governmental process is not handled either formally or informally by the school.[39] Schools concentrate on formal aspects of the government, teaching that Congress makes the laws, but not recognizing the influence of interest groups.

Perception of the different channels of influence which the citizen may adopt does expand with age. Agreement that, "Voting is the only way people like my parents can have any say about how the government runs things" dropped with age (Figure 20). In a pilot study, recognition that, "Everyone can write to his Congressman to say what laws he wants passed," increased with grade.[40] On a previous pilot instrument, however, the average citizen was rated as only slightly less influential than "people who write to their Senators."[41]

Responses to the three questions posed at the beginning of this section seem fairly clear, even from this brief analysis. These answers influence the interpretation of the active involvement of this sample. Many children believe that the government provides for all citizens in such a way that they need not be alert or responsible for its conduct. Children's evaluation of pressure groups is generally negative and knowledge of the most efficient channels of influence is limited. They believe in individual access to power--an unrealistic viewpoint, particularly in a rapidly expanding society.

Older children stress interest in politics and current events as part of the ideal citizen's obligation. Part of the citizen's responsibility, in the mind of an older child, is to be interested in the government. The choice of this aspect of the citizen's role as important increased dramatically with age, eighth graders being quite similar to teachers (Tables 24, 25). The belief that citizens should be interested is socialized, even though motivations for this interest and

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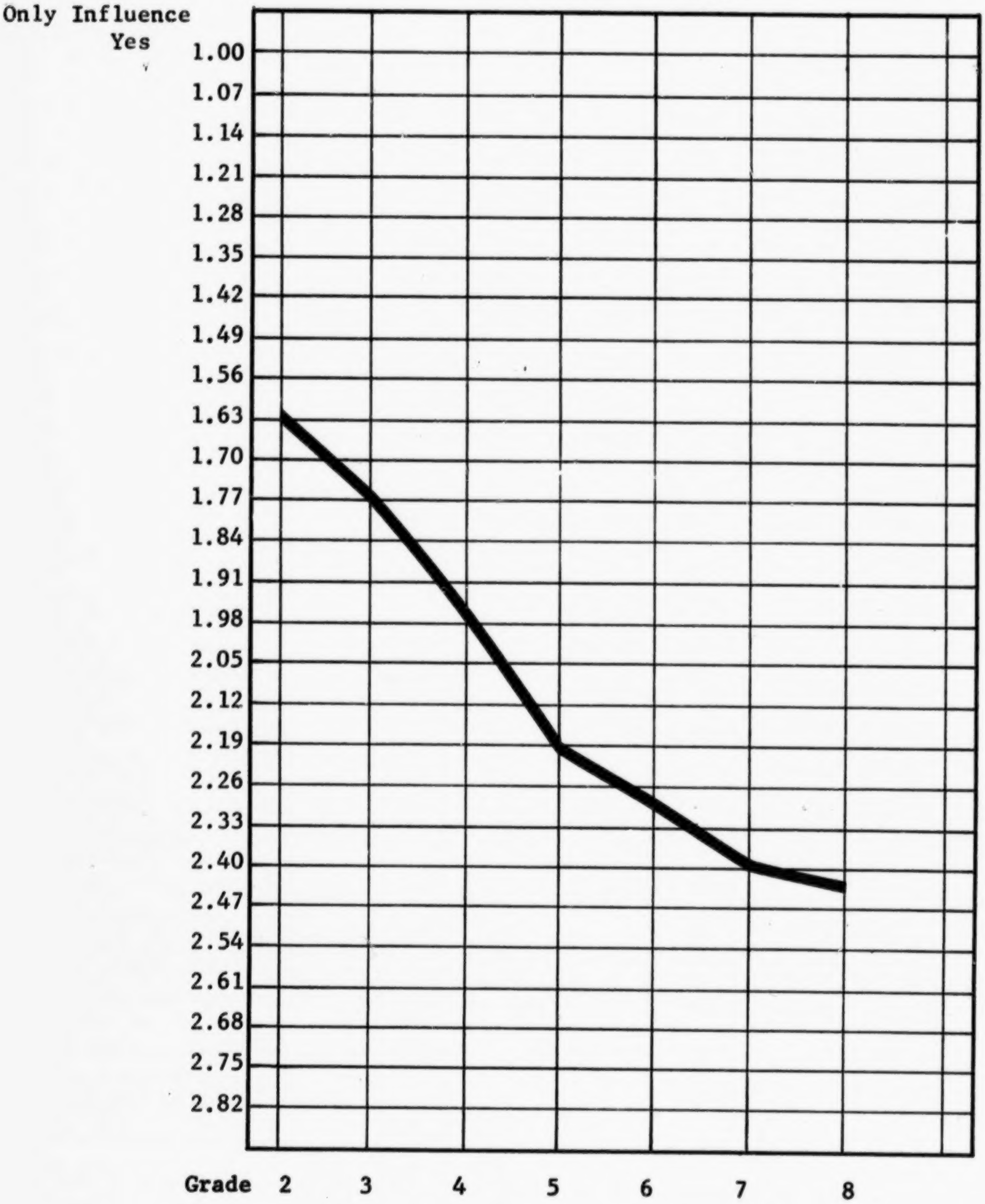
[39] Pressure groups are perhaps the most publicly devalued part of our government process. Remmers (Remmers & Radler, 1957) reported that in a high school sample only 25 per cent agreed that "Pressure groups are a useful and important feature of representative government" (p. 181).

[40] Pilot Study 11.

[41] Pilot Study 12.

FIGURE 20

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN THE BELIEF THAT AVERAGE CITIZENS CAN INFLUENCE THE GOVERNMENT ONLY BY VOTING



Item: Is voting the only way people like your mother and father can have any say about how the government runs things?

Index Scale: 1 - Strong Agree
4 - Strong Disagree

Range of N: 1045 - 1552

Significance Unit: .07

the channels through which it can be expressed in action are not clearly defined. It is obvious to children, however, that many citizens do not meet this obligation of interest. More than half of our pilot sample agreed that, "Politics are interesting, but not as interesting as sports or dancing for most people."[42]

b) Interaction with the system

The young child's conception of the government emphasizes its unity and protectiveness; he expects personal responsiveness from the President when he is in trouble. What is the older child's perception of the government's responsiveness to demands that people like himself and his family might make on it? Does he believe that his actions or interest would be influential?[43]

Children's sense of the efficacy of citizen action increases with age. The sharpest increase occurred between grades four and five (Figure 21). This scale was focused on individual action, although group cooperation was not excluded. Teachers and eighth graders received similar mean efficacy scores, suggesting that expectations of governmental response are socialized during the elementary school period and that socialization is virtually completed by grade eight.

By the end of elementary school most children have acquired some interest in the government and have participated in discussions about its policies. In response to the consideration which they expect the government to show individuals' opinions, this elementary school group reported a relatively high level of active involvement by grade eight, although they did not approach the amount of activity reported by teachers. Although children believe that citizens should be interested in government, there was a slight decline with age in reports of their own interest (Figure 22).[44] The discrepancy between eighth graders and teachers may represent a low level of interest in children which will increase in adulthood, or it may reflect a level of interest in teachers which is relatively high when compared with other adults.

Table 36 documents the rapid increase with age in reports of discussions with friends and family about political matters: candidates and certain problems facing the country. Again, the most rapid change occurred between grades four and five.[45]

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[42] Pilot Study 11.

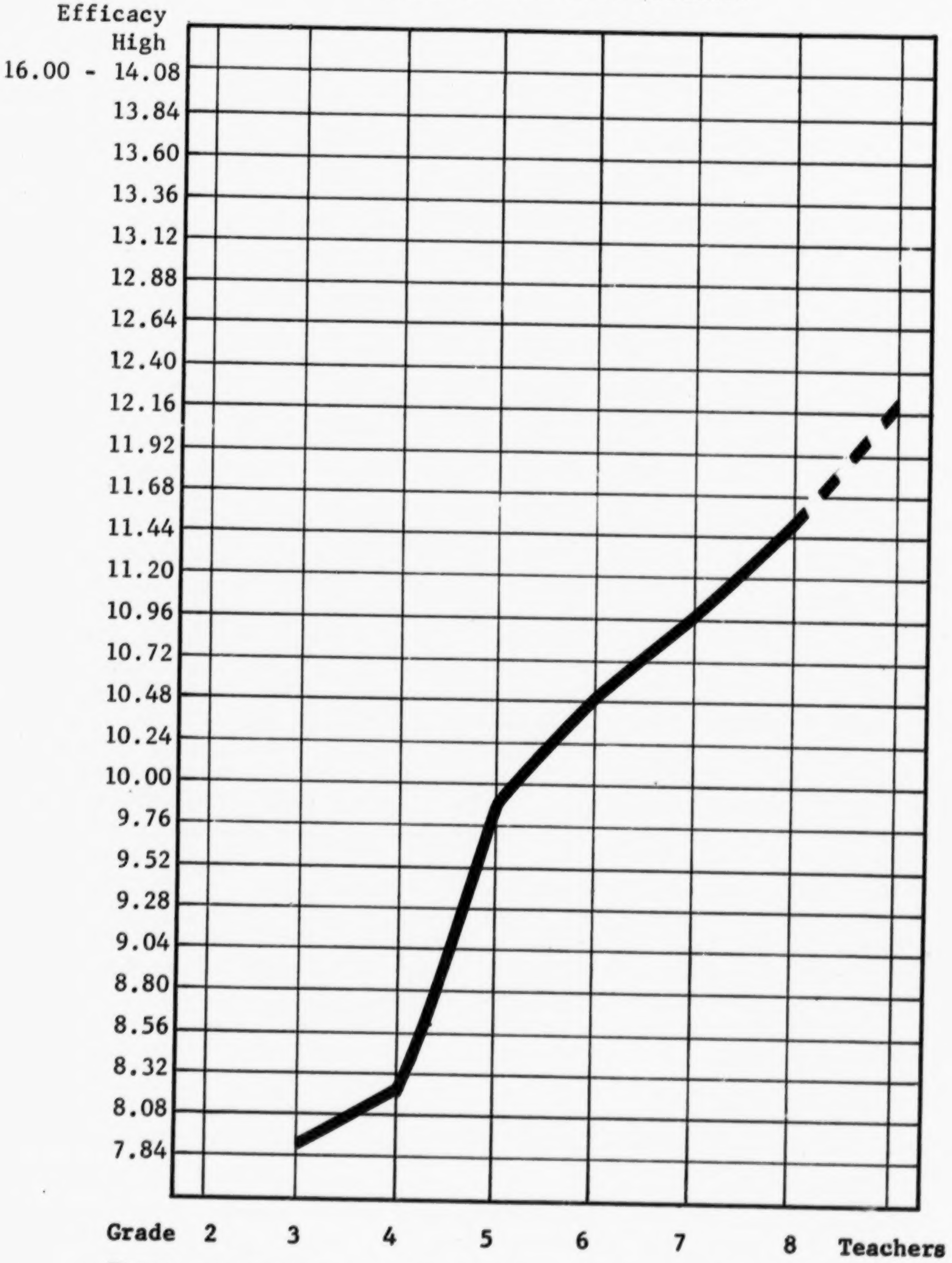
[43] SRC Efficacy Scale, modified to make statements about the child and his family, people like the child's family, was used. See Appendix D.

[44] The high level of interest reported at grade two must be evaluated in the light of the fact that the second grader equates the government with the President, and that these children reported interest in this personal figure.

[45] No data from teachers were available for two of the three items.

FIGURE 21

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES THREE THROUGH EIGHT IN SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY



Item: Combination of five items concerning perception of government's responsiveness to citizens' attempts to influence it.

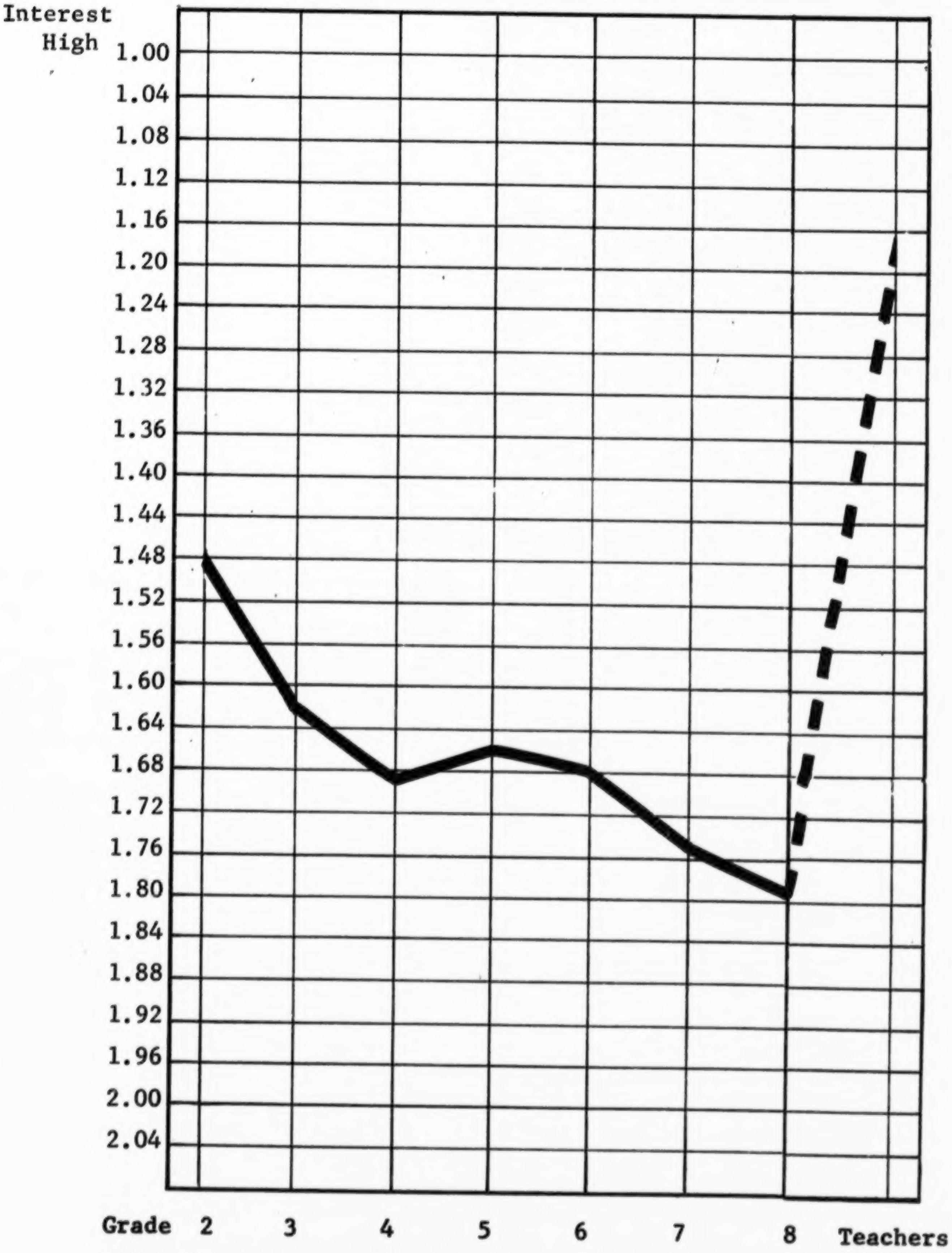
Index Scale: 1 - Low
16 - High

Range of N: 1245 - 1625

Significance Unit: .24

FIGURE 22

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES TWO THROUGH EIGHT IN POLITICAL INTEREST



Item: How interested in the government and current events are you?

Index Scale: 1 - High
3 - Low

Range of N: 1439 - 1792

Significance Unit: .04

TABLE 36

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSION

(Percentages: Children answered "Yes" or "No" for each type of discussion)

Grade Level	N	Talked With Parents about Country's Problems	N	Talked With Parents about a Candidate	N	Talked With Friends about a Candidate
Grade 3	1651	57.1	1655	52.4	1658	49.0
Grade 4	1733	58.8	1732	61.6	1732	57.4
Grade 5	1794	66.2	1800	77.2	1798	75.5
Grade 6	1740	71.4	1745	80.3	1744	80.8
Grade 7	1711	72.5	1719	84.2	1713	86.9
Grade 8	1687	71.7	1688	85.0	1690	89.0
High School			1350	79.8[a]	1354	74.6[a]
Teachers		b		b	378	96.0

Notes.--Item: Things about government, politics, and candidates that you have done, (36) I have talked with my mother or father about our country's problems - (1) Yes; (2) No. (37) I have talked with my friends about a candidate; (39) I have talked with my mother or father about a candidate. Questionnaire, page 20, items (36), (37), and (39).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] Items on the high school questionnaire read: Have you talked with your parents about politics and current events?; Have you talked with your friends about politics and current events?

[b] Item not included in teachers' questionnaire.

Analysis of the questions which compose this index illustrates the importance of candidates and elections in stimulating discussion. The question, "Who will be elected?" mobilized the children's interest more quickly than the more abstract problems of the nation. This informal discussion, outside the schoolroom, may be a major source of attitudes toward cooperative group participation in politics which Almond and Verba (1963) made the focus of their study. Politics is not an activity which can be pursued alone, and this index indicates that older children have had some experience in discussing political matters with their peers and parents.

Our index of concern with political issues asked whether children had discussed five national issues and, if so, whether they had taken sides on the issues in their discussion (Figure 23). This involvement demands both willingness to tolerate conflict with another's opinions and an assertive approach on the child's part. Analysis of the six issues which were part of the original questionnaire (Table 37) shows that the space race, at the time of this testing, was the issue which mobilized the children's interest at the earliest age.[46] Children remembered discussing the United Nations more than most other issues, but they did not take sides in these discussions, probably because the United Nations is not presented as a controversial issue in the schools. Other national issues mobilized children's interest about equally. Sizable increases with age in the Index of Concern With Political Issues can be accounted for by increases in the number of children reporting they took sides on these issues.

Teachers showed quite a different pattern of issue involvement. Government aid to schools, taxes, foreign aid, and the UN were clearly the most salient issues for them. They were less likely to have taken sides on unemployment and the space race. This suggests that children's interest in space may motivate discussion independent of any political concern.

Despite different levels of interest in discussing issues, there is surprising congruence between children's and teachers' assessment of importance of problems facing America (Figure 24). Communist Russia was perceived as the most important challenge. Throughout the age span, this external threat was seen as more crucial than domestic problems such as civil rights. The increasing interest, with grade, in economic problems such as unemployment and the decline of aesthetic concerns such as beautiful cities, are congruent with other findings.

c) Summary

Developing the attitudes, norms, and capacities necessary for active involvement in the political process and realizing that citizens' responsibility extends beyond attachment and compliance are crucial in elementary school political socialization. An active citizen-government relationship is unimportant to second and third graders, who believe that citizenship requires only personal goodness. By the eighth grade, children have acquired norms which make interest obligatory; they appreciate the necessity of citizen control over government and they expect citizen action to be effective. They engage in less activity than teachers, as might be expected. There are, however, aspects of children's perceptions which may have negative consequences; the efficacy of an individual's influence is overemphasized, and the advantages of group cooperation in political action are not recognized. The unrealistically positive image of benevolent government power in all its activities and underevaluation of pressure groups as significant forces in the

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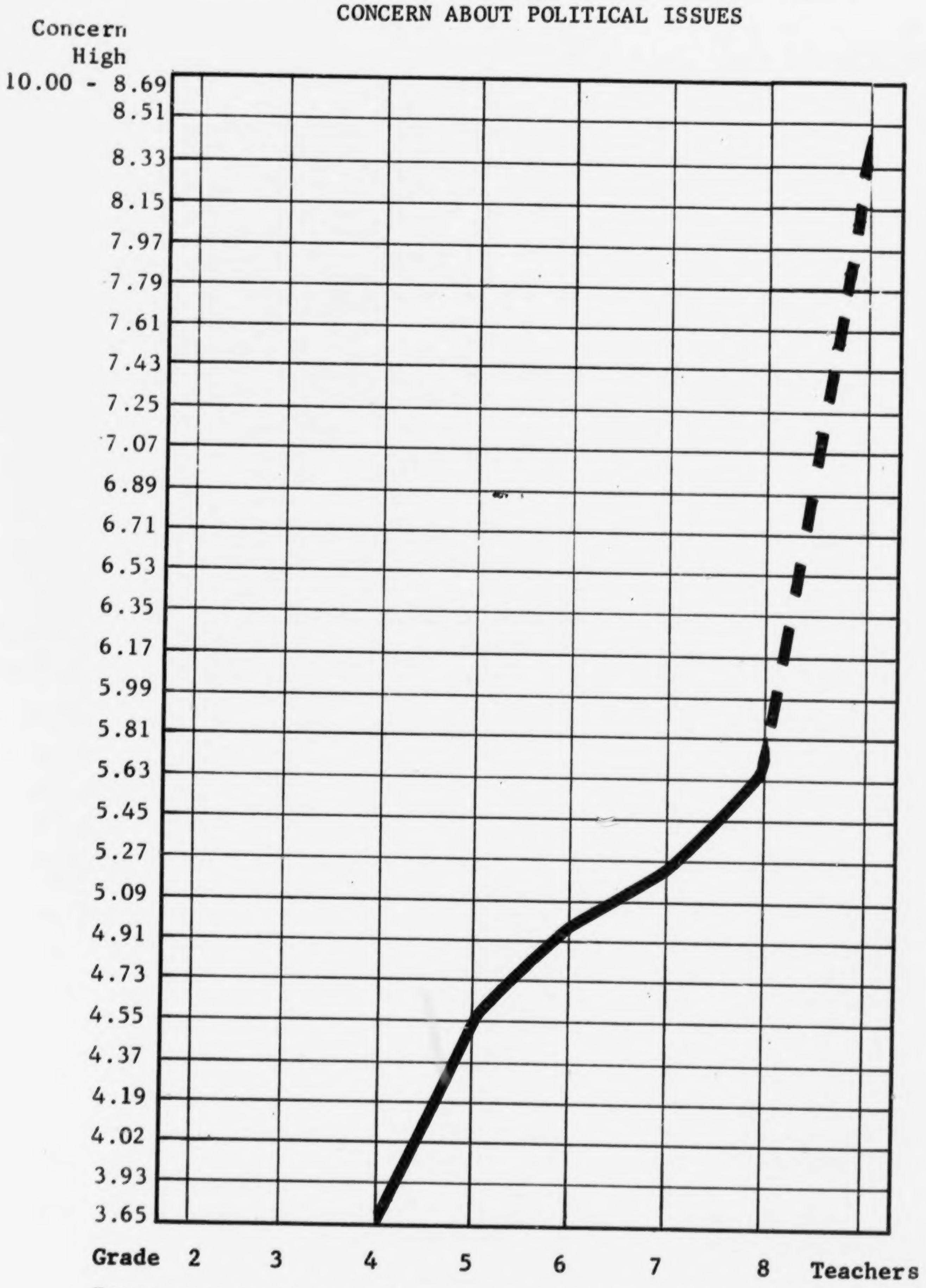
[46] Because of low correlation between this item and the other five, it was not included in the index.

FIGURE 23

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES



Item: Combination of five items items -- have you discussed and taken sides on: the United Nations, foreign aid; unemployment; aid to education; taxes?

Index Scale: 0 - None
10 - Taken sides on five issues

Range of N: 1441 - 1677

Significance Unit: .18

TABLE 37

CHANGES BY GRADE IN DISCUSSING AND TAKING SIDES ON POLITICAL ISSUES
(Percentages)

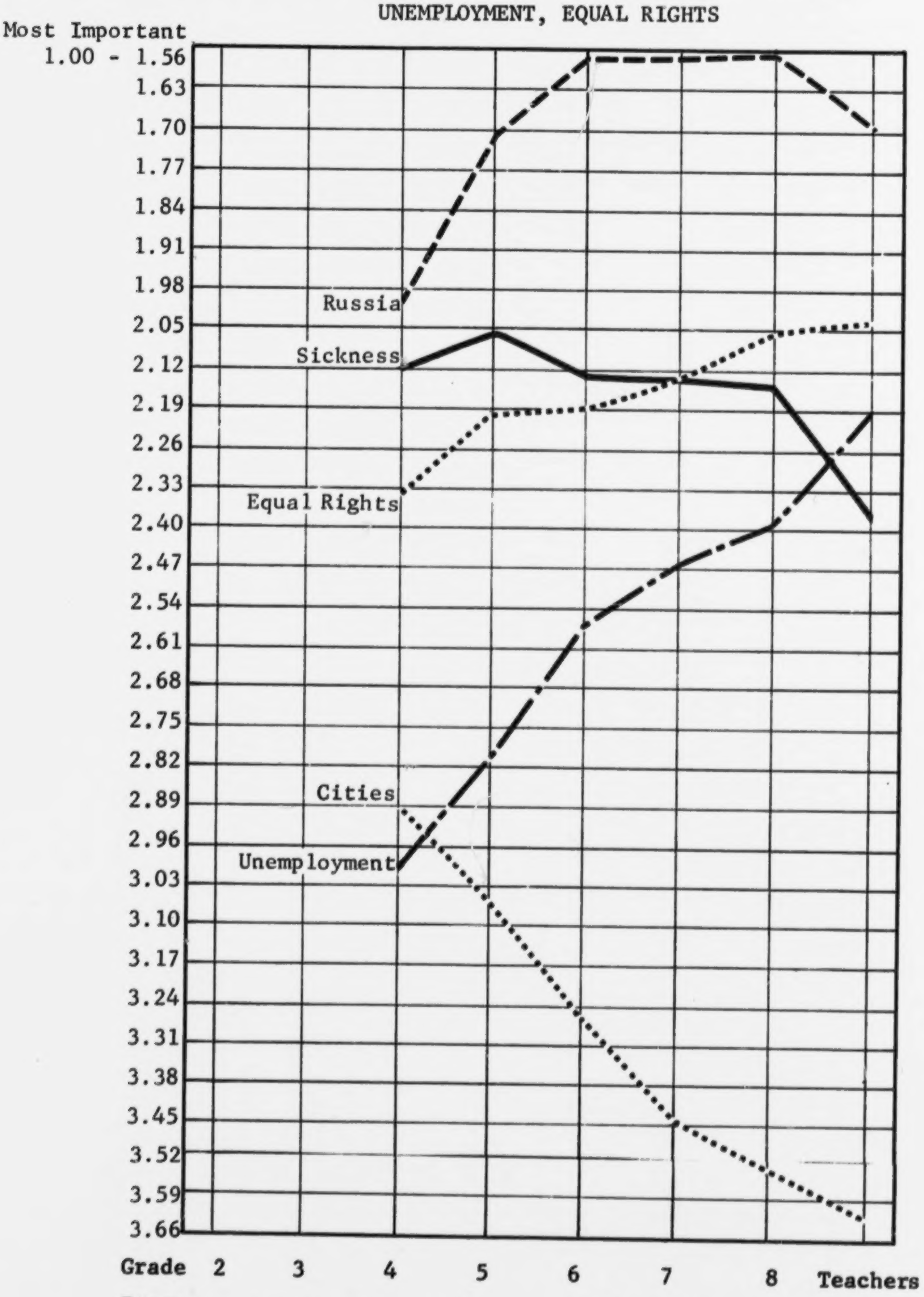
Grade Level	Space Race			United Nations			Foreign Aid			Unem-ployment			School Aid			Taxes		
	N	Discussed	Discussed and Taken Sides	N	Discussed	Discussed and Taken Sides	N	Discussed	Discussed and Taken Sides	N	Discussed	Discussed and Taken Sides	N	Discussed	Discussed and Taken Sides	N	Discussed	Discussed and Taken Sides
Grade 4	1618	38.1	25.3	1610	36.3	19.6	1624	28.6	20.3	1623	28.4	13.6	1619	27.7	17.2	1615	31.6	14.8
Grade 5	1784	41.4	37.5	1771	41.0	28.5	1784	30.4	27.6	1783	33.5	21.4	1784	34.6	21.1	1778	35.7	24.6
Grade 6	1736	43.7	43.4	1729	43.8	30.2	1741	36.7	29.4	1740	36.7	27.2	1736	36.7	25.2	1731	37.8	30.5
Grade 7	1708	44.6	44.6	1694	45.2	32.0	1707	37.8	32.3	1706	39.2	29.3	1701	35.6	27.8	1689	40.1	31.4
Grade 8	1647	44.1	47.7	1640	43.8	35.1	1643	36.0	37.9	1646	39.3	33.8	1643	37.4	31.2	1636	40.8	38.0
Teachers	361	44.6	52.1	360	33.0	65.0	358	26.5	70.9	359	40.4	54.3	361	19.4	77.3	360	26.4	71.9

Notes.--Item: Which of these events and problems have YOU talked about with your friends or family, and which ones have you taken sides on? Alternatives same for all items. (1) I have not talked about this; (2) I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it; (3) I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it; (4) I don't know. Item (72) The Space Race; (72)' The United Nations; (73) Giving money to other countries; (73)' People who are out of work in our country; (74) Government aid to schools; (74)' Taxes. Questionnaire, pages 39 and 40, items (72) through (74).

--Significance Unit: 3%

FIGURE 24

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN RATING THE IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS: CURING SICKNESS, COMMUNIST RUSSIA, BEAUTIFYING CITIES, UNEMPLOYMENT, EQUAL RIGHTS



Item: How important is each problem for America today?

Index Scale: 1 - Most important
5 - Not very important

Range of N: 1500 - 1790

Significance Unit: .07

formation of government policy deprive the individual of access to the most potent processes of influence. Although political parties express conflict which is difficult for a child to accept, the mere visibility of the parties every four years and the positive value attached to party membership define parties as legitimate influence groups. Because they know nothing of pressure groups, children devalue them, perceive them as non-legitimate channels of influence, impugn the motives of their members, and may refuse to participate in them as adults. Consequences of these attitudes for the election process and for political parties will be discussed in the following section.

6. Participation in the Process of Elections

In this section, two aspects of political influence will be discussed: orientations toward voting, a constitutionally defined element of the system, and attitudes towards political parties, an informal adjunct of the system. Attitudes toward voting and partisan commitment mingle when a citizen becomes involved in an election contest.

a) Voting--concept of the system and the citizen's role

During the elementary school years, an increasing number of children stress voting as important in the political process. In the early grades, voting was rarely selected as a symbol of government (4 per cent at grade two). By the eighth grade, however, it had become the system's most significant symbol, being chosen by 47 per cent of the students tested (Table 16). The same trend was observed when children were asked to choose the source of their pride in being Americans. This emphasis upon voting extends to the conceptualization of democracy in terms of voting privileges.[47] Children chose the right to vote as a characteristic of the United States, differentiating it from other countries, especially those associated with the Soviet Union. Children in a pilot research group believed that leaders of other countries were not chosen by election. In grade four, for example, 40 per cent of our sample agreed with the statement, "In most countries people cannot vote for their leaders, but the government appoints them."[48] This belief grows with age; 65 per cent of eighth graders agreed with the item. For these children, voting had become a symbol of American freedom among nations of the world.

Most children think that voting is the best way to fill a political office. One of the pretest questionnaires included the item: "If the chief of police was to be chosen and you could decide how he would be chosen, which way would you pick?"[49] Children (grades three, five, and seven) were given these alternatives: (1) Let only adults who are regular voters put up candidates and vote for them; (2) Have the mayor choose him; (3) You choose the man yourself; (4) Have the President choose him; (5) None of these. In grade three, about 40 per cent of the children chose the alternative, "Let adults vote for the candidate," a figure which increased to about 60 per cent by grade seven. Voting is not only the citizen's established right, it is also esteemed as a process which is advantageous to the operation of the entire system.

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[47] As indicated in Table 34, children most frequently rated these three definitions of democracy as most appropriate: "A democracy is where all grown-ups can vote," ". . . where everyone has an equal chance to get ahead," and ". . . where the people rule."

[48] Pilot Study 6.

Children do see political candidates and elections in positive terms.--The concern expressed by some adults about possible corruption in the operation of the voting system and in the actions of politicians was present in only a small number of our student group. In a pilot study, more than 70 per cent of children at all grade levels believed that, "Most elections in the United States are fair."[50] Students' regard for the motives and qualities of "people who try to get elected" was assessed by ratings of honesty, altruism, reliability, intelligence, and power (Table 38). Esteem for the power and intelligence of politicians was relatively stable across grades. Ratings of honesty, unselfishness, and promise-keeping, however, declined with age. But in all these evaluations, the politician was seen fairly positively even though some erosion of his image was evident with age, particularly after grade seven. He was rated less highly than were prominent elected officials, like the President, or institutions such as the Supreme Court. On those items where comparison was possible, "People who try to get elected" were rated similarly to the "average U.S. Senator." This is further evidence that political roles which are not associated with a particular individual are probably indistinguishable to children. Teachers rated "people who try to get elected" considerably more negatively than did eighth graders. These ratings of candidates for public office are another example of young children's positive feelings about elections and persons in public life.

In the national study, an item inquired into children's beliefs about the motivations of candidates. Why would someone want to run for public office? The question was presented in this form: "Many people would like to be President, a Senator, or a Mayor. Why do you think these people would like to have these jobs?: (1) They want to change things that are not good in the government; (2) They want to make a lot of money or be important; (3) They want to keep things as good as they are in our country" (Table 39). Only a few respondents (15 to 20 per cent in grades three through eight) perceived candidates as primarily motivated by selfish desires to make money or to be important. Age changes in this item were reflected most clearly in the alternatives, "To change things that are not good," chosen by 15 per cent of third graders and 37 per cent of eighth graders, and "To keep things as good as they are," chosen by 67 per cent of third graders and 43 per cent of eighth graders. There was, with

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[49] Pilot Study 8.

[50] Pilot Study 6.

TABLE 38

CHANGES BY GRADE IN RATING "PEOPLE WHO TRY TO GET ELECTED"
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	More Honest Than Anyone or Than Most People	N	Less Sneaky Than Almost Anyone or Than Most People	N	Always or Almost Always Keep Promises	N	More Powerful Than Almost Anyone or Than Most People	N	Less Selfish Than Almost Anyone or Than Most People	N	Smarter Than Almost Anyone or Than Most People
Grade 4	1414	60.8	1420	53.0	1420	56.4	1403	29.6	1408	57.7	1404	45.6
Grade 5	1729	59.0	1713	55.8	1730	51.7	1725	30.2	1710	54.1	1719	45.1
Grade 6	1726	55.8	1726	50.9	1735	44.6	1733	29.3	1726	48.7	1732	46.8
Grade 7	1702	48.6	1695	44.8	1703	36.9	1698	26.4	1694	41.7	1696	42.8
Grade 8	1667	39.5	1661	39.1	1668	25.5	1666	24.3	1657	30.7	1662	35.1
Teachers	356	18.2	347	34.0	364	8.5	358	19.3	351	14.2	345	13.3

Notes.--Items: People who try to get elected . . . (Circle the number of your choice in each item). (55)-(1) are more honest than almost anyone;(2). . than most people; (3) . . . than some people; (4) are more dishonest than some people; (5) . . . than most people; (6) . . . than almost anyone. (56)-(1) are more sneaky than almost anyone; (2) . . . than most people; (3) . . . than some people; (4) are less sneaky than some people; (5) . . . than most people; (6) . . . than almost anyone. (57)-(1) always keep their promises; (2) almost always keep their promises; (3) usually keep their promises; (4) sometimes keep their promises; (5) usually do not keep their promises; (6) almost never keep their promises. (58)-(1) more powerful than almost anyone; (2) . . . than most people; (3) . . . than some people; (4) less powerful than some people; (5) . . . than most people; (6) . . . than almost anyone. (59)-(1) less selfish than almost anyone; (2) . . . than most people; (3) . . . than some people; (4) more selfish than some people; (5) . . . than most people; (6) . . . than almost anyone. (60)-(1) smarter than almost anyone; (2) . . . than most people; (3) . . . than some people; (4) less smart than some people; (5) . . . than most people; (6) . . . than almost anyone. Questionnaire, page 36, items (55) through (60).

--Significance Unit: 3%

TABLE 39

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE REASON CANDIDATES SEEK OFFICE
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	To Change Things That Are Not Good in Government	To Make a Lot of Money or Be Important	To Keep Things as Good as They Are in Our Country
Grade 3	1646	15.1	18.2	66.7
Grade 4	1715	17.8	15.7	66.5
Grade 5	1780	23.6	14.6	61.8
Grade 6	1735	28.1	15.3	56.6
Grade 7	1700	34.9	17.0	48.1
Grade 8	1674	36.9	20.4	42.7
Teachers	380	59.0	18.2	22.9

Notes.--Item: Many people would like to be President, a Senator, or a Mayor. Why do you think these people would like to have these jobs? (Choose one), (1) They want to change things that are not good in the government; (2) They want to make a lot of money or be important; (3) They want to keep things as good as they are in our country. Questionnaire, page 19, item (32).

--Significance Unit: 3%

age, increased recognition of candidates' expressions of discontent with the status quo. This is commensurate with a decline in the belief discussed previously that "What goes on in the government is all for the best." Seventh and eighth graders recognized politics as representing the need and desire for change. This was accentuated in teachers' responses, where reform was selected overwhelmingly as the motivation for candidacy.

To young children, voting and elections are important democratic activities. Conflict which is present in every campaign is minimized. Throughout the age span there is a positive attitude toward candidates; they are viewed as concerned most with the public welfare and not with selfish gain. Elections are perceived as crucial to the goals of the democratic process even though they may result in removal of incumbents for whom the child feels personal attachment. Elections are part of the government's structural organization and are esteemed by children as much as offices and roles of the government. In pilot studies, children --when asked if this country would get along just as well without a President--disagreed almost unanimously (95 per cent). Voting is a legitimate procedure for changing role occupants but the role retains its importance and change is limited to the incumbent. Observing elections may, in fact, facilitate the distinction between roles and those occupying them. Children who remember more than one Presidential incumbent may be better able to separate the President's office from its occupant's role performance. The high value placed upon the election processes may also encourage the acceptance of a newly elected President (Hess, 1963). Though the campaign winner may not be his personal favorite, a child's trust in the election process assures him that any person chosen by election will be capable and trustworthy.

Paralleling the growth of attitudes towards voting is an emerging morality regarding the election process and the behavior appropriate to candidates. The behavior which these children would condone during a campaign is predictable from their image of the system and their generally positive attitudes toward all candidates.

Children's conceptions of campaign rules were explored by a number of pilot study items. Children in grades three, five, and seven were asked, "Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith are running for an important government office. Mr. Jones finds out something bad about Mr. Smith. What should he do? (1) Tell all the voters right away that he has found out something bad about Mr. Smith; (2) Wait until Mr. Smith says something bad about him, then tell the voters; (3) Keep it to himself and not tell anybody."[51] In grade three, 70 per cent of the children chose the alternative, "Keep it to himself. . . ." Less than 15 per cent of the children in each of the grades chose the alternative, "Tell all the voters right away. . . ." Older children more frequently chose the retaliatory response, the second alternative being chosen by approximately 15 per cent of third graders but by 35 per cent of eighth grade children. Children in all grades tested, however, felt that this kind of personal attack upon an opponent should not be introduced into a campaign.

Another item concerning the behavior of a politician asked whether he should lie if it would help him win an election.[52] In grades three, five, and seven, less than 10 per cent of the children condoned the use of deceit for this purpose. This contrasts with their attitudinal norms about America's morality in dealing with other countries.[53] ("Is it all right for the government to lie to another country if the lie protects the American people?") Between 30 and 50 per cent of the children approved of such deception. Clearly, rules of action that children believe a politician should follow differ from those which are acceptable for the nation. Perhaps in answering this question, children visualize themselves as voters who may be deceived by candidates--a problem that does not arise when their government is dealing with a foreign power.

Children believe that unity and cohesion should follow election conflicts; this belief increases with age. What should be the behavior of a politician following his defeat? How do children handle the divisive nature of an election contest? Even children in the middle grades are aware of adult norms which sanction unity, cohesion, and cooperation once the contest has been decided. Children in grade three (pilot sample)[54] believed that a defeated Presidential candidate should try to run in the next election. In grade five, 55 per cent of the children believed that he should "help the winner to do a good job," and in grade eight, 75 per cent of the children chose this alternative. Less than 1 per cent of the children in each grade thought the defeated candidate should withdraw from public life or verbally attack the winner. The defeated Presidential candidate should neither give up nor engage in a fight against the winner. This conclusion is supported by another item, "The man who loses in an election should ask his followers to help the winner."[55] Eighty per cent of the children in grades four, six, and eight agreed with this statement. Norms supporting unity and cooperation are socialized at an early age and aid in the transfer of power following an election.

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[51] Pilot Study 8. [52] Pilot Study 8. [53] Pilot Study 8.

These prescriptions also apply to voters. More than 85 per cent of a pilot sample agreed that, "You have to go along with the man who was elected even if you didn't vote for him."[56] In response to the question, "If you were very much against a man who won an election, what should you do?"[57] children in all grades chose, "Help him in any way you can" more frequently than any other statements (Table 40). Fewer than 10 per cent of the children in each grade chose, "Try to keep him from doing the things he wants to do." This illustrates a belief held by most children that once an election is over the victor should be supported by all citizens, even those who opposed his election.

Children minimize conflict in viewing politics. This desire to preserve the appearance of unity may distort a child's perception of the realities of a political campaign. Many young children saw the 1960 Presidential race as free from conflict. This view was expressed in response to a pilot study item inquiring about the behavior of Kennedy and Nixon during the Presidential race.[58] The item had these alternatives:

(1) They said bad things about each other because they were enemies.

(2) They said bad things about each other because they did not agree about everything.

(3) They were just pretending when they said bad things about each other.

(4) They never said anything bad about each other.

Seventy per cent of the children in grade three chose the alternative, "They never said anything bad about each other." This refusal

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[54] Pilot Study 12.

[55] Pilot Study 6.

[56] Pilot Study 5.

[57] Pilot Study 14.

[58] Pilot Study 12.

TABLE 40

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF PROPER REACTION IF UNFAVORED CANDIDATE WINS ELECTION

Grade Level	N	Help Winner in Any Way You Can	Help Winner Only If He Asks You	Forget About Whole Thing	Don't Help Winner	Hinder Winner
Grade 5	219	42.5	23.3	21.5	11.0	1.8
Grade 6	239	43.1	24.3	21.3	5.0	6.3
Grade 7	221	51.1	20.8	18.1	5.4	4.5
Grade 8	101	51.5	23.8	14.8	8.9	1.0

Notes.--Item: If you were very much against a man who won an election, what should you do? (Choose one), (1) Help him in any way you can; (2) Help him only if he asks you; (3) Forget about the whole thing; (4) Don't help him; (5) Try to keep him from doing the things he wants to do. From Pilot Study 14 Questionnaire.

--Significance Unit: 10%

to recognize disagreement declined with age, and the alternative, ". . . they did not agree about everything," was chosen more frequently, 15 per cent in grade three, 60 per cent in grade eight). Many young children denied the existence of conflict in the campaign. Others, though recognizing conflict, deplored it. A seventh grade girl, daughter of a skilled worker, discussed the 1960 election campaign and exemplified these feelings:

I: What sort of thing do you remember, the things that impressed you?

S: How Kennedy and Nixon both promised many things, and the morning of the election when Kennedy was elected and Nixon said that Kennedy would be a nice President and Kennedy said how sorry he was that Mr. Nixon wasn't elected. He would have been just as good a President as he was himself, and that he wished they could both be President together. I would have liked them to go together instead of going through this big thing that they go out in the streets and talk to all the people and giving the impression that they got a better impression than the other one. It would have been easy if they both went together. Then there wouldn't have been much quarreling and fighting. Usually during election time in school they wear their pins and quarrel which man is the better.

The preservation of our system requires strong adherence to norms about the value of elections and to the belief that once an election is decided unity of support must be the focus. These norms are taught very early by the school and color the perception of elections. Conflict is understressed by children and consensual aspects are focused upon instead.

By grade eight, virtually all children accept the importance of voting. Children's perception of the citizen's role in an election is that one should vote. Interviews provide evidence that an understanding of what voting occurs simultaneously with the knowledge that only adults may vote. Children believe that any adult, regardless of personality or natural ability, should be allowed to vote. The right to vote symbolizes equality among citizens within the United States. More than 75 per cent of a pilot sample, including third through eighth graders, disagreed with the statement, "Some people should not be allowed to vote because they are too stupid."[59] The belief that equality is expressed and demonstrated at the ballot box may not always reflect political reality in the United States, but it does establish a basis for expectation of how the system should operate.

Related to the belief that every adult can vote is a growing sense of obligation that every adult should vote. The extent to which this norm is accepted by children in elementary school is indicated in Table 25. Older children identify the best adult citizen as, "A person who votes and gets others to vote." This is a normative attitude which the schools support and with which teachers concur.

Children accurately perceive appropriate criteria for voting choice. They agreed that, "When people vote, they vote for people whose ideas they agree with, not just for people who are handsome,"[60] and that, "You vote for people who thing the way you do."[61] This may be more representative of what children believe the criteria should be than of what they have actually observed.

During elementary school, socializing agents stress certain consensus values regarding the importance of elections in a democracy, rules of morality surrounding them, and the reconciliation of differences and expressions of solidarity behind a winning candidate. These norms, along with recognition of the citizen's duty to vote and the criteria by which his voting choice should be made, are the elements stressed in elementary school civics.

b) Concept of political parties and the citizen's role

Though political parties are not constitutionally established in our system of government, they have a well-defined position in American political culture, and the emergence of attitudes toward them is relevant to a study of political socialization. Political parties and the dramatic conflicts occurring within and between them represent cleavages in the political culture of our nation. They offer an opportunity to examine the socialization of attitudes toward division and antagonism within a system and the development of norms permitting such conflict and providing for its resolution. In the context of our conceptual outline, political parties offer the citizen an organization through which he may actively influence the government and expect response from it. Political parties offer the group support for political action necessary to maximize return from an individual's effort.

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[59] Pilot Study 5.

[60] Pilot Study 5.

[61] Pilot Study 11.

The image of political parties develops late, and differences between the parties are not clearly defined. As with the normative standards surrounding election, there is an image of the usefulness and proper role of political parties. Attitudes toward elections and voting are acquired early and there is consensus about their value. In contrast, attitudes toward political parties develop relatively late and are ambivalent. Students do see positive functions served by the parties. Among sixth and eighth graders in a pilot sample, less than 15 per cent agreed with the statement, "Political parties should be done away with."[62]

The nature of the division or difference between political parties is somewhat unclear to children. Our national sample, however, answered a series of questions asking which party does most for the country, most to keep us out of war, most for rich people, most for people out of work, most to protect the rights of citizens, and most to help their own families. The children chose one of the four alternatives for each issue: (1) Democrats do more; (2) Republicans do more; (3) Both about the same; (4) Don't know which does more. Tables 41 and 42 compare these items by grade on two characteristics: the percentage of answers "Both the same" given to the question, and the relative percentage of those who chose Democrats and Republicans. Most striking is the overwhelming response that both parties do about the same things and contribute equally to national and personal welfare. This was the modal response to each question for children at every grade level. It is clearly evident that children do not see striking differences between the policies of the two major political parties. These tables suggest, however, that some issues are more "non-partisan" than others. Items which appear on the right hand side of the table received a larger percentage of responses indicating that both parties do the same, than items listed on the left hand side of the tables. Prevention of war, protection of citizens' rights, and promotion of the nation's welfare are the issues most unrelated to partisan conflict. Those students who did choose one party as contributing more were about equally divided between those selecting Republicans and those choosing Democrats. Even larger percentages of our group of teachers attributed equal contributions to both parties on these issues.

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[62] Pilot Study 6.

TABLE 41

CHANGES BY GRADE IN RESPONDING THAT BOTH PARTIES CONTRIBUTE EQUALLY TO THE RESOLUTION OF ISSUES

(Percentages choosing alternative "Both about the same" for each issue)

Grade Level	N	Helps Rich	N	Helps Unemployed	N	Helps My Family	N	Helps Keep Us Out of War	N	Protects Citizens' Rights	N	Does More for United States
Grade 4	1449	41.1	1448	40.6	1454	38.1	1446	46.3	1449	44.4	1443	46.6
Grade 5	1785	51.6	1787	50.8	1784	47.8	1787	56.0	1786	53.9	1788	57.0
Grade 6	1739	48.6	1736	52.6	1731	48.8	1739	57.7	1731	58.2	1739	60.6
Grade 7	1712	49.6	1714	56.3	1708	53.2	1711	61.7	1711	62.1	1708	63.1
Grade 8	1675	45.0	1675	50.9	1671	52.5	1673	64.0	1675	63.8	1672	66.0
Teachers	375	44.3	375	44.3		a	375	68.8	372	79.0	374	77.3

Notes.--Items: Here are some "guess who" questions about the Republicans and the Democrats. Put an X in the box beside each question to show your guess. (61) Does more for the rich people; (62) Does most to keep us out of war; (63) Does most to help people who are out of work; (64) Does more to protect the rights of citizens; (65) Does more to help my family; (66) Does more for the United States. Alternatives, (1) Republicans; (2) Democrats; (3) Both about the same; (4) Don't know. Questionnaire, pages 37 and 38, items (61) through (66).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] This item not included in teachers' questionnaire.

TABLE 42

CHANGES BY GRADE IN ATTRIBUTING SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES

(Percentages choosing Democrat and Republican for each issue)

Grade Level	N	Helps Rich		N	Helps Unemployed		N	Helps My Family		N	Helps Keep Us Out of War		N	Protects Citizens' Rights		N	Does More for United States	
		Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem
Grade 4	1449	10.4	7.9	1448	14.8	12.3	1454	17.7	12.5	1446	15.8	12.1	1449	15.5	11.3	1443	17.6	13.1
Grade 5	1785	10.1	8.7	1787	12.4	13.9	1784	14.8	13.2	1787	14.4	13.8	1786	13.8	13.9	1788	14.3	13.5
Grade 6	1739	12.8	9.9	1736	11.6	16.7	1731	13.3	16.1	1739	13.7	15.6	1731	13.2	13.9	1739	11.8	15.5
Grade 7	1712	13.7	11.1	1714	10.0	17.7	1708	11.2	17.2	1711	10.7	15.7	1711	10.7	14.7	1708	9.2	16.2
Grade 8	1673	21.3	10.1	1675	9.3	24.2	1671	9.9	19.4	1673	11.2	15.1	1675	9.4	16.5	1672	9.3	16.6
Teachers	375	40.8	4.3	375	1.9	47.7		a	a	375	13.6	10.4	372	3.5	12.1	374	4.3	12.3

Notes.--Items: Here are some "guess who" questions about the Republicans and the Democrats. Put an X in the box beside each question to show your guess. Guess who: (61) Does more for the rich people; (62) Does most to keep us out of war; (63) Does most to help people who are out of work; (64) Does more to protect the rights of citizens; (65) Does more to help my family; (66) Does more for the United States. Alternatives, (1) Republicans; (2) Democrats; (3) Both about the same; (4) Don't know. Questionnaire, pages 37 and 38, items (61) through (66).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] This item not included in teachers' questionnaire.

Items on the left of the page not only received fewer responses of "Both the same," but they also showed somewhat more differentiation between parties. In every case, the percentage of those who chose "Both the same" was lower on these issues than on the items to the right, although it still accounted for 40 to 50 per cent of all responses. On these items, those who valued the parties' contributions saw "helping the rich" as part of the Republican image and "helping people out of work" as part of the Democratic image. Associating a particular economic group with a party did not appear at all until grade eight. At that time, 21 per cent of the children saw Republicans as helping the rich and 10 per cent saw the Democrats as serving this group. Conversely, 24 per cent believed that the Democrats help people out of work, while only 9 per cent saw this as part of the Republicans' role. The teachers, confirming adult findings, magnified this trend still further. Forty-one per cent of them claimed that Republicans help the rich, while only 4 per cent saw the Democrats in this role. Forty-eight per cent attributed aid for the unemployed to the Democrats, and 2 per cent attributed this to the Republicans.[63] These items present strong evidence that an understanding of party differences on specific issues does not begin before grade eight, and that when it does appear, it includes only those issues on which partisan cleavage has historically been most apparent. The differences between teachers and pupils on this item were exceedingly large and point out once again that the socialization of conflict and cleavage is incomplete when a child graduates from the eighth grade.

Elementary school children perceived little difference between the parties, as indicated by a single rating of the amount of difference between Democrats and Republicans (Figure 25). There was a decrease with age in the amount of difference children noticed, the largest decrease occurring between grades three and four. Teachers and eighth graders saw comparable amounts of difference. The meaning of partisan differences to young children is suggested by a fifth grader's justification of his response:

> I: You said there is quite a bit of difference between the Democrats and Republicans?
>
> S: Yes. Each one has a different candidate.

This indicates that children equate Democrats with the Democratic candidate (particularly the Presidential candidate). As children become

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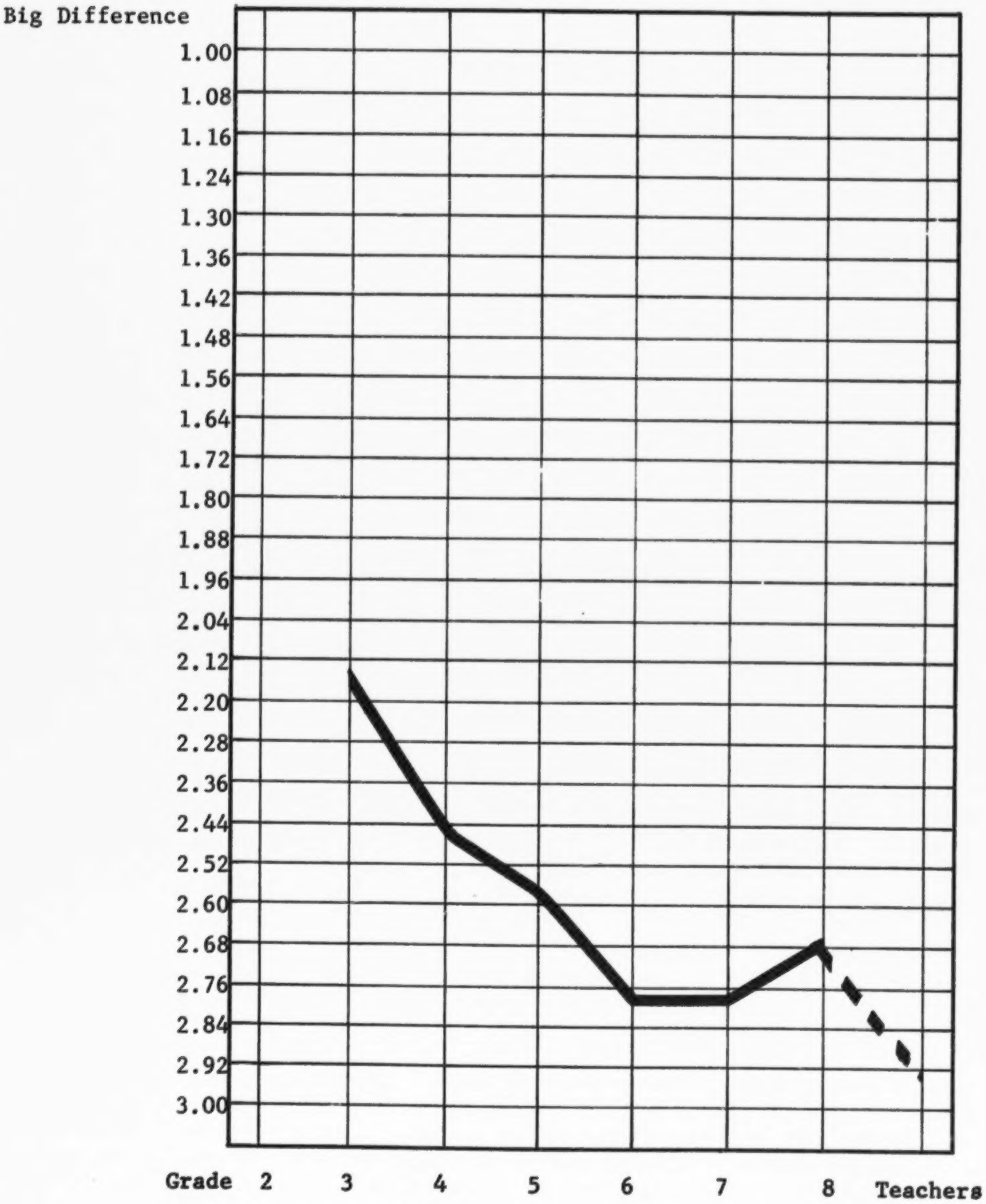
[63] Although ratings of the party which "helps one's family most" may be classified with partisan issues on the basis of the percentage responding "Both equal," the meaning of the split between Democrats and Republicans becomes clear only if one compares responses from persons of low social status with those from persons of high social status. There was some tendency for those of low status to feel more protected by the Democrats, starting at the seventh grade. Those of high social status did not distinguish between the Democrats and Republicans in helping their families.

FIGURE 25

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES THREE THROUGH EIGHT IN PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES



Item: How much difference is there between the Democrats and Republicans?

Index Scale: 1 - Very big difference
5 - No difference

Range of N: 923 - 1451

Significance Unit: .08

aware of other aspects of the political parties, they see fewer differences between them. Responses to a pilot questionnaire also showed that children perceive sizable differences among the men who run for political office. Approximately 70 per cent of children in grades four, six, and eight of a pilot group agreed that "There is a lot of difference between Kennedy's and Eisenhower's ideas."[64] The similarity of eighth graders and teachers in seeing few differences between the parties suggests that older children may adopt teachers' beliefs that parties are not major organizations for dealing with political conflict.

Political parties are first associated with candidates who are identified as Democrat or Republican. Previously evidence was presented that children's first contact with government is the President; likewise their first understanding of political parties comes when they label Presidential candidates or incumbents as either Democrats or Republicans. The percentage of children who can correctly identify the party to which the President belongs is surprisingly high, since political parties are relatively unknown to young children (see Table 43). This is true for identification of Kennedy's party made shortly after his inauguration, and for naming Eisenhower's party in the middle of the second term. Information from ratings of partisan issues shows that children perceive little difference between the parties in their handling of issues; children's discussions and ratings of candidates indicate that they are seen as very different from each other. Socialization of attitudes toward political parties apparently occurs in conjunction with the description of labeling of a candidate.

Children use political party as a convenient concept for categorizing persons connected with the political world. The organizations standing behind these candidates, the different positions taken by the parties, and the population groups to whom they appeal have no importance in the child's perception. Young children believe that parties are different because they equate a party with its candidate. The slightly older elementary school child sees very little difference between the parties in regard to their position on issues. He does not believe that they espouse different ideologies or cater to different groups and he denies any conflict between them. A few eighth graders can distinguish the Democrats' traditional position as supporter of the working classes from the Republicans' support of upper classes, but this is not true for the majority of children at that age. This ideological split does not show clearly except in our data from teachers and even they underrate the amount of difference between parties.

Judgments of the value of conflict and differentiations between the parties are presented in Figure 26. Conflict between parties is as undesirable as conflict between candidates. The national sample not only denied party conflict but also believed that it would be injurious to the nation. This view was not identical with that of teachers, who were better able to tolerate conflicting viewpoints. The discrepancy on this item is one of the most marked pupil-teacher differences in

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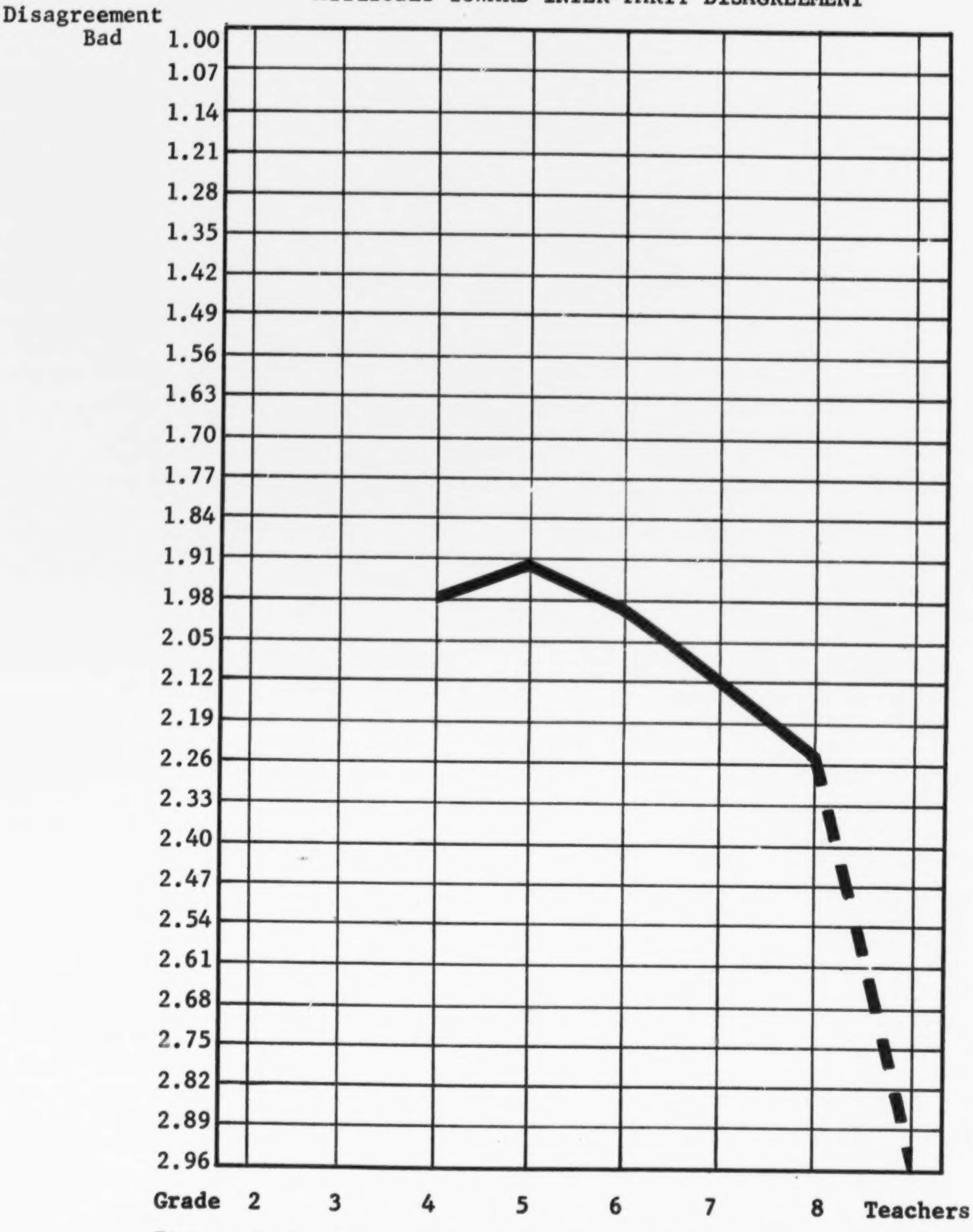
[64] Pilot Study 5.

FIGURE 26

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN ATTITUDES TOWARD INTER-PARTY DISAGREEMENT



Item: If the Democrats and Republicans disagreed on important things, would it be good or bad for the country?

Index Scale: 1 - Very bad
5 - Very good

Range of N: 1027 - 1416

Significance Unit: .07

TABLE 43

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CORRECT IDENTIFICATION OF PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Eisenhower a Republican	N	Kennedy a Democrat
Grade 2	46	52.2	96	68.8
Grade 3	45	82.2	97	86.6
Grade 4	55	78.2	119	87.4
Grade 5	47	76.6	119	87.4
Grade 6	58	91.4	115	96.5
Grade 7	52	100.0	122	96.7
Grade 8	58	98.3	109	100.0

Note.--Item: Which party does the President belong to? Eisenhower data from Pilot Study 2, 1958; Kennedy data from Pilot Study 3, 1961.

these data. This demonstrates again the child's need to see the political world as one in which unity and harmony prevail.

Children believe partisan commitment should be deferred until adulthood. Given these conceptions of parties, what do children believe a citizen's involvement should be? Belief that it is important for adults to belong to political parties is widespread and changes very little with age (Table 44).[65] Teachers, when compared with eighth graders, believe that it is slightly less important for adults to belong to parties. It is also clear from responses to the question, "When should someone make up his mind which party to belong to?" that many children believe partisan political activity should be postponed until adulthood (Table 45). Less than 25 per cent of the children at all grade levels believed that this choice should be made before high school graduation. There was some tendency for older children to prefer the period after high school graduation before one is old enough to vote, rather than postponement until after one attains majority (the time preferred by children in grades four and five). Teachers would encourage children to put off this choice until after they are old enough to vote

The ambivalence of children's beliefs about political parties

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[65] At early grade levels, children believe that all adults do belong to either the Democratic or the Republican party and that the political world is divided into these two parts (Pilot Study 6).

TABLE 44

CHANGES BY GRADE IN RATING THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Very Important	Important	Not Too Important	Not Important at All
Grade 3	1296	39.0	37.3	19.5	4.2
Grade 4	1409	32.6	42.2	20.4	4.8
Grade 5	1595	32.8	41.4	21.6	4.1
Grade 6	1570	35.9	39.6	20.1	4.3
Grade 7	1611	35.7	35.6	22.8	5.8
Grade 8	1599	32.6	37.3	23.6	6.4
Teachers	382	25.4	37.2	29.8	7.6

Notes.--Item: How important do you think it is for grown-ups to belong to either the Republican or Democratic party? (choose one), (1) Very important; (2) Important; (3) Not too important; (4) Not important at all; (5) I do not know or I have no opinion. Questionnaire, page 17, item (19).

Significance Unit: 4%

is evident from the kind of political party support they advocate. Although parties are good things and adults should belong to them, this commitment to a party does not justify straight-ticket voting. Confusion is produced by the conflict between choosing candidates on independent grounds and supporting the party of one' choice. The children in our research group were simultaneously socialized toward independence and the desirability of partisan commitment. When asked whether the good citizen should "Make up his mind to be a Democrat or a Republican and always vote the way his party does," or "Not join either the Democrats or Republicans and vote for the man he thinks is best," older children selected the latter response (Table 46). Among fourth graders, these choices were of roughly equal popularity; by grade eight, three children in four selected the candidate-oriented response. Eighty-seven per cent of teachers also chose this response. To older children, voting is an idealized quality of our system which should be untainted by partisan concerns.

Some additional evidence of our sample's candidate orientation comes from an item on the pilot study, "How a candidate will run the country is more important than which party he belongs to."[66] In grades six and eight, more than 80 per cent of the children agreed

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[66] Pilot Study 6.

TABLE 45

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PREFERRED AGE FOR PARTISAN COMMITMENT
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Before High School	Before High School Graduation	After High School but Before Voting Age	After Voting Age
Grade 4	1444	8.3	12.0	34.2	45.4
Grade 5	1745	7.0	10.3	43.3	39.4
Grade 6	1727	5.6	10.5	51.0	32.8
Grade 7	1698	6.1	14.2	50.1	29.6
Grade 8	1668	5.3	15.4	54.7	24.6
Teachers	366	1.4	7.9	47.3	43.4

Notes.--Item: When should a person decide which political party to support? (Choose one), (1) Before he goes to high school; (2) Before he leaves high school; (3) After high school but before he is old enough to vote; (4) After he is old enough to vote. Questionnaire, page 28, item (73).

--Significance Unit: 3%

TABLE 46

CHANGES BY GRADE IN BASIS OF THE GOOD CITIZEN'S CANDIDATE PREFERENCE
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Join Party and Always Vote for Its Candidate	Not Join Party; Vote for Men He Thinks Are Best
Grade 4	1035	48.8	51.2
Grade 5	1321	40.6	59.3
Grade 6	1556	35.3	64.7
Grade 7	1591	34.1	65.9
Grade 8	1588	26.4	73.6
Teachers	350	12.6	87.4

Notes.--Item: Which of the following is the best citizen? Put an X beside the sentence that describes the best citizen, (1) He makes up his mind to be either a Democrat or a Republican and always votes the way his party does; (2) He doesn't join either the Democrats or the Republicans and votes for the man he thinks is best; (3) I don't know what the words Democrat and Republican mean. Questionnaire, page 24, item (55).

--Significance Unit: 4%

with this statement. The children are socialized, probably by teachers, away from a belief in partisan guidance and toward the belief that it is each citizen's responsibility to judge the merits of all candidates.

Teachers may also influence children's political independence by socializing the belief that family loyalty is not an appropriate basis for deciding which party to support. There is a sharp drop in agreement with the statement, "It is better if young people belong to the same political party as their parents" (Table 47).

TABLE 47

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CHOICE OF PARENTS AS MODELS FOR PARTY CHOICE (Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Agree that It Is Better to Choose Same Party as Parents	Disagree That It Is Better to Choose Same Party as Parents	Don't Know
Grade 3	1452	31.8	20.4	47.9
Grade 4	1537	37.4	18.2	44.4
Grade 5	1788	44.0	22.6	33.4
Grade 6	1740	42.3	24.9	32.8
Grade 7	1712	39.0	31.5	29.5
Grade 8	1654	33.1	35.1	31.8
Teachers	373	11.8	57.1	31.1

Notes.--Item: It is better if young people belong to the same political party as their parents. (Choose one), (1) Yes; (2) No; (3) Don't know. Questionnaire, page 24, item (53).

--Significance Unit: 3%

Another question in the national questionnaire inquired directly about the appropriate sources of information about voting. Children were asked where they would search for advice about whom to vote for if they could vote. Early pretests of this question, which provided alternatives such as teacher, minister, parents, mass media, received many responses spontaneously written in by the students: "I would make up my own mind," or "Decide myself." This alternative was included in the national instrument and received an increasing number of choices with age (31 per cent at grade four, 53 per cent at grade eight) (Table 48). The percentage who would look to parents as models for their choice of candidates decreased with age. No other source received more than 10 per cent of the choices at any grade level. Children are apparently socialized to believe that although one may at some

TABLE 48

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CHOOSING SOURCE OF ADVICE ABOUT CANDIDATES
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Father	Mother	Mother and Father	Teacher	Make up My Own, Mind	Peer	Minister	Radio and TV	Magazines and Newspapers
Grade 4	1231	7.8	3.1	46.8	1.3	31.0	1.3	3.7	3.2	1.7
Grade 5	1644	6.3	2.7	44.3	1.2	36.4	1.2	2.4	3.4	2.1
Grade 6	1643	4.6	2.1	32.0	1.0	47.3	.6	2.6	5.2	4.8
Grade 7	1634	5.8	1.8	26.6	.9	49.3	.7	3.0	4.4	7.6
Grade 8	1589	4.5	1.4	20.8	1.6	52.7	1.1	1.8	4.7	11.4

Notes.--Item: If you could vote, where would be the best place to look for help in making up your mind who to vote for? (Choose one), (1) A friend my own age; (2) My father; (3) My mother; (4) My mother and father; (5) My teacher; (6) My minister, rabbi, or priest; (7) Radio and television; (8) Magazines and newspapers; (9) I would make up my own mind; (10) I don't know. Questionnaire, page 40, item (75).

--Significance Unit: 3%

time vote as his parents, teacher, or minister, one should make up his mind independently. This does not indicate rebellion against parents so much as it indicates that partisan independence has been absorbed as the ideal voting behavior. One should decide on the merits of the candidates, not on the basis of one's political party, or according to the candidate or party which one's parents or teacher may support. The source of basic information which these children intend to use to find out what the candidates stand for is unclear; the mass media (television, newspapers, etc.) were not highly valued as sources of voting information. Teachers apparently socialize the ideal that rational assessment of issues and candidates is important, but are not successful in teaching children which sources are most useful in obtaining information about candidates or providing them with realistic criteria to use in making a judgment.

This cluster of attitudes is present in the majority of children only after the middle elementary school years. Young children believe that all the world is divided into Democrats and Republicans, that the parties are identified by their support for a particular candidate, that one's parents are adequate models for partisanship, and that partisan commitment is a legitimate basis for making voting decisions. The major voting research conducted in this country shows that adults hold beliefs which are more like those normative attitudes expressed by young children than like those espoused by our older group. Campbell _et al_. (1960) reported that for 75 per cent of Americans, party is more important than issues when making voting decisions.[67]

c) _Participation in elections_

Elections are highly visible events in the child's experience. A pilot inquiry, dealing with what adults who wanted to influence the government could do, revealed that voting was seen as the most influential activity by 48 per cent of fourth graders, 59 per cent of sixth graders, and 65 per cent of seventh and eighth grades.[68]

The awareness that voting privileges are limited to adults does not mean that children believe it necessary to postpone interest and activity in politics and elections. In pilot studies, children were asked to respond to the item, "Boys and girls should not have to think about politics because they are too young to vote."[69] In grade four approximately 30 per cent of the children disagreed with this statement; in grades six and eight about 80 per cent disagreed. Only younger children think that the inability to vote precludes political interest and activity.

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[67] Key (1961) has discussed the independent from the following point of view:

> "Given the limitations of the information upon which they must act, those who proudly say, 'I vote for the man and not for the party,' in the great modern state usually know far less about what they are doing than does the person who has some glimmering sense of the policy inclinations of the parties and unblushingly confesses that he votes the straight party ticket" (p. 250).

[68] Pilot Study 10.

Some children participate in political activities as early as the third grade; there is a gradual increase in the number of children who report these activities through the eighth grade. Although nonvoting activities open to children in campaigns are limited, our research group reported participation in the areas which are appropriate. Table 49 and Figure 27 present data from three questions asking whether the child has participated in activities around the time of elections. Reading about candidates in the mass media showed the sharpest increase with age (probably as children's reading skills improve). Exposure to the image of candidates in these publications was reported by more than 90 per cent of the students in grades six through eight, and by 100 per cent of the teachers. Wearing a campaign button to proclaim the candidate of one's choice was less frequently reported as an activity, though it also increased in a cumulative fashion. Approximately 60 per cent of eighth graders reported this activity. Seventy-two per cent of a group of high school students reported taking sides this way in a campaign.[70,71] Giving out handbills or buttons was reported least frequently, as one might expect, and it showed only a slight increase during the elementary grades. There was an increase in reports of this kind of election participation by high school students, and very little difference between them and teachers. These three items have been combined into an index of political activity which will be analyzed as a unitary index in the remainder of this report (Figure 27) (see Appendix D). Table 36 shows mobilization of children's interest and activity by the election campaign.

Taking sides in an election is a prominent aspect of children's political behavior. Another type of involvement in the election process is the choosing of sides, even if this is not accompanied by active campaigning. An important indication of the involvement of children in the political life of the United States is the degree of interest displayed in national contests at election time. The field testing of the national study followed a year and a half after the 1960 Presidential election, providing an opportunity to examine the responses of the group to the partisan aspects of this contest. Television coverage of the campaign, particularly the debates between Kennedy and Nixon, made the campaign and election struggle a uniquely visible one.

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[69] Pilot Study 11.

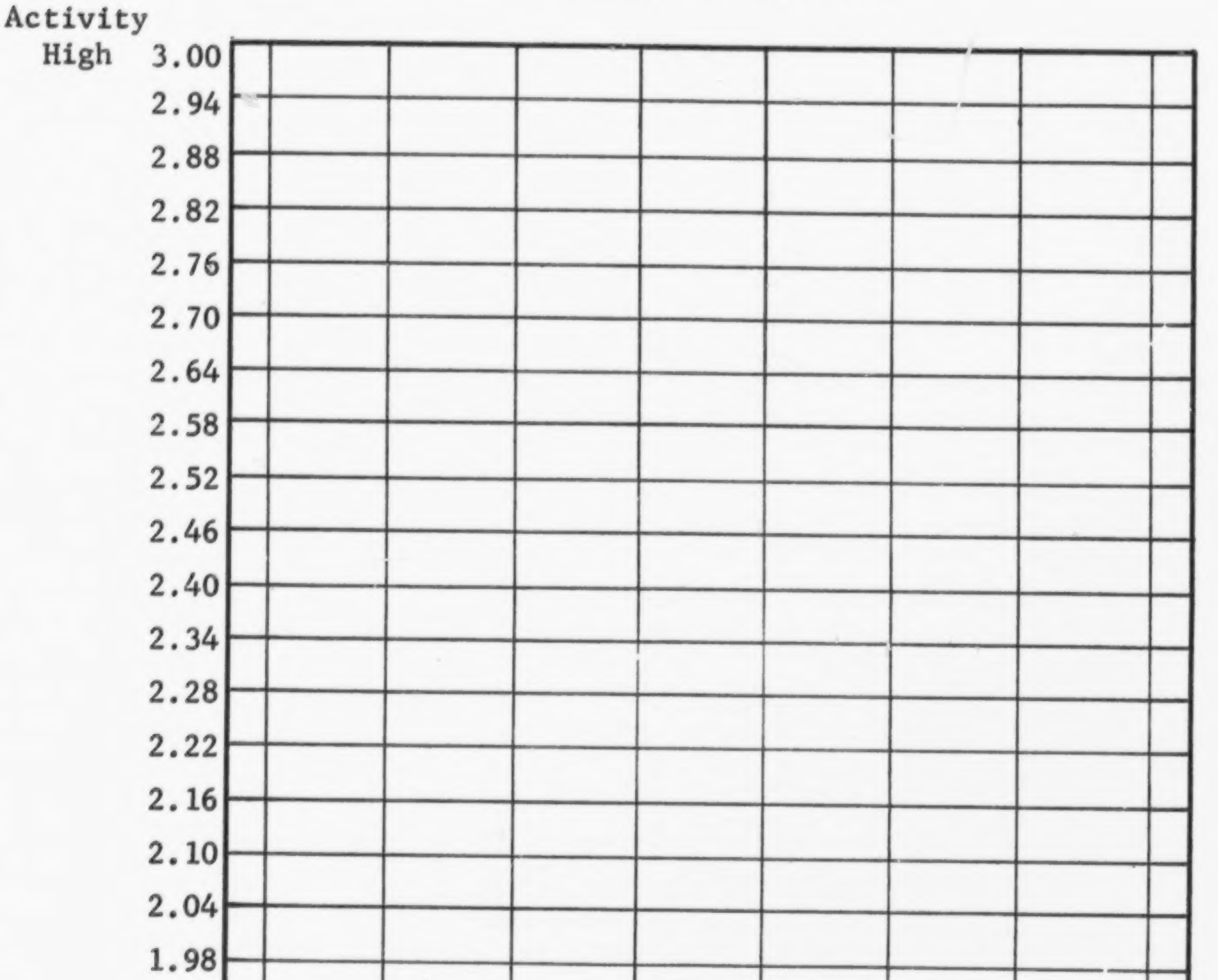
[70] Pilot Study 1.

[71] Another national test item which showed no age changes inquired why the subject thinks boys and girls wore campaign buttons. The alternative which received more than 60 per cent of the choices at all grades was, "Because they thought it would help their candidate win." Wearing a campaign button is apparently a politicized activity.

FIGURE 27

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES THREE THROUGH EIGHT IN

POLITICAL ACTIVITY



Item: Combination of three items -- have you: worn election button; read about candidates; helped candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - No activity
3 - Three activities

Range of N: 1617 - 1785

Significance Unit: .06

TABLE 49

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
(Percentages: children answered "Yes" or "No" for
each type of activity)

Grade Level	N	Read about Candidates	N	Worn a Campaign Button	N	Handed Out Buttons and Handbills
Grade 3	1651	59.7	1645	43.5	1646	21.6
Grade 4	1734	75.0	1735	45.9	1735	20.9
Grade 5	1798	87.5	1797	56.8	1792	22.4
Grade 6	1743	91.9	1743	62.2	1737	26.1
Grade 7	1717	95.1	1715	65.4	1717	28.6
Grade 8	1690	95.0	1688	63.4	1689	26.9
High School		a	1351	72.4[b]	1353	30.1[b]
Teachers	380	100.0	377	49.3	372	34.7

Notes.--Items: (34) I have worn a button for a candidate, (1) Yes; (2) No. (35) I have helped a candidate by doing things for him--such as handing out buttons and papers with his name on them; (38) I have read about a candidate in newspapers or magazines. Questionnaire, page 20, items (34), (35), and (38).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] This item not included in high school questionnaire.

[b] Items on the high school questionnaire read: Have you given out handbills or leaflets for a candidate at election time? Have you worn buttons for one and another candidate?

Our data on children's responses to the election show that their concern with the outcome of the election matches the reactions of adults in its emotional tone (Table 50). A very small and constant proportion, ranging between 14 and 18 per cent, claimed they were not interested in the election outcome. Most children did choose sides. At all grade levels, the proportion who reported that were "happy" when Kennedy won was considerably larger than the proportion who reported that they were "unhappy." Few teachers reported they were unconcerned with the outcome, and they were somewhat more equally divided between positive and negative affect. As stated earlier, students believe that one must support

TABLE 50

CHANGES BY GRADE IN EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TO KENNEDY'S ELECTION
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Very Happy	Happy	Didn't Care	Felt Bad	Felt So Bad I Almost Cried
Grade 3	1445	49.7	12.9	14.5	17.8	5.1
Grade 4	1537	42.9	13.5	18.0	20.4	5.2
Grade 5	1591	39.1	14.0	17.7	24.8	4.3
Grade 6	1513	37.4	18.4	14.9	24.2	5.1
Grade 7	1496	35.0	17.8	14.4	28.8	4.1
Grade 8	1606	33.4	21.8	14.1	26.2	4.6
Teachers	331	23.9	28.4	9.7	32.9	5.1

Notes.--Item: When I heard Kennedy won the election over Nixon ... (mark the one which is closest to the way you felt at that time), (1) I was very happy; (2) I was happy; (3) I didn't much care one way or the other; (4) I felt bad; (5) I felt so bad I almost cried. Questionnaire, page 17, item (21).

--Significance Unit 3%

the elected candidate even if one did not vote for him. This may have led to a more positive recollection of the election than the actual feeling justified. In summary, it appears that the election itself has a strong impact on many children and may in itself be a socializing experience.[72]

Party affiliation is usually not acquired until late in the elementary school years; the proportion of children who report that they would vote independently of partisan affiliation is large and increases with age. A more abstract kind of side taking involves the child's perception of himself as a member of one of the major political parties rather than merely supporting the candidate of his choice at election time. Information reported earlier indicated that children do not believe that party commitment is appropriate for them until after high school graduation. However, in the item used the child was asked to imagine himself an adult of voting age: "If you could vote, what would you be. . . .?" Party preferences for all grades are shown in Table 51.

Two features of these data are of particular interest. First

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[72] The tendency to become emotionally involved in the election has a definite association with other types of involvement. This association is described more fully in Chapter V.

TABLE 51

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PARTY PREFERENCE
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Republican	Democrat	Sometimes Democrat, Sometimes Republican	Don't Know Which	Don't Know What Democrat and Republican Mean
Grade 2	1639	22.4	13.4	9.4	21.1	33.7
Grade 3	1668	24.8	17.2	10.2	19.8	28.1
Grade 4	1738	30.1	19.0	15.0	16.9	19.0
Grade 5	1794	30.0	25.2	21.5	14.5	8.8
Grade 6	1744	28.2	28.8	26.0	12.6	4.5
Grade 7	1715	24.5	31.9	28.6	12.5	2.6
Grade 8	1685	20.5	32.5	31.6	13.8	1.6
Teachers	383	19.8	23.8	55.4	1.0	a

Notes.--Item: If you could vote what would you be? (Choose one), (1) A Republican; (2) A Democrat; (3) Sometimes a Democrat and somestimes a Republican; (4) I don't know which I would be; (5) I don't know what Democrat and Republican mean. Questionnaire, page 9, item (42).

--Significance Unit: 3%

[a] No DK alternative.

55 per cent of the second graders either did not know what "Democrat" and "Republican" are, or did not know what party they would choose. This proportion fell to 15 per cent at grade eight. The widespread acquisition of some type of partisan affiliation during elementary school may have been influenced somewhat by the public drama of the 1960 elections and the widespread TV coverage given the campaign.[73] Political party divisions are quite unimportant to a child when he thinks about the other children in his classroom. As Table 52 shows, more than 55 per cent of the children in all grades said they did not know which party was supported by most of the children they knew. There was no increase with age in sensitivity to partisan affiliation of classmates.

TABLE 52

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE PARTY AFFILIATION OF "MOST OF THE CHILDREN IN CLASSROOM"
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	Republicans	Democrats	Neither	Don't Know
Grade 4	1529	16.5	9.4	8.0	66.2
Grade 5	1788	19.5	14.0	7.5	59.0
Grade 6	1732	18.0	17.6	6.4	58.1
Grade 7	1713	15.5	16.3	6.0	62.2
Grade 8	1677	13.8	16.0	6.4	63.8
Teachers	360	10.0	22.2	13.9	53.9

Notes.--Item: Most of the boys and girls in my class are: (Choose one), (1) Republicans; (2) Democrats; (3) Neither; (4) I don't know. Questionnaire, page 35, item (54).

--Significance Unit: 3%

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[73] In the early years, there is a greater proportion of Republicans; by grade seven, the Democrats have a numerical advantage. This probably represents the interplay of several factors. This sample has an overrepresentation of the lower middle class--small business owners, salesmen, clerks--in relation to the U.S. population. In the first few grades, apparently, party affiliation is neither meaningful nor lasting. As stated previously, economic group differentiation in terms of party positions on issues is not seen before grade eight. In response to this question of party commitment, beginning at the seventh grade, children of middle status (who make up the bulk of this group) report that they are Democrats, thus swinging the balance toward Democratic affiliation. The analysis of this direction of partisan commitment must be reserved for Chapter V, where its correlates may be made clear by an analysis which includes social class and other variables.

The second aspect to be noted is the increasing proportion of children who are independent of party loyalty. The belief that one will not be committed to a single party when one is an adult, and lack of feelings of commitment to a party during childhood probably reflect socialization by the school. The 32 per cent of this sample who reported political independence of this type is slightly larger than the largest of the recent estimates of the number of independents in the adult population (Agger, 1959). The 55 per cent of teachers who reported that they were not committed to a single party (but were sometimes Democrats, sometimes Republicans) is large. Thirty-one per cent of high school students,[74] a proportion midway between eighth graders and teachers, reported similar tentative party loyalty. In a still more recent study,[75] the proportion of children who reported major affiliation with neither political party was even larger. Fifty-four per cent of eighth graders (N=85) claimed that they would sometimes be Democrats and sometimes Republicans. Considered in conjunction with the teachers' responses and with conceptions of the parties and norms encouraging independence which we have already discussed, this trend suggests that aloofness from party commitment is taught by the schools.

Research has established that adults very frequently report they follow the party which their parents supported. Students in our research group, however, have been advised that it is not appropriate to make one's partisan choice on the basis of one's parents' commitment. In our pre-final testing, conducted with second through eighth graders in two cities, questions not only about the child's party commitment but also his perception of his parents' political partisanship (Table 53) were included. Between 30 and 55 per cent of the children at all grade levels reported that their father was committed to the same party they had chosen. This correspondence rose slightly with age. A very small percentage, never more than 8 per cent and clustering around 4 per cent, reported that their father belonged to the Democratic party while they belonged to the Republican party, or vice versa. With age, an increasingly large percentage reported either they and their father were independent in party orientation or that their father was committed to a party while they were independent. Although these children did not think they should choose a party on the basis of their parents' choice, they were in fact most frequently committed to the same party as their fathers. Children who represented themselves as independent also tended to perceive their fathers as following this shifting allegiance. They were more likely to report that their father was committed to a party while they were independent, than to say that their father was an independent and they were committed.[76] The meaning of shifts in party membership may be understood as the

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[74] Pilot Study 1, middle status group only.

[75] Supplementary Study 1.

[76] Children's report of maternal partisan affiliation was nearly identical with these results.

TABLE 53

CHANGES BY GRADE IN REPORT OF OWN PARTISAN COMMITMENT AND COMMITMENT OF FATHER

(Percentages: Child reported both his own party and his father's)

Grade Level	N[a]	Both Committed to Same Party	One Committed to Democrat, One Republican	Both Independent	Don't Know Either	Self Committed; Father Independent	Self Independent; Father Committed	Other[b]
Grade 2	104	32.7	7.7	5.8	18.3	8.6	3.9	23.0
Grade 3	144	38.2	2.1	10.4	26.4	5.6	1.4	16.0
Grade 4	176	46.6	3.4	11.4	19.9	3.4	2.8	12.5
Grade 5	207	54.1	2.4	13.0	10.6	4.3	6.2	9.2
Grade 6	226	41.6	1.7	20.8	6.2	4.5	15.5	9.6
Grade 7[c]	216	46.3	3.8	23.6	4.6	4.1	11.5	6.1

Notes.--Item: a) If you could vote, what would you be? (Choose one), (1) A Republican; (2) A Democrat; (3) Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican; (4) I don't know which I would be; (5) I don't know what Democrat and Republican mean.

b) My father is (choose one), (1) a Republican; (2) a Democrat; (3) Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican; (4) I don't know which; (5) I don't know what Democrat and Republican mean. From Pilot Study 14 questionnaire.

[a] *N* does not include children who did not know what "Democrat" and Republican" meant.

[b] "Other" includes the six other possible combinations of items.

[c] Data on grade eight do not come from a comparable sample.

result of socialization occurring primarily in school, accelerated by certain contemporary political trends. The child learns that he should not use his parents as models of partisan affiliation. When coupled with a distaste for conflict, this leads children to reject political party membership and to perceive their parents as having done likewise. This drift toward independence appears to be of recent origin. Maccoby (1954) found that 75 per cent of first voters agreed with their fathers in their vote in the 1952 election. In discussing party commitment, she reported that less than 10 per cent of the parents of first voters transmitted the clear directive that they were not partisan but "independent." The tendency of children from these families to be independent was not so strong as the tendency for families with Democratic or Republican leanings to produce children of the same affiliation. Family influence does not seem to be crucial in producing independent voters.

We have discussed those aspects of socialization which seem most influential in producing attitudes toward elections and political parties. Clearly, elections are important in teaching children about the process of democratic government, and particular candidates are capable of mobilizing more interest than abstract organizations. The effect of the election upon socialization was examined by an item which inquired of the national research group how much they felt they had learned from the election of 1960. The response to this item is presented in Figure 28. It shows the tendency of this group to testify increasingly with age to the educational benefits of the election. The two-city sample of second through seventh graders (Pilot Study 14) was also asked to indicate what it was that they had learned from the election. These children believed they had learned most about procedure and national issues and substantially less about the political parties (Table 54). The increase in acquisition of information about national issues which comes with increasing age is typical of the process of socialization which moves from candidates to more abstract issues. Of even greater interest is the relatively high proportion who reported that they gained information about the election process. Apparently, observing an election itself goes well beyond the knowledge gained from more formal classroom teaching.

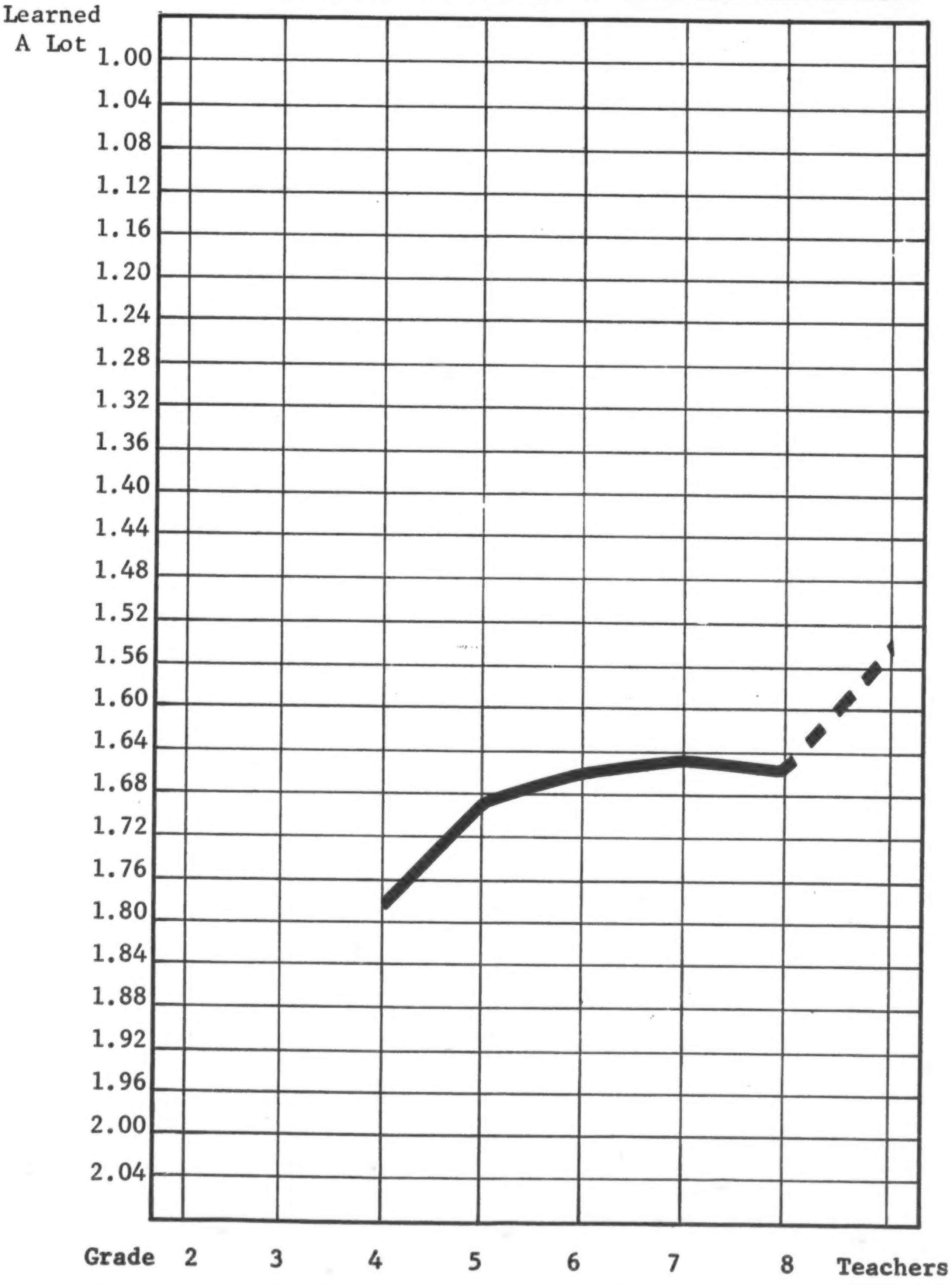
d) Summary

The pattern of age changes during the elementary school years is clear evidence that much of the process of political socialization occurs at the pre-high school level. In each of the five areas, there is a characteristic pattern of change in children's attitudes from grade two to grade eight.

The child's relationship to the country is established early and depends heavily on national symbols such as the flag and the Statue of Liberty. The child's attachment to the governmental system is achieved through attachment to personal figures, particularly the President. This feeling of positive regard is later transferred to institutions of the system as these objects become more clearly defined.

FIGURE 28

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF GRADES FOUR THROUGH EIGHT IN USE OF ELECTIONS AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL INFORMATION



Item: How much did you learn from the last election?

Index Scale: 1 - A lot
3 - Very little

Range of N: 1513 - 1783

Significance Unit: .04

TABLE 54

CHANGES BY GRADE IN REPORT OF INFORMATION GAINED FROM ELECTION
(Percentages)

Grade Level	N	About Problems of Country	What Democrats and Republicans Stand For	How to Choose a Man for President	That It Is Just a Contest between Two Parties	Nothing Learned
Grade 5	216	20.4	19.4	48.6	4.2	7.4
Grade 6	241	34.8	19.1	37.8	.8	7.5
Grade 7	212	41.0	17.0	38.2	.5	3.3
Grade 8	88	40.9	12.5	42.0	1.1	3.4

Notes.--Item: What did you learn from the last election for President? (Choose one), (1) About the problems our country is facing; (2) What the Democrats and Republicans stand for; (3) How we choose the man for the job of President; (4) That it is just a contest between the Democrats and Republicans; (5) Nothing I can remember. From Pilot Study 14 questionnaire.

--Significance Unit: 10%

Changes in the child's conceptualization of the government parallel the perception of his own relationship to it.

Induction into a pattern of compliance with authority and law occurs through visible authority figures--the President and the local policeman. The child believes that punishment is an inevitable consequence of wrongdoing, but this view declines with age in favor of a more realistic opinion. In general, children have a positive image of the policeman and view him as helpful; however, they also see him as a more fear-inspiring figure than parental authority or school authority.

Information about the rights of citizens and a consequent sense of efficacy develop relatively late in the elementary school years. The basis for this emerging sense of efficacy is probably the implicit trust that children have in the benevolence of government. However, many types of influence are unfamiliar to the child. He knows little about the role of pressure _groups_ in legislation and formation of policy and has a very high opinion of the power of the _individual_ citizen. Older children see citizen involvement as important; this is matched by an increasing tendency for children to engage in political activities as they grow older. By the end of elementary school most children have acquired some interest in government and have participated in discussions about its policies.

Increasingly with age children see voting as the most central feature of our governmental processes and recognize the citizen's obligation to vote. Their understanding of the role of political parties in elections is vague and tends to develop relatively late, probably because of a lack of instruction in the schools. The child's party preference most frequently matches his family's and is apparently facilitated by the child's identification of favored candidates as belonging to one party or the other. However, the majority of children believe that firm commitment to a party should be deferred until adulthood. The proportion of children who report that they would vote independently of party affiliation is large and increases with age. Children begin engaging in political activities, such as wearing campaign buttons, in the early grades; the number of politically active children increases through the eighth grade.

Several models of socialization are required to explain these patterns of age change. Some age trends fit the _unit-accretion model_, especially the growth in the number of attitudes about the system, indicated by the decrease in "Don't Know" scores. The development of other clusters of attitudes, such as affiliation with the President, cannot be explained by a unit-accretion model; nor can the child's attachment to the nation be seen in terms of a unit-accretion process. The young child holds strong feelings about these objects without much information about them. Also, the changes with age are in the direction of less positive feeling. These feelings are modified downward (negatively) as they approximate the adult pattern. These growth curves appear to be explained more appropriately by the _interpersonal transfer model_. Other attitudes, such as the conceptions of institutions and processes of government, are too abstract for most young children to grasp and probably could not be taught at an early age. Growth in the importance of these conceptions is perhaps best explained by a cognitive-developmental model, which underscores the child's increasing ability to deal with abstractions.

CHAPTER IV

SYSTEMATIC INFLUENCES ON THE SOCIALIZATION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

A. Introduction

In the complex process of acquiring the behavior of the adult community in which he is reared, the child is influenced by several groups. Although these groups act as socializing agents, they do not necessarily agree in their attitudes toward political figures, public policy issues, and other aspects of the political life of the community. There are some issues on which almost all groups in the community are united (such as respect for the flag, obedience of law, loyalty to country) but there are other issues on which these groups present a variety of views to the child. Differences occur not only between groups in the community but also between different communities and geographical regions. These differences produce variations in children's attitudes and role expectations. In the data reported here, these disparate influences are reflected in a wide range of response. Socialization of political behavior produces not monolithic but diverse attitudes on most of the topics with which this study deals. It is the purpose of this chapter and the next to present evidence of this variation in children's perceptions and to describe some of the systematic influences which bring about such a range of response.

In this section major sources of variation in the socializing process will be examined, posing four questions: What teaching groups (family, social class, school) produce systematic differences among subgroups of the study population? What distinct effects are produced by these socializing groups or social climates? How much do the child's emotional, biological, and mental characteristics (intelligence) mediate and modify the impact of these socializing agents and environments? What is the relationship between the child's roles in other subsystems of the society and his political role expectations?

In this report, attitude development (indicated by changes in attitude with advance in grade) is conceptualized as the result of interaction between the child's non-political roles and the influence of socializing persons and experiences. Analysis of systematic variation in the socialization process requires an examination of group differences and age trends. Although each child's experience is somewhat idiosyncratic and may lead to unique attitudes toward certain political objects, the differences and changes in attitude, indicated by group trends, may be viewed as the product of more systematic influence.

Induction into patterns of political behavior and attitudes is affected, in part, by the child's roles in other major institutions and systems of the society. These socializing contexts are offered by specific, small groups, such as the family, and by more diffuse experience in a social class milieu. These learning contexts are particularly important for the acquisition of attitudes and values. Indeed, the process of acquiring political orientations necessarily involves a variety of socializing agents and situations. Because they may be shared by several groups, attitudes and values are indirectly, subtly transmitted by many devices and techniques. Not all changes and individual differences occuring in children's attitudes can be traced to direct socialization pressure. It is difficult to unravel the specific impact of a person, institution, or milieu; the study of effects of socializing agents, therefore, must be highly inferential.

The concept of role is useful in understanding these multiple influences. A role may mediate between one situation or system in which learning takes place and another in which that learning is directly or indirectly applied. In other words, roles learned primarily in one context may influence behavior in another. Because a child does not have direct experience in the political arena, the concept of role is useful in discussing the multiple contexts in which he does develop qualities or attitudes relevant to political activity. A child's experience in non-political roles may influence later development or transfer of role relationships within the political system.

The data of this study will be examined for consistent response tendencies related to participation and roles in groups, institutions, and wide social contexts, and in order to make inferences about impact of various socializing arenas and roles. Data presented in the previous section indicated the growth curves summarizing attitudes of the entire group. There were wide response differences, however, among children in each grade group, and it is these variations that may reflect influences of several kinds.

Socializing contexts are of three general types. The first type includes institutions of well defined structure and organization: the family, school, and church. These institutions influence the child by direct teaching of political attitudes and values and by inducting him into the behavior and roles appropriate to family, school, or church membership. These values, behaviors, and roles are then generalized to attitudes toward political life of the community and nation. That is, the family teaches a child attitudes toward authority and regard for rules of the group which are translated into an elementary set of role conceptions with respect to law and political authority figures. This is illustrated by the tendency for children in early grades to confuse such family-imposed rules as "Brush your teeth every morning," with more formal laws. To some small children, brushing teeth is as much a law as the requirement that cars stop at stop signs. Early experience in the family role orients the child toward authority and law and in this way anticipates political socialization, preparing him for induction into non-family systems. Similar illustrations apply to the child's experience in the school and church, where both formal teaching of values and concrete experience of role participation in institutions give the child orientations which are easily transferred to behavior in the political system. This type of indirect learning follows the interpersonal transfer model presented in Chapter III and is especially significant in the formation of attachment to governmental figures and in compliance to laws.

The second type of socializing influence occurs in larger social settings. The most important of these social contexts are social class, ethnic origin, and geographical region. They are diffuse in the sense that the specific elements and experiences which produce typical social class effects, for example, are not yet clearly charted. These contexts have been described by several social scientists, and some recent work by Kohn (1959, 1963) and Bernstein (1964), which attempts to analyze social class influence in terms of its components, shows research promise. At this time, however, the nature of social class influence is not understood sufficiently to allow more specific analysis. This presentation assumes that a broad categorization, such as social class, is not a variable in the usual sense, but a general category indicating and subsuming several more specific influences, attitudes, interpersonal experiences, and roles.

The socializing influence peculiar to a geographical region or to membership in an ethnic group within the society is also diffuse, resulting from complex interplay of many variables. Obviously, traditions and historical events are very powerful indeed, as in differences within this country over the issues of integration and states' rights. As in the issue of social class, however, the search for systematic effects on roles is most fruitful, in view of presently available techniques, if followed in terms of broad socializing contexts rather than more precise analysis of specific variables. Although a number of differences among cities appear in our data, discussion in this section is confined to the influence of social class. The reasons for this are covered in Chapter II, which presents the composition of the research groups and the methods by which they were chosen. The regional differences obtained are interesting but cannot be regarded as representative--they may reflect city differences rather than differences between geographical and political regions. The absence of rural groups in our study and the differences in the social status and intelligence of children tested in different regions make it hazardous to generalize about attitudes characteristic of a region. Information on family backgrounds was relatively limited, and our selection of groups within a city was not suited for the analysis of ethnic differences; thus no attempt will be made to examine differences arising from these factors. In assessing the effects of social contexts in political socialization, this section deals only with socioeconomic differences.

A third type of influence in the socializing process derives from the child's personal characteristics. These _individual characteristics_ influence socializing efforts of the family, school, and other agents, and limit the extent of learning. The most salient factor is intelligence. Much of political socialization occurs in school; the child's mental capacity mediates his comprehension of material presented in the classroom. Emotional responses also play an important role. Attitudes toward authority and law that influence political behavior may be modified or distorted by attitudes toward authority in non-political areas; early learning of moral codes may influence attitudes towards law, while individual differences in compliance and dependency needs may alter the child's perception of government's role in assisting and protecting the citizen. Differences in these roles imply different needs and images of authority. Children differ in characteristics which mediate their understanding of the world. Intelligence limits their understanding of what is taught in school, sex role mediates the child's other experiences. The process of socialization is not exerted upon a passive, receptive object. Each child's emotional, intellectual, and physical properties modify the images, attitudes, and information transmitted to him by adults.

Comprehension examination of the ways in which a child transforms and selectively accepts teaching would require intensive case studies, such as those by Lane (1959), and by Smith, Bruner, and White (1956). Their studies illustrated and elaborated the importance of internal, dynamic elements of personality in the socializing process. This project had somewhat different objectives; data were based on self-report and were drawn from relatively large research groups in order to examine group trends and differences. Hence, information about children's individual qualities is limited. These data do, however, permit group analysis of the influence of several individual characteristics.

B. Systems Acting as Agents

1. The Role of the Family in Political Socialization

a). Introduction

Students of personality development and human behavior frequently regard the family as the most important agent of socialization, a unique context in which children acquire values and behavioral patterns. This view may be valid within certain areas of behavior, but it is not adequate as a model for the development of attitudes toward political objects or the growth of active political involvement. The data of this study raise several questions about the efficacy of the family as contrasted with other socializing agents.

The family unit, particularly the parents, participates in the socialization of political perceptions and attitudes through three processes. First, parents transmit attitudes which they consider valuable for the child to hold. The family may operate as one of several teaching agents, imparting attitudes or values which reflect community consensus; here it supports and reinforces the teachings of other groups and institutions. Also, the family transmits attitudes, values, and perceptions which represent differences of opinion existing within the community, such as attitudes toward governmental policy or party affiliation. In these areas, a family may compete with some other agents or families, and be supported by others. The family may also transmit idiosyncratic attitudes, i.e., those which do not correspond to any recognized or defined division within the community.

The family also participates in socialization by presenting models the child may emulate. Although the family may not systematically attempt to inculcate these patterns, a child assumes the roles his parents illustrate. This applies particularly to active political involvement; the child may become politically active if his parents are active, or he may identify with his parents' political party. Sometimes, in a diffuse area such as political socialization, modeling and transmission are indistinguishable because it is impossible to determine whether teaching is explicit. A third possibility discussed earlier is that expectations and role definitions formed from experience in family relationships are later generalized to political objects. In addition to these direct influences, the family socializes the child indirectly by creating within him patterns of values and personality characteristics which modify, mediate, and occasionally distort his experiences.

(1) Role of family in transmitting attitudes and providing behavior models

The family acts as a societal agent by transmitting values, attitudes, and norms shared by the community of which the family is a part. In doing this, it perpetuates attitudes on which there is a consensus among adults. Since these attitudes are similar or identical to those transmitted by other groups, families, and institutions, it is difficult if not impossible to determine accurately the family's influence compared to that of other agents. Some attitudes which children acquire in these areas of high consensus are well known and perhaps taken for granted--feelings of loyalty, respect for the symbols of government (especially the flag, Statue of Liberty, and Uncle Sam), and behavior expected of the citizen (especially compliance to law).

A related aspect of family influence, and one more readily examined, is the transmission of attitudes about which some disagreement or division exists in the adult society. Unlike socialization of consensus, this promotes and maintains the disagreement and division characteristic of our political life. These differences are related to issues (e.g., civil rights, federal aid to education) and other aspects of government which occasionally become topics of public debate.

Probably the most significant socialization of this kind involves the family's affiliation with a political party and the child's tendency to assimilate these partisan attitudes. The child perceives his family as aligned with a major political group and consequently identifies with that party. Modeling, as a process of attitude formation, has been stressed in discussion of the child's partisan affiliation but has not been extensively explored in the socialization of other aspects of political involvement. Children may accept and value modes of political involvement which they observe in their parents (see Stark, 1957). Adults vary markedly in the extent of their political activity, a majority of them performing only the voting act and displaying little interest otherwise (Woodward & Roper, 1950). Children may therefore have only limited chance to observe their parents in political pursuits.

The family's influence in transmitting attitudes has received some attention in political beahvior research. One of the earliest studies (Kulp & Davidson, 1933) used a questionnaire of 108 items dealing with international, interracial, political, and social problems and reported a statistically significant, but not high, correlation between siblings' responses (Pearson r = .32). Other studies cannot be summarized briefly, since they dealt with several types of attitudes measured in various ways. Most of the reported correlations between the attitudes of parents and children are statistically significant, although results vary depending upon the measurement method, the sample of respondents, and the attitude areas considered.

Most studies examining the effects of family attitudes upon children's orientations have looked for direct similarities. Hyman's review (1959) dealt primarily with studies of parent-child similarity in political attitudes using populations of high school and college age youth. At these age levels, correlations between parents' and children's responses were as high as .8 or .9.

Despite variability in reported data, there is reasonably good evidence that the family exerts an important influence upon the child's party preference. Remmers and Weltman (1947), in studying party preferences of high school youth and their parents, reported correlations of .8 and .9. Harris, Remmers and Ellison (1932) in another study reported that half of Purdue's undergraduates chose the same party as their parents. Socialization of party or partisan preference is fairly well established before voting age. West's (1945, p. 85) observation that "a man is born into his political party just as he is born into probable future membership in the church of his parents," is substantially accurate.

In addition to studies relating children's attitudes to those of their parents, there is research based entirely upon the respondent's report of his own and his parents' party preference. These studies, using larger samples, permitted analysis of the child's tendency to identify with his parents' party (or report that he does so). Studies of this nature have been reported by Campbell, et al. (1954); Hyman (1959); Maccoby, Matthews, and Morton (1954). Although based upon responses of adults, they are of interest in the present discussion. These results reaffirm the hypothesis that children follow the party preference of their parents in at least three-fourths of the cases in which both parents are affiliated with the same party.

The family's impact on a child's political participation is a separate area of analysis, since party preference does not necessarily indicate active political participation. Although self-reports from politically active adults support the contention that their parents were also active (Starke, 1957), evidence on this point is not extensive.

(2) The family as a source of experience

Certain non-political aspects of family environment influence political socialization, since home provides the child's first and most lasting experience with interaction in a hierarchic social system. Through this experience, children develop reciprocal role relationships, expectations, and behavior patterns which are reasonably consistent with these expectations. A child becomes attached to the family unit through attachment to its individual members, relates to the hierarchy of authority and learns compliance to its regulations, thus establishing a frame of reference by which to approach systems he will later encounter. Although development of these reciprocal role relationships is one of the most important outcomes of family experience, the child does not necessarily relate to the President as to his father, or to laws as to family rules.

Recent studies have shown that the family power structure not only influences the child's relationship to the system (Kagan, 1958; Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Hoffman, 1961) but may also mediate class differences in personality and attitudes (Kohn, 1959, 1963). Families in which the father plays a strong, dominant role encourage in the child a different attitude toward authority than do mother-dominated families. Investigations of families from which the father is absent for long periods of time have indicated that personality differences may be expected, particularly in boys (Bach, 1946; Tiller, 1958). Here, the nature of transmitted attitudes and values does not necessarily differ but specific experiences with an authority system affect later relationships to governmental authority.

b). Data

Four types of analysis were performed to assess family influence on political socialization: (1) analysis of attitude change during the early elementary years to determine which opinions and perceptions are consensual before or by the second grade; (2) comparison of the attitude similarity among siblings in our sample with that occurring in pairs of unrelated children matched by social class and grade; (3) examination of the effect of absence of the father on attitude development; (4) analysis of the relationship between the children's perceptions of family structure and characteristics and certain political variables.[1]

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[1] The data also included information about the child's birth rank. Because the data on family influences which were analyzed showed that the family has relatively little impact in creating idiosyncratic attitudes, birth rank data were not analyzed.

In examining these data, three questions were considered: (1) What evident is there that the family initiates or is the salient force in socializing political attitudes? (2) What evidence is there that the family socializes non-consensus attitudes, such as those toward a Presidential incumbent or party affiliation, by presenting models of partisan affiliation or political involvement? (3) What evidence is there that family structure or characteristics are important in creating orientations toward political affairs or political authority?

(1) The family's role in transmitting consensus

Ideally, data about political socialization in the family would indicate the relative impacts of family, school, peers, and other agents of attitude formation. Such data are difficult to obtain because different agents transmit similar political attitudes and values. Parents' role in political socialization is largely circumstantial, i.e., the family is a salient influence because it provides the child's earliest learning environment, not because of any effort peculiar to it as a social unit.

The central role of the family is to transmit consensus and reinforce other institutions in the community. Evidence of family participation in the socializing of consensus comes from data about the early elementary years. That is, attitudes which show little or no change between the second and eighth grades are apparently acquired during the pre-school years, kindergarten, or first grade. Attitudes showing marked changes with age reflect a combination of influences which might include the family, but more probably result from school and peer group experience. For example, children's perception of their fathers changes very little over the age span (see Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, and 17); these perceptions are only minimally influenced by sources outside the home. Subsequently, in documenting the importance of the school as a socializing agent, we will relate attitude change to teachers' attitudes and the grade level at which political topics appear in the curriculum.

If the family's influence is greatest during pre-school and early school years, the effect of parental teaching should be most apparent in attitudes of attachment, affiliation, and regard for authority and law. Indeed, items in these areas are overrepresented among those which show little age change. Since some items were not administered at grades two and three, a comprehensive analysis is not possible. However, the following graphs and tables provide examples of consensus items: Figure 16 (Policeman and President); Table 15 (Good Citizen Does As He Is Told, Helps, Goes to Church); Figure 18 (People Who Break Laws Always Get Caught). Many questions from pretests were eliminated from the final instrument because of the consensual response at all grade levels tested; a selection of these items is listed in Table 55. Early attachment to government figures and symbols, and compliance with law are accepted; the foundations of American society (voting, the system of states, freedom of religion) are also highly valued by the majority of young children. The consistent expression of these attitudes in different ways makes it unlikely that they are random responses. Although these tabulations

TABLE 55

ITEMS SHOWING CONSENSUS (75% or more) AT GRADES 4, 6, AND 8

Loyalty and Attachment to Figures, Government and Country

Source[a]	Item
C	The leaders of the government are really smart people. (yes)
A	The citizen's primary job is to be loyal to his country. (yes)
A	Policemen are usually friendly. (yes)
A	The President does nice things only for poor people, never for rich people. (no)
A	Everybody who works for the government is important. (yes)
A	The Statue of Liberty stands for freedom. (yes)
B	The main job of the policeman should be to protect us. (yes)
B	The President likes people. (yes)
C	Whether we have freedom really affects my life. (yes)

Function of Laws and Punishment for Crimes

Source[a]	Item
A	Laws are to make sure people do the right thing. (yes)
A	If there were no laws there would be lots of killing. (yes)
A	People who commit crimes are usually caught by the police. (yes)
A	No matter how bad a crime a man has committed, he ought to be given a fair trial. (yes)
D	If a policeman told you to do something you thought was wrong, would you refuse to do it? (no)

Satisfaction With the System Without Radical Changes

Source[a]	Item
C	The government meddles too much in our private lives. (no)
A	There are too many policemen. (no)
A	The reason we vote to elect our President is because it's the best way to get the right person for the job. (yes)

TABLE 55 (continued)

Satisfaction With the System Without Radical Changes

Source[a]	Item
B	It would be better if there were only 13 states instead of 50 because as it is now no states have enough power to do anything. (no)
E	This country would get along just as well without a President. (no)
B	The government should never tell the citizens where to go to church. (yes)
C	The government is getting too big for America. (no)

Acceptance of the Election Process

Source[a]	Item
C	Politics is a dirty business. (no)
C	You have to go along with the man who was elected even if you didn't vote for him. (yes)
A	When people vote they vote for people whose ideals they agree with, not just for people who are handsome. (yes)
C	The man who loses in an election should ask his followers to help the winner. (yes)
B	I would vote the same way my teacher would. (no)
F	It is all right to fool the voters if a man thinks the lie will help him win an election. (no)
C	People should vote for the best man, whether he is a Democrat or a Republican. (yes)
C	Some people should not be allowed to vote because they are too stupid. (no)

[a] The sources indicated are as follows:

A,	Pilot Study	5
B,	" "	6
C,	" "	11
D,	" "	13
E,	" "	9
F,	" "	8

begin with data from grade four, the information about curriculum indicates that the school, in grades two and three, deals primarily with the policeman, patriotic rituals, and basic duties of the citizen, deferring particulars of elections, the system of states, or the Presidency. Apparently the family supplements the work of the school in transmitting these attitudes on which there is basic consensus.

The data suggest that in early years the family's role is to promote attachment to country and government. It is instrumental in establishing the initial ties and emotional bases of the citizen-government relationship, and thus insures the stability of basic institutions. These ties are reinforced by the child's experiences during the early school years in such rituals as reciting the pledge of allegiance and singing the national anthem.

(2) The family's role in the socialization of division--sibling study

While the family is most influential in teaching the child feelings of attachment and affiliation to his country and its leaders, it may also be effective in transmitting the other ideas fundamental to our system of government. In particular, family experience contributes to the understanding that certain kinds of disagreement are not only tolerated but are explicitly encouraged. Inculcating such a concept is difficult. Our pilot testing indicated that children at all age levels tested regarded disagreement between Republicans and Democrats as undesirable and even misperceived the election debates as discussions in which candidates "never said bad things about each other." A central question in this study concerns the role of the family in teaching controversial or idiosyncratic attitudes. That is, how much of the variation permitted within our society results from family influences and how much comes from other sources?

To assess the accumulated effect of family in attitude areas covered by the questionnaire, responses of sibling pairs were studied. If the similarity between siblings was greater than that in pairs of children matched on relevant characteristics but not from the same family, it would be evidence for the systematic effect of family socialization. Sibling similarities should be particularly obvious in those attitudes which reflect well-defined variation between families (e.g., party preferences). In areas where the family teaches attitudes shared by the community, the expectation was that siblings would not resemble one another more than they resembled unrelated children of the same grade, sex, social class, and school as their sibling.

Using school records, all the sibling pairs were identified among children tested in two cities of the study. The younger child of each pair was also matched with an unrelated child of the same school, sex, grade, and social status as his older sibling. To avoid confusing age trends with possible dissimilarities based on family teaching, the groups of siblings and random pairs were subdivided into four categories: sibling pairs with small age difference formed one group, those with large age difference another. This was done with the unrelated pairs as well. These groups were also subdivided by social class to control the possible difference in family influence attributable to parents' educational level or other class-related factors.

Similarities among children in the same family are confined to partisanship and related attitudes. Responses of the pairs in these

TABLE 56

SIBLING RESEMBLANCES IN POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Group	No. of Pairs	Proportion of Significant Correlations[a]
Total sibling pairs	205	12.6
Total randomly matched pairs	205	2.7
Low status sibling pairs	100	8.9
Low status randomly matched pairs	100	7.1
High status sibling pairs	100	12.5
High status randomly matched pairs	100	5.7
Sibling pairs with small age difference (two grades or less)	135	16.1
Random pairs with small age difference	135	3.6
Sibling pairs with large age difference (more than two grades)	65	10.7
Random pairs with large age difference	65	5.4

[a] Based on 113 items; significance level = .05. This analysis was done early in the study and did not include those indices on which later analyses were based.

groups were correlated for each of the 113 scaled items. A summary of the results is shown in Table 56. The median coefficient for the total groups of siblings was .05, and that for the randomly chosen group was .01.[2] For the total sibling group, only five significant correlations of .21 or above appeared; one item, feelings following Kennedy's victory, was highly significant at .50 (See Appendix E).

Speaking from the perspective of political socialization as a whole, the family's primary effect is to support consensually-held attitudes rather than to inculcate idiosyncratic attitudes. The presence of family effect upon attitudes of a general nature is indicated by the relatively greater number of sibling correlations that exceeded chance expectations. The number of correlations that appeared between matched unrelated pairs is close to the number expected by chance, over a series of such comparisons. The number of correlations appearing in the sibling pairs, while not large, nevertheless was consistently greater than the number in the random group.

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[2] This lack of intra-family correlation is supported by data obtained in an unpublished study by Hess and Neugarten (NIMH Grant #M-4736). In this study the President and the policeman were rated by 118 upper middle class family triads (fathers, mothers, and fifth grade children). Factor scores for each family member were computed on the following dimensions: Affiliation, Nurturance, Power, Competence, Punitiveness, and Dependability. Correlations were computed between the scores of fathers and their sons, mothers and their sons, and so on. Only nine of the resulting 48 correlations were statistically significant at the .05 level. Only four of these correlations were greater than .3.

This comparison of correlations does not necessarily indicate that children in a given family hold markedly different views; rather, these figures show that on most items examined, siblings are no more similar to each other (in terms of covariance) than they are to children from other families. From these data, we consider that the family transmits its own particular values in relatively few areas of political socialization and that, for the most part, the impact of the family is felt only as one of several socializing agents and institutions.

In one area the family does appear to transmit its own type of political participation, attitudes, and involvement. In four of the five groupings of pairs, sibling correlation was .48 or above for the item which asked about feelings after learning of Kennedy's election.[3] This sibling similarity supplements evidence that many children identify with their parents' party. The responses to this item reveal a familial similarity that goes beyond party affiliation to include highly competitive and emotional involvement with a candidate in a national election. Very little is known about the effect of elections on the socialization of partisan loyalty and interest in national affairs, but these data do indicate that family members align themselves with the same candidates. The effect of this commitment on political attitudes is described elsewhere in this chapter and the next.

(3) Interpersonal transfer and modeling--the influence of family structure and characteristics

(a) Family structure.--Data concerning the direct effect of family structure upon socialization are limited and will be reported briefly. The testing instrument included an item inquiring about the presence of absence of a father or mother in the home. In very few families was the mother absent, but 12 per cent of the children came from homes without fathers. On the hypothesis that attitudes toward authority stem, in part, from experience with paternal authority, children from father-absent homes were compared with children from homes with both parents present. This comparison showed no difference between the two groups that could not be attributed to chance variation.

(b) Perceptions of the family.--Relationships between different perceptions reported by the child were the only source of information about the process of interpersonal transfer and the influence of various family relationships on children's political attitudes. These family perceptions were not of the same order as other independent variables such as social class, sex, and grade. In reporting their parents' interest in government, for example, sibling correlations were significant in only one of the five groupings; reports of whether their father "can make other people do what he wants" showed no significant sibling correlations. Obviously, two children's views of their family are not determined solely by its realistic characteristics.[4] In dealing with material of this kind, it is important to look for consistent relationships obtained from different types of data and information.[5]

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[3] No item inquiring directly about partisan affiliation was included in these correlations.

It is apparent from extensive research (Schaeffer, 1961) that two major dimensions order relationships within the family: attachment or support, and power or control. These also have been the basis of our outline of political relationships. A factor analysis of correlations between the scale ratings of the President, father, policeman, government, Supreme Court, and Senator organized these perceptions into dimensions which were quite similar for family and non-family figures. An affect or attachment factor (including such items as "I like him," "He protects me," "He is my favorite") and a power factor (including such items as "Can make anyone do what he wants," "Can punish anyone," "Makes important decisions," and "Knows a lot") appeared clearly for ratings of the father. These item sets represent the separation of authoritativeness, role, and instrumental qualities from affective, supportive, and other evaluative qualities. Similar factors appeared in the correlations of the scales for political figures. The child apparently learns to relate to family members along these two dimensions; he transfers these dimensions of relationship into perceptions of his relationships with figures and institutions of the larger political system.

Does the child transfer or generalize the content and direction of specific judgments or perceptions about his father to members of the political system? Does he relate to the President as he relates to his father? This section of the questionnaire must be interpreted most cautiously. A different picture was obtained from examining the correlations and factor patterns than from comparing means of groups which differed in perceptions of the father. In the factoring of correlations among these items, the father-items covaried among themselves to a much greater extent than they covaried with perceptions of other figures. In fact, no rating of the father was loaded higher than .30 on any factor which contained ratings of a political figure. The ratings of father correlated with each other and appeared on two factors, indicating that the child has a fairly consistent picture of his father along two dimensions previously mentioned. Ratings of the government and its representatives covaried with each other. For example, the government was perceived as similar to the President and the Supreme Court; the Senator was like the government in certain respects. It appears that there are essentially two groupings in the child's world: the family figure (father), and all non-family political figures. The direct transfer from family to non-family political figures is minimal.

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[4] See Hess and Torney (1963) for discussion of lack of family consensus in report of authority patterns.

[5] Relationships among self-report items are higher than some of the relationships we have observed between children's self-report perceptions and certain independent variables. We must attribute part of this relationship, however, to the child's tendency to respond in the same way to all rating scales, or to exaggerate his report of characteristics which he considers desirable. The data which come from factor analyses are somewhat more definitive, since the determination of factors locates clusters of covariance and takes into account the consistency of relationships.

Cross-tabulating the father items with rating scale items for other figures, however, revealed that children who rated their father high also tended to rate non-family figures high. We have been cautious in interpreting these differences because of the possible influence of response set (tendency for some children to use the extreme response alternatives). The correlational patterns indicated that the generalizations which do occur between father and non-family figures tend to be lower for the evaluative dimension than for the power dimension (see Table 57). Because of this, and because attachment to the father showed little variance in this sample (between 60 and 70 per cent of the children at all grade levels said that their father was their favorite of all), we concentrated on relationships between perceptions of the father's power ("He can make anyone do what he wants") and other items of political orientation. This dimension was chosen because there were three sources of information about fathers' power and the home atmosphere: the child's ratings of whether his father "can make anyone do what he wants," perception of who is "boss in the family," and perception of the amount of interest his family has in current events. First, let us examine some of the relationships of these variables to age, social class, sex, and intelligence.

Children from high status families see their fathers as more powerful in the family and as more instrumental teachers of citizen attitudes than do lower status children. The ratings of the father were reasonably stable with age (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13). Also, they showed pronounced social class differences, lower status children rating their father lower on ability to "make others do what they tell them" than upper status children, for example (Figure 29). This may result from the child's knowledge about his father's occupational role--an awareness that middle and upper class jobs carry more prestige and power. Perception of the parents' interest in government also varied by social class (see Figure 30). Children from homes of lower and middle social status viewed their parents as markedly less interested in government and current events than children from higher status homes. The coherence of these findings tells us a great deal about differences in the home atmosphere in different social classes, particularly the perceived political involvement and interest of the parents and the perception of the father's authority.

TABLE 57

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN RATINGS OF FATHER AND PRESIDENT

Grade 3:

Evaluative Items		Non-Evaluative Items	
Helps me	.117	Never gives up	.318
My favorite	.113	Keeps his promises	.196
Protects me	.053	Makes important decisions	.176
I like him	.048	Can make people do things	.174
		Never makes mistakes	.149
Median correlation:	.083	Can punish anyone	.093
		Is a leader	.092
		Knows a lot	.052
		Works hard	.024
		Median correlation:	.149

Grade 8:

Evaluative Items		Non-Evaluative Items	
Helps me	.096	Never gives up	.294
My favorite	.058	Can make people do things	.232
Protects me	.045	Keeps his promises	.222
I like him	.008	Never makes mistakes	.175
		Can punish anyone	.170
Median correlation:	.051	Makes important decisions	.151
		Knows a lot	.138
		Is a leader	.018
		Works hard	-.013
		Median correlation:	.170

Another item which showed striking differences by social class is presented in Figure 31. Children of lower social status tend to be oriented toward the school (represented by the teacher) as the agent of citizenship training, rather than toward the home (represented by the father). Not only does the lower class child perceive his father as lower in status (of lower power and less interested in politics), but these children do not regard their fathers as potential sources of information about politics and citizenship. The relationship of these items to social class suggests the possible source of some social class differences.[6]

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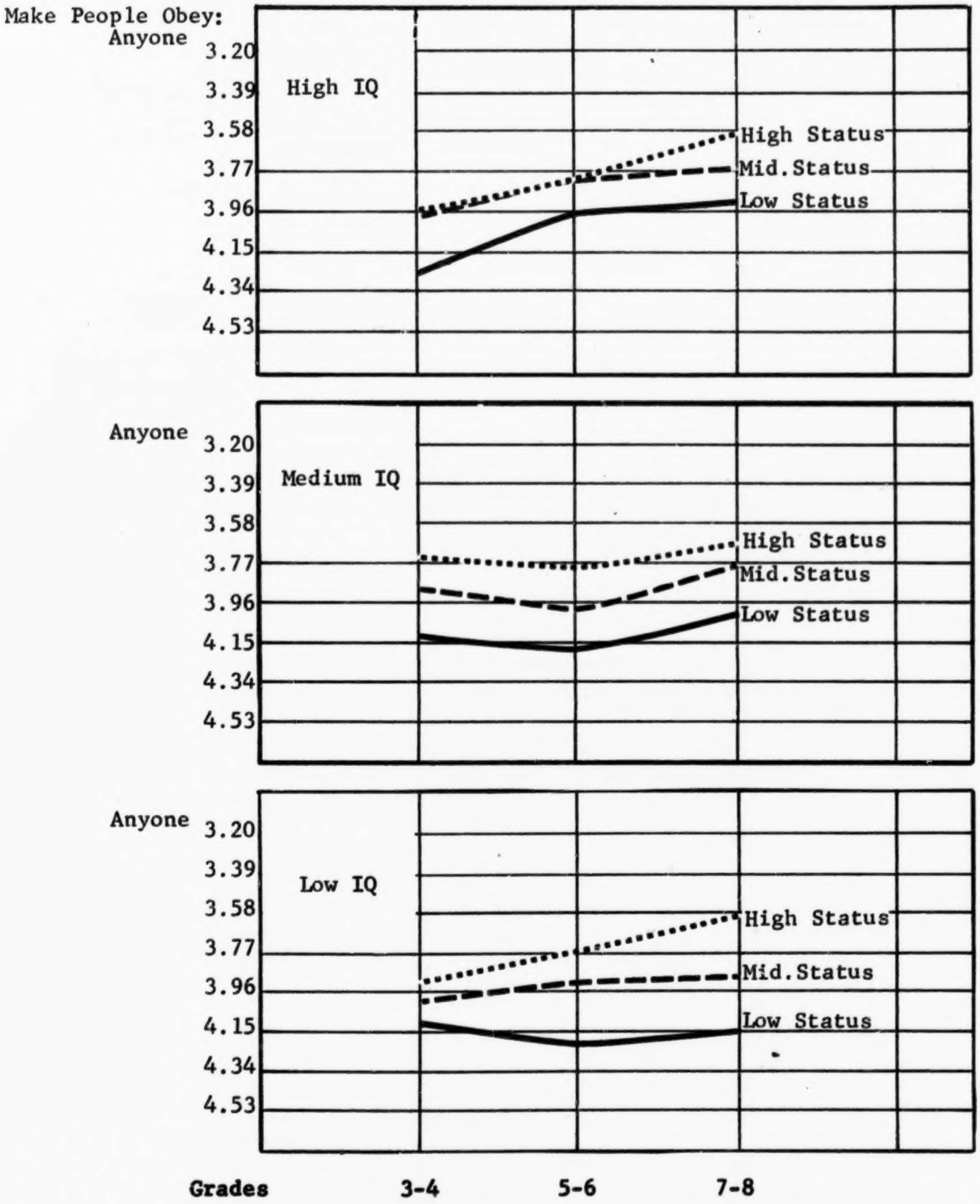
[6] The items are also related to each other (Appendix G). The child reporting that the mother is boss in the house is also more likely to report that the father can make few people do what he wants, that family interest in politics is low, and that the teacher is more responsible for citizenship training than the father.

FIGURE 29

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN RATING THE COERCIVE POWER OF THEIR FATHERS, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: My father can make anyone do what he wants.

Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - Almost no one

Range of N:[a] 55 - 522

Significance Unit: .19

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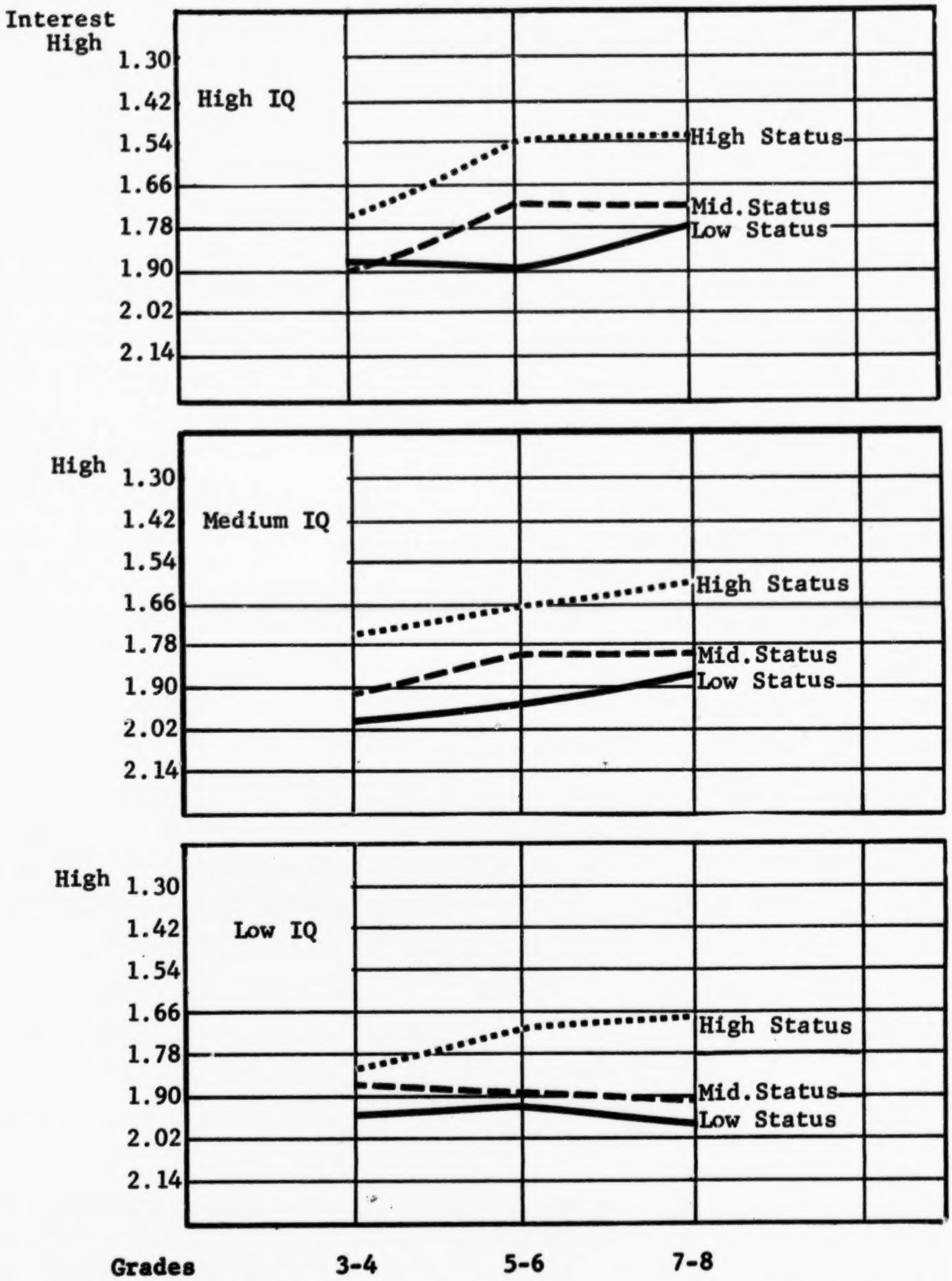
[a] The lower limit of the Range of N in certain figures results from two factors: some questions were not administered at grade 3; and the low correlation between some independent variables meant that some group sizes were reduced. For all graphs, group sizes cluster at top not bottom of reported Range of N.

FIGURE 30

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN REPORTED AMOUNT OF THEIR PARENTS' POLITICAL INTEREST, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: How interested in the government are your parents?

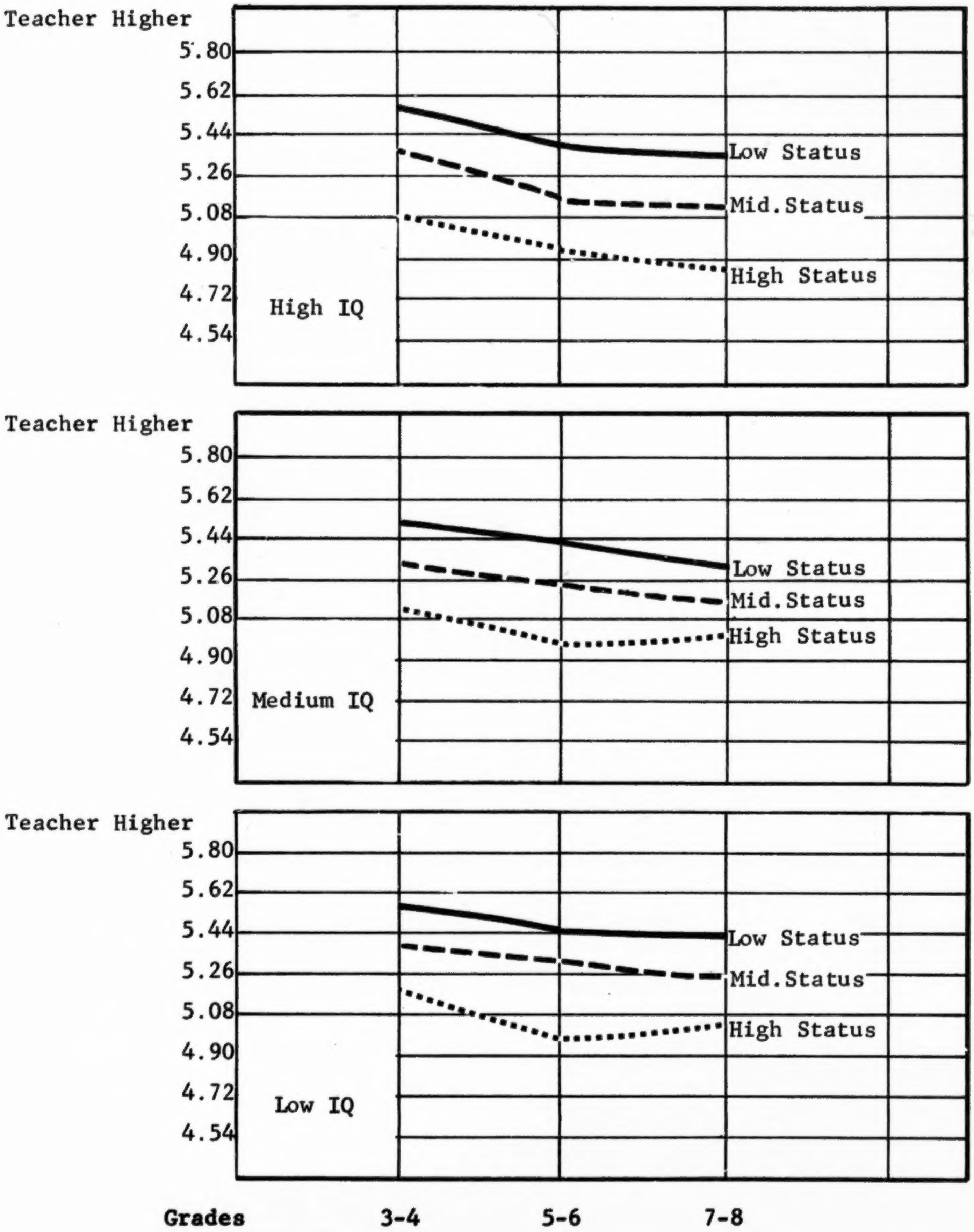
Index Scale: 1 - High
4 - Low

Range of N: 54 - 538

Significance Unit: .12

FIGURE 31

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN DIFFERENTIATING THEIR FATHERS' AND TEACHERS' ROLES IN CITIZENSHIP TRAINING, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Difference between ratings of father and teacher on their role in teaching child to be a good citizen.

Index Scale: 1 - Father higher
5 - No difference
9 - Teacher higher

Range of N: 70 - 619

Significance Unit: .18

What associations do these items show with political behavior and attitudes? Briefly, the child who has a strong father tends to be more attached to figures and institutions in the political system, particularly the President and the policeman, than is the child whose father is relatively weak. Another set of items in the area of political participation and involvement also was related to these aspects of family atmosphere and role relationships. In most cases, these items also showed some social class divergencies. The differences in family structure which are characteristic of the various classes may be one of the most important mediators of differences between socioeconomic groups.

Children who see their fathers as powerful tend to be more informed and interested in political matters. The citizen's role as an influential force in the political system is not likely to be transferred from experience with the family; here the process of modeling is more likely to be important. If he sees his parents as interested participants in elections and other types of political activity, a child may model his own projected behavior after theirs.

Evidence for this is summarized in Table 58. The congruence of these trends, based on three different items used as independent variables, indicates that (particularly for boys) having active and powerful male role models is important in the development of active political involvement. The relationship of these political involvement items to the family structure, to the assessment of the father's status, and to family interest indicates that family influence on political behavior may not be limited to the modeling of specific political behavior. For boys in particular, having a father who asserts himself in family matters makes them more able to perceive themselves as instrumental and active in the political world. More information about family perceptions is presented in Figures 32, 33, and 34. Children who rated their fathers low, family interest low, and perceived their mothers as family authorities, tended to have higher "Don't know" scores. That is, they had acquired fewer political attitudes. Families in which parents are distinctly uninterested in political affairs and where there is no active male figure have children who do not develop political orientations as rapidly as other children.

2. Cognitive Processes in Political Socialization: The Role of the School

a) The teachers' evaluation of the politically relevant curriculum

The public school is the most important and effective instrument of political socialization in the United States. It reinforces other community institutions and contributes a cognitive dimension to other community institutions and contributes a cognitive dimension to political involvement. As an agent of socialization it operates through classroom instruction, class rituals, and ceremonies.

TABLE 58

RELATION OF FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS TO REPORT OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Family Characteristic	Relative Position on Indices				
	Sense of efficacy	Political interest	Participation in political discussion	Political activities	Concern about political issues
Mother Dominant[a]	Lower (in boys only)	Lower (in boys only)	Lower (in boys only)	Lower (in boys only)	Slightly lower (in boys only)
Father Low in Power[b]	Slightly lower (in both sexes)	Lower (in both sexes)	Lower (in both sexes)	Lower (in both sexes)	Lower (in both sexes)
Family Interest Low[c]	Lower (in all social classes)	Lower (in all social classes)	Lower (in all social classes)	Lower (in all social classes)	Lower (in all social classes)

[a] Item: Who is the boss in your family? (Choose one), (1) Both fairly equal but father more; (2) Both fairly equal but mother more; (3) Both fairly equal; (4) I can not answer. Questionnaire, page 3, item (20).

[b] Item: Think of your father as he really is. (1) Can make anyone do what he wants; (2) Can make almost anyone do what he wants; (3) Can make many people do what he wants; (4) Can make some people do what he wants; (5) Can make a few people do what he wants; (6) Can make almost no one do what he wants. Questionnaire, page 15, item (68).

[c] Item: Are your parents interested in current events and what happens in the government? (Choose one), (1) Always interested; (2) Usually interested; (3) Sometimes interested; (4) Almost never interested; (5) I can not answer. Questionnaire, page 22, item (46).

It is important, therefore, to assess the impact of the school by an analysis both of teachers' views of the civic curriculum and of its effects, in terms of overt behavior, on the children whom they teach.

(1) Socialization of loyalty

The schools reinforce the early attachment of the child to the nation. This reinforcement of patriotism is accomplished in a number of ways in the schools in which we tested--displaying the flag, repeating the pledge of allegiance, and singing patriotic songs.[7] In addition, in the majority of classrooms, pictures of historical figures, such as Washington and Lincoln, and of historic monuments or other symbols and sites of national interest were displayed. Many classrooms also contained a picture of Kennedy. The percentage of teachers who displayed these symbols and utilized these procedures as part of their daily classroom practice is shown in Table 59, as is their evaluation of the importance of the flag as a curriculum topic.

The percentage of teachers who reported that they display the flag and pledge allegiance daily was larger than the percentage who evaluated discussions of the flag as high in importance. It is interesting that rituals surrounding the flag and the pledge of allegiance are frequent throughout elementary school, while patriotic songs are less often a daily activity in classrooms for older pupils.

What is the effect of these patriotic rituals upon the young child? It is easy to observe that a first grader does not comprehend the meaning of many words in the pledge of allegiance or the "Star Spangled Banner." The questionnaire responses showed that second grade children did not understand the meaning of the pledge of allegiance: a number believed it was a prayer to God, others said it was a statement to the flag. The young child is led through these rituals with little or no understanding of the words or over-all purpose. What, then, is the meaning of this behavior to the child and what is its effect on political socialization? We believe that these are indoctrinating acts that cue and reinforce feelings of loyalty and patriotism. Whatever the child sees as the purpose of these daily routines, it is clear that they are highly valued by adults. The emotional and evaluative tone of the pledge, the national anthem, and the flag are reinforced daily and are probably never questioned by the child. In addition to this basic tone of respect and awe for government, two other elements are important. The first of these is the attitude of submission, respect, and dependence manifested in the gestures and words surrounding these acts, and the second is the group nature of the behavior. This behavior is intended to establish an emotional orientation toward the country and flag even though an understanding of the meaning of the words and actions has not been developed.

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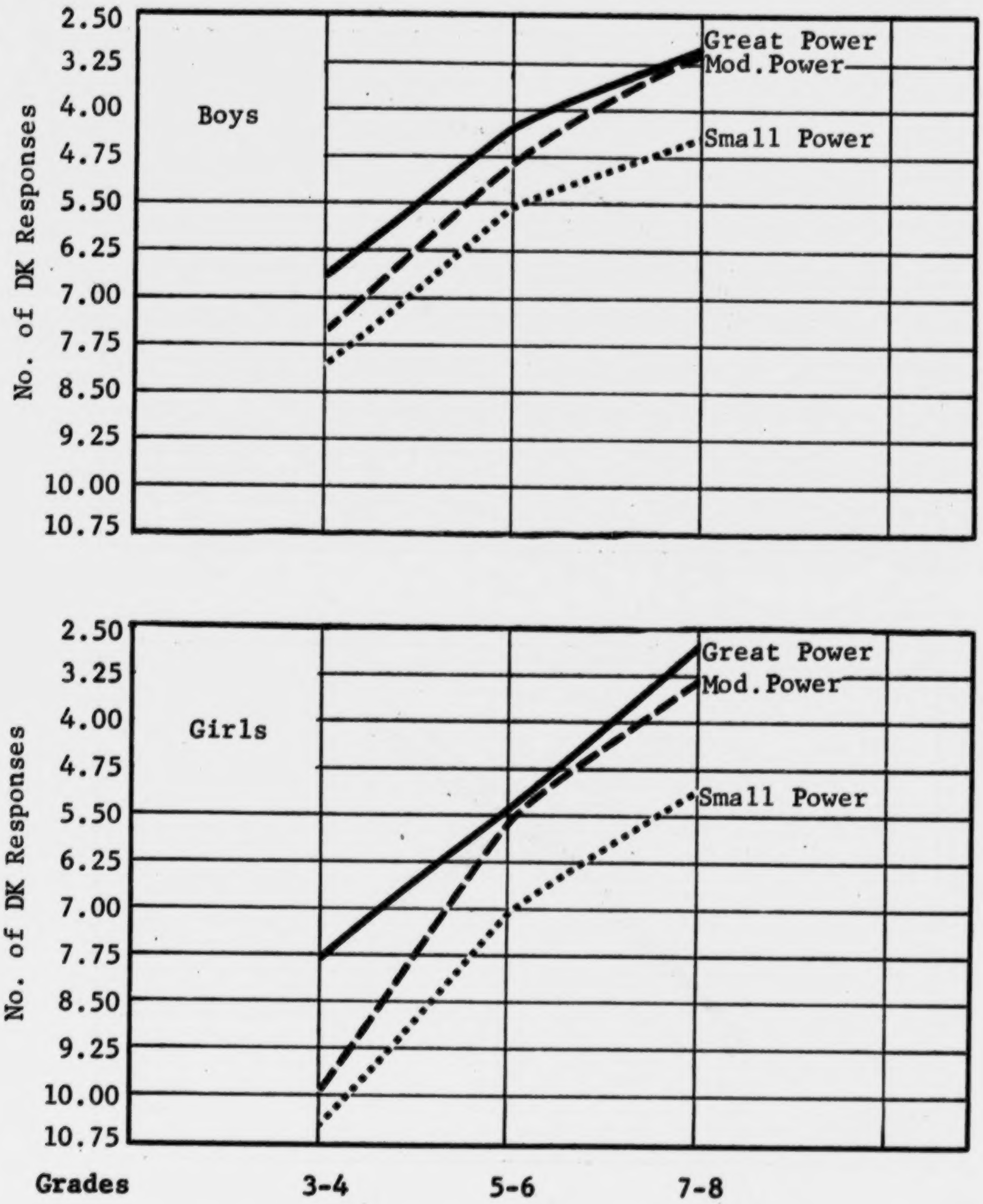
[7] The analysis of curriculum practices is based on responses from 121 teachers in the cities in which we tested.

FIGURE 32

COERCIVE POWER OF FATHER AND ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Comparison (within sex and grade) of mean DK scores of three groups: children who rate their fathers' power as 1)great, 2)moderate, 3)small.



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 questions

Index Scale: 0 - No DK
32 - High DK

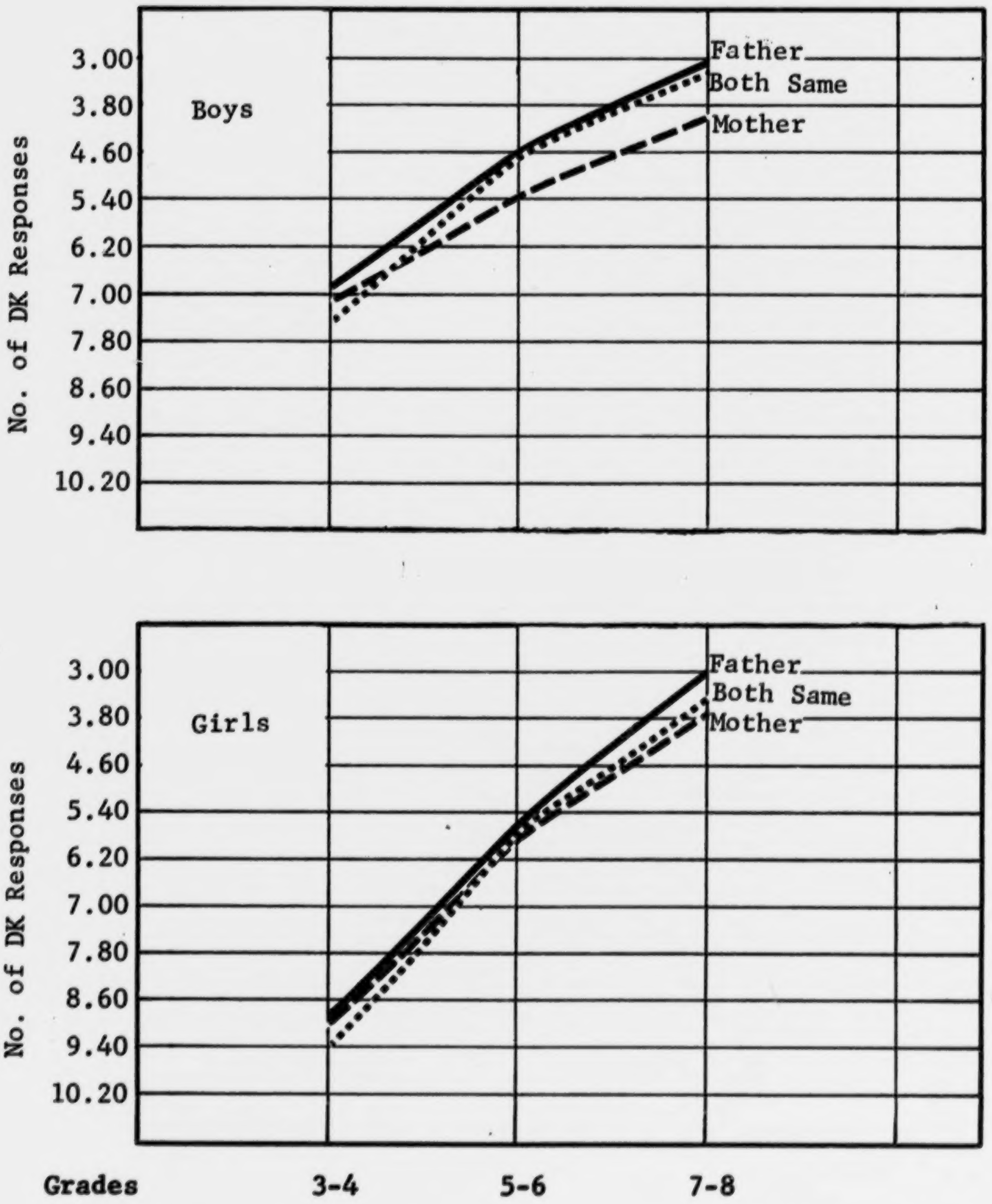
Range of N: 181 - 565

Significance Unit: .77

FIGURE 33

DIVISION OF FAMILY AUTHORITY AND ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Comparison (within sex and grade) of mean DK scores of three groups: children who report that the "boss" of the family is 1)father, 2)mother, 3)both equally.



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 questions

Index Scale: 0 - No DK
32 - High DK

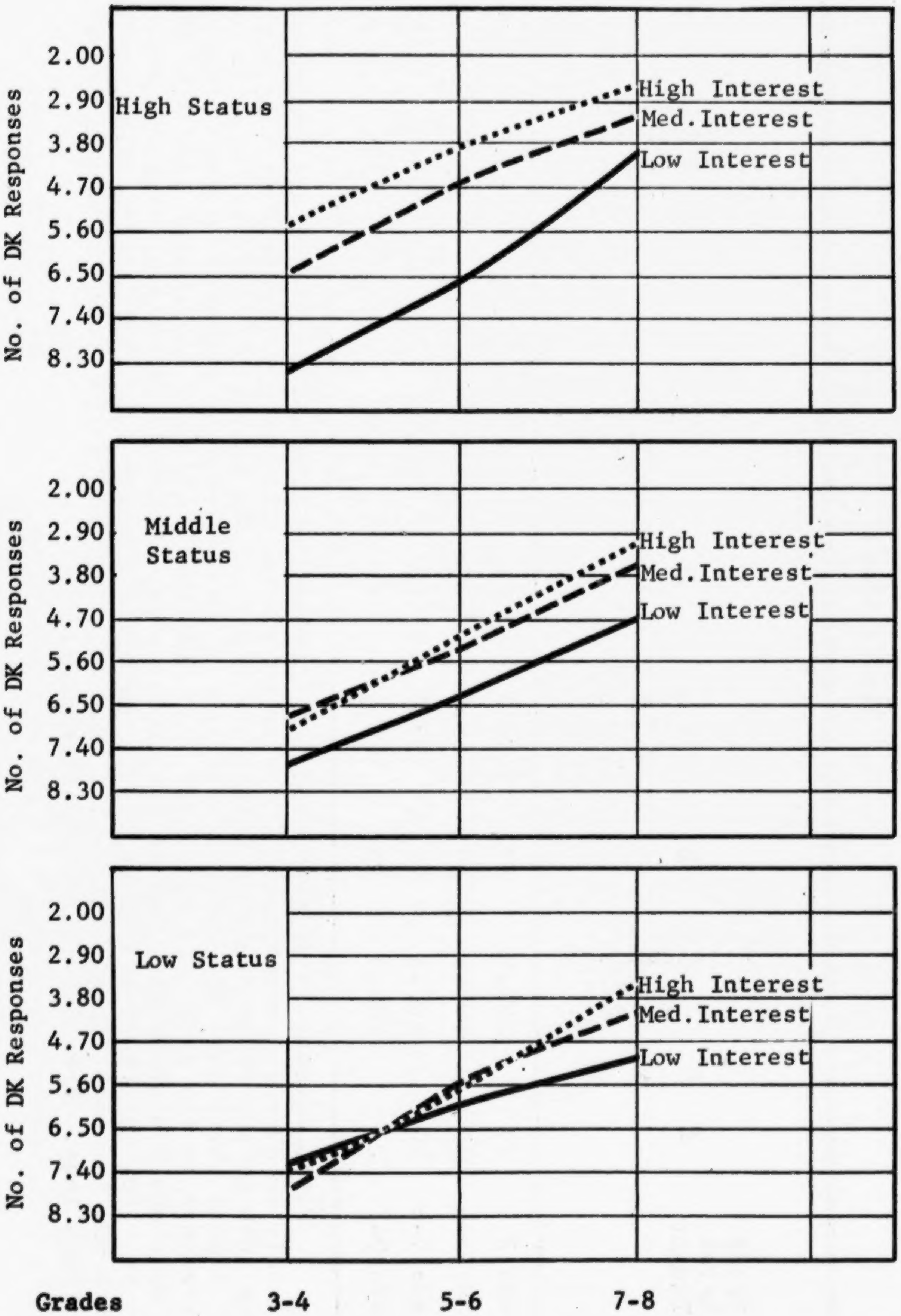
Range of N: 68 - 583

Significance Unit: .79

FIGURE 34

FAMILY INTEREST IN POLITICS — ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean DK scores of three groups: children who report their families' interest in politics to be 1)high, 2)medium, 3)low.



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 items

Index Scale: 0 - No DK

Range of N: 59 - 495

Significance Unit: .90

TABLE 59

COMPARISON OF TEACHERS OF EACH GRADE IN THEIR DISPLAY OF NATIONAL SYMBOLS AND PARTICIPATION IN PATRIOTIC RITUALS

(Percentages)

Grade Level Taught	N	Display Flag Permanently	N	Pledge Allegiance to Flag Daily	N	Sing Patriotic Song Daily	N	Display Pictures of Monuments, Statesmen, Battles	N	Flag as Important as Other Topics
Grade 2	24	100.0	23	95.7	24	58.3	24	62.5	24	45.4
Grade 3-4	33	100.0	34	87.9	33	60.6	33	75.8	33	69.7
Grade 5-6	40	98.5	40	95.0	40	32.5	39	69.3	37	67.6
Grade 7-8	22	100.0	23	86.9	21	14.3	21	71.4	22	50.0

Note.--Items: In my classroom, we display the flag (Choose one), (1) Permanently; (2) Only on special occasions; (3) Rarely or not at all. In my classroom we sing a patriotic song such as the "Star Spangled Banner" or "America the Beautiful" (Choose one), (1) Every day; (2) Almost every day; (3) Once in a while; (4) Never. Do the students of your class pledge allegiance to the flag (1) Every day; (2) Most days; (3) Only on special days; (4) Never. In my class I display pictures of national monuments, former statesmen, battles, etc. (1) Yes; (2) No. How important are these topics compared to other subjects (e.g. reading, arithmetic)? Check one for each topic - Flag - (1) Much more important; (2) More; (3) Equal; (4) Less; (5) Much less. From Curriculum Questionnaire.

This early orientation prepares the child for later teaching and stresses the importance of loyalty for citizens of all ages.

Several questions arise concerning the psychological effect and importance of this ritualistic behavior. For the society's maintenance it is important to inculcate feelings of loyalty and patriotism in children at a very early age. It is insufficient to say that this kind of behavior is traditional or that the performance of these rituals is prescribed by city ordinance or state law. This socialization is directed toward the emergence of a feeling of emotional unity, of loyalty to the group, of respect and admiration and allegiance to a common experience and ideal. These rituals emphasize an attitude about which there can be no disagreement or dissension. Throughout the rest of his life, the child will be called upon to attest his loyalty in various ways. The display of the flag and the ritual of the pledge of allegiance, the frequent singing of patriotic songs, and the display of appropriate pictures reinforce this basic point of political socialization. The process of socialization in later years can best be understood in this context of early establishment of unquestioning patriotism.

(2) Socialization of orientations toward governmental figures and institutions

Children are taught the citizen's role in relation to political authority concurrently with the development of patriotism, but these two aspects are emphasized at different times in the school curriculum. The emphasis which teachers place upon areas other than patriotic observance is indicated in Figure 35. The importance assigned to topics dealing with governmental persons (President, Mayor, Senator) and institutions (Supreme Court, Congress, etc.) is of particular interest. Both were ascribed more importance by teachers of grades five and six than by teachers of younger children. According to their reports, the stress upon these topics was even greater at grades seven and eight.[8]

Children's responses to these figures and institutions do not correspond to the emphasis on them reported by the teachers. While teachers placed increasing importance at higher grade levels upon the child's regard for the President, children's personal feelings about the President declined with age and the rated attributes of the President's role increased only slightly. In addition, teachers of grades five through eight attributed approximately equal importance to teaching about the President and the Senator, but children at all

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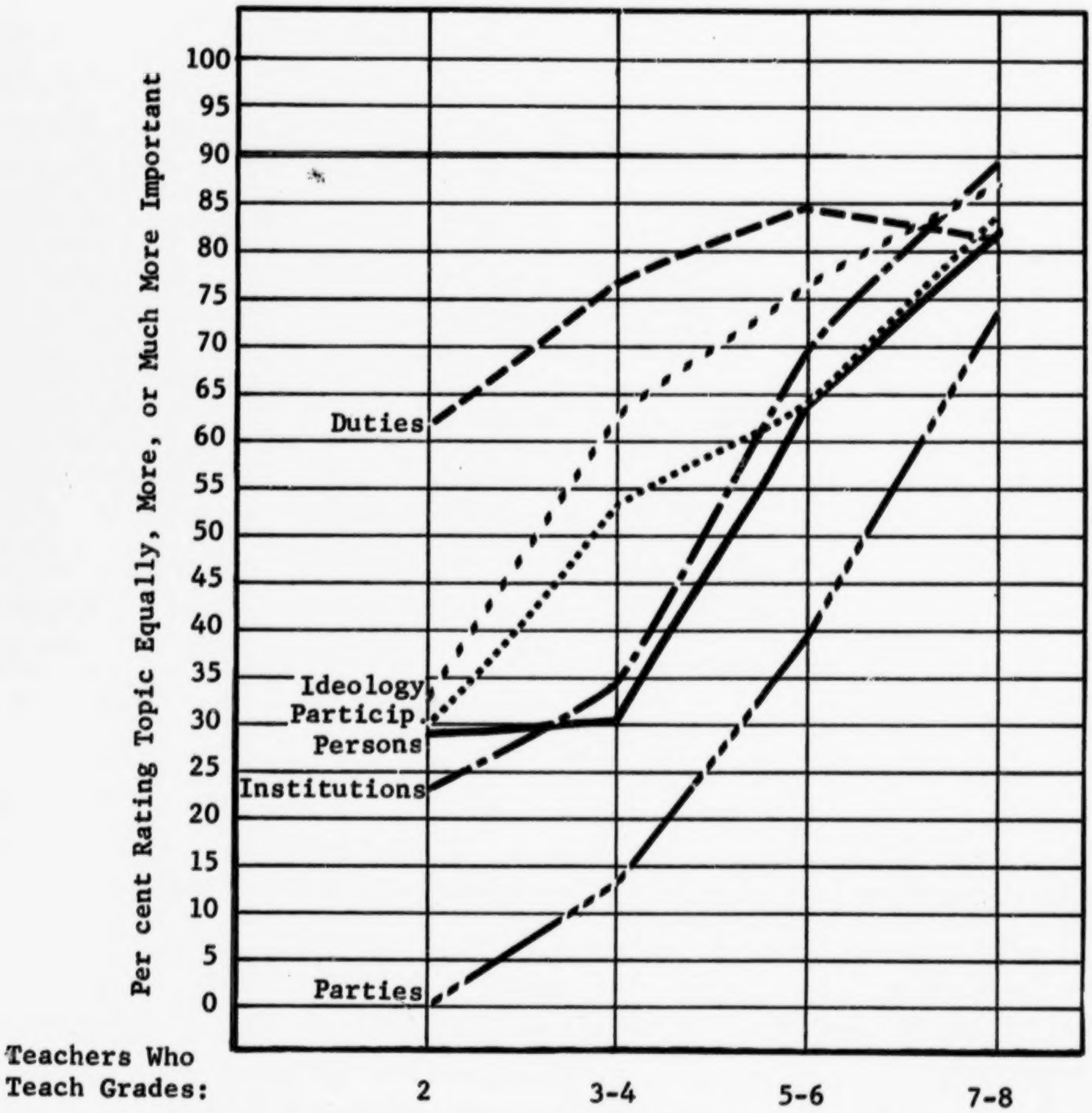
[8] In addition to Figures and Institutions, three other topics shown in Figure 35 represent curriculum elements grouped to obtain average percentages. They are: Citizen Participation (rights of citizen in expressing opinion and participating, power of citizen, voting); Ideology (definition of government and definition of democracy); and Political Parties and Politicians (political parties and politicians). The sixth topic--Duties of a Citizen--refers to duties and responsibilities of either a school or an adult citizen, such as keeping the school or city clean. See Appendix D.

FIGURE 35

COMPARISON OF TEACHERS OF DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS IN THEIR VIEW THAT POLITICAL TOPICS ARE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT AS OTHER SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN THEIR CLASSROOMS



Item: How important are these topics compared to other subjects (e.g. reading, arithmetic)? 1)Much more, 2)more, 3)equal, 4)less, 5)much less.

grade levels expressed much less respect for the Senator than for the President. Also, teachers of all grades viewed persons and institutions as approximately equal in importance. Again, this did not coincide with children's orientations and attitudes as reported on the questionnaire. In contrast to the teachers' similar assessment of persons and institutions, older children attached greater importance to political institutions and a decreasing importance to persons. This disparity between children's responses and the importance teachers placed upon these subjects may indicate that some attitudes and orientations are acquired from sources other than the school. Compared to their encouragement of patriotic attachment, teachers of the second grade placed considerably less emphasis upon discussing political authority figures, suggesting that teachers do not recognize these figures as useful aids in teaching about the operation of the system.

(3) Socialization of attitudes toward duties of the citizen

Compliance to rules and authority is the major focus of civic education in elementary schools. The significance which teachers attach to inculcating the obligations of the citizen is illustrated in Figure 35 by the line labeled "Duties." Teachers of young children place particular stress upon citizen compliance, de-emphasizing all other political topics. The three items rated as more important than basic subjects (reading and arithmetic) by a majority of second and third grade teachers were the law, the policeman, and the child's obligation to conform to school rules and laws of the community. This concern with compliance is characteristic of teachers of all grades. It parallels most closely the importance placed upon national symbols.

The teachers' emphasis on the policeman is different from their treatment in the classroom of other governmental figures (President, Senator, Mayor) and is concurrent with their presentation of the citizen's duties. Perhaps teachers utilize the policeman to introduce the child to the compliance system. This may support the previous argument that children are initiated into behavior and relationship to a system (in this case, the system of laws) through relationships with personal representatives of that system, e.g., the policeman.

In summary, political socialization at early age levels emphasizes behavior that relates the child emotionally to his country and impresses upon him the necessity for obedience and conformity.

(4) Socialization of conceptions of the rights and power of citizens

The citizen's right to participate in government is underemphasized in the school curriculum. The importance placed upon the citizen's participation (his power, right to express opinion, effectiveness, voting) shows a pattern different from the emphasis placed upon attachment to country and compliance to law. The citizen's power to influence government was stressed very little until the fourth grade and was not given equal emphasis with the citizen's duties until the seventh and eighth grades.

The role of political parties and partisanship receives less attention in the elementary school than any other topic. Orientation toward parties and politicians was considered less important than academic subjects by all second grade teachers and by more than 85 per cent of third and fourth grade teachers. There was a slight increase in later grades, but its importance at grades seven and eight was still lower than any other area of political socialization. This low evaluation of political parties as a curriculum topic parallels the previously noted valuing by teachers of independent political affiliation. This may partially explain the significance which older children place upon voting for the man rather than the party, and their orientation toward partisan independence.

This pattern of emphasis in the curriculum suggests that the school teaches only ideal norms and ignores the tougher, less pleasant, facts of political life in the United States. While it is probably unwise to teach such political realities to children in early grades, the process of political socialization should include a more realistic view of the operation of the political system. Teaching which is restricted to inculcating norms not only fails to inform the child about certain facts of political life; it reduces effectiveness as an adult citizen by emphasizing modes of political involvement and behavior which are of limited efficiency. Achieving political goals and influencing elected officials are facilitated by participation in organized groups, particularly political parties. Yet the school appears to spend relatively little time dealing with the functions of political parties, community action, and pressure groups in achieving community goals. It may be argued that by teaching a myth of governmental responsiveness to the average voter, the school creates an image of the system's operation which produces an unjustified sense of confidence that may even facilitate the effectiveness of special interest groups. The "average" voter may be ineffective because he has been socialized to believe that the citizen has more power than is actually the case. Children of the study rated the average voter as equal in his influence with groups (see Table 35). Faith in the individual's effectiveness is also reflected in the child's tendency to view him as politically independent. As these data on curriculum suggest, this attitude is encouraged by teachers.

The tendency to evade some realities of political life seems to be paralleled by the school's emphasis upon compliance with respect to both itself and the community. For some children, the combination of complacency and compliance may contribute to political inactivity and the failure to progress from early levels of involvement (attachment to nation) to a more vigilant, assertive involvement in political activities through active participation.

b) The teacher as a model for identification and imitation

Teachers' evaluations of the importance of various political topics for the child reveal their orientation toward teaching certain materials but do not indicate their own attitudes in these areas. In order to obtain information about the teachers' own orientations, teachers responded to the same questionnaire filled out by the children. This provided a group of adult attitudes against which to compare the children. Particularly in matters dealing with partisan conflict and disagreement, the teacher is obliged by public policy and sometimes by law to refrain from expressing opinions to students in the classroom. The beliefs of the teacher in other areas may be more readily apparent to the children in her class from direct expression of opinions and from indirect and subtle indications of feelings. The well-known processes of identification and imitation apply to the transmission of political attitudes in the classroom; teachers' opinions play a role in the socialization of children's attitudes, even though evidence on the amount of such attitude transmission is neither readily available nor precise.

The teacher group which completed the children's questionnaire overlapped with that of teachers described in the preceeding section, who evaluated the importance of various parts of the curriculum. Those completing the attitude questionnaire, however, constituted a larger group and included teachers in a majority of the classrooms where the questionnaire was administered to children. The composition of this teacher group was presented in Table 11. Although this group did not represent a random sampling of teachers, it was one in which considerable diversity of opinion existed. There was relatively little difference in teachers' viewpoints between the several cities represented, however, except on a small number of topics which have particular regional significance. Other differences could easily be attributed to differences in political party preference. Differences among male and female teachers were relatively small. The most significant reason for using this group, of course, is that these teachers are responsible for teaching the children from whom we have gathered attitudinal data about political objects.

Two issues are particularly relevant in presenting the analysis of teachers' responses. First, is the absolute level of attitudes. What attitudes do teachers hold? The second is whether school children come to share their teachers' attitudes before they graduate from the elementary school. We propose to deal with these two issues concurrently by comparing teachers' attitudes with those of eighth graders. This comparison shows both the mean level of teacher responses, andattitude differences between teachers and the total group of eighth grade children. Indirectly, it shows the extent to which political socialization has been completed by grade eight. Conclusions drawn from these data must be tentative. Teachers, as an occupational group, are not representative of the general population and, in several important respects, may be expected to hold dissimilar views. Even in those areas of opinion which show the greatest similarity between teacher and pupil, we have no assurance that subsequent changes will not be made by these young people before they reach voting age.

Rather than presenting this material in a strict outline form, centering on attachment, compliance, and participation, the similarity in trends between teachers and eighth grade students will be examined within a more general framework. Comment will focus on those items or general areas in which teachers and students are very similar and contrast them with areas in which there seems to be a great deal of attitude change in the periods after the eighth grade, or at least where our teachers expressed radically different opinions than their eighth grade students.

Eighth graders hold attitudes highly similar to teachers on most items on the questionnaire. The importance of attitudes towards personages (policeman, President) which form a point of contact for children in approaching the political system has been noted. An examination of all the rating scales on persons, including the President, policeman, and senators, reveals that the magnitude of differences in mean response between eighth graders and teachers on most scales is very small (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 16. Figure 17 is an exception). In most cases the difference which does exist is no larger than that existing between any two adjacent grades on the same item. That is to say, teachers represent an extension of the students' age curve to the ninth grade level. These similarities occurred on the majority of items which expressed the child's attachment to persons, his judgments and beliefs about the role qualifications of these persons, and his statements about the power of these people to punish or to exercise control. The orientation of eighth grade children to governmental figures is very similar to that of their teachers; the socialization accomplished by the school in this area thus appears to be completed by the eighth grade. The same is true for institutions; that is, attitudes concerning the Supreme Court and the more general conception of "the government" showed more marked similarities than differences between teachers and eighth grade students.

Conceptions of the government showed somewhat less similarity between teachers and students (Tables 17 and 22). One striking difference in response level between grade eight and the teacher group occurred in the choice of Congress or voting as giving the best picture of government, indicating that considerable change occurs in the conception of government between the eighth grade and adulthood. Although teachers have effectively imparted general orientations toward authorities, the greater appropriateness of institutions as symbols of governments seems to have been less effectively communicated. It is interesting that the conceptualizations of children with high IQ's were more similar to those of teachers than were the views of low IQ children.

The ideal citizen's role was viewed in a similar fashion by eighth grade children and teachers (Tables 24 and 25).

Despite marked age changes across grades, children grow to resemble their teachers in this area. This was especially true for the following qualities of citizens: "obeys the laws," "is interested in the country," and "votes." These norms are learned even though children themselves are not necessarily as interested as their teachers, nor do they have the right to vote. Normative statements about the importance of adult party membership showed similarity between teachers and children.

Teachers are more interested in political affairs and express less absolute trust in the operation of the political system than eighth graders. A group of items dealing with global aspects of the political system and with parties in particular showed marked differences between teachers and eighth grade children. A number of items indicated greater cynicism on the part of teachers about the political system: considerably less tendency to agree that "people who break the laws always get caught" (Figure 18), that the government is "all for the best" (Figure 19), and that people run for political office in order "to keep things as good as they are in the country" (Table 38). In each of these items, children were more trusting and willing to vouch for the goodness of the system and for the status quo. A second area where student-teacher differences were marked concerns the perception of how laws are made and the influence of pressure groups, lobbies, and certain special interests on legislative processes (Table 35). Although the mean ratings given to pressure groups (unions, newspapers, churches, etc.) are rank ordered similarly for teachers and children, teachers consistently assigned these groups more power in affecting legislation than did the children. Teachers attributed somewhat more power to these groups than to "the average citizen," which indicates their greater grasp of the realities of political life. In a third area, teachers tended to ascribe more positive value to conflict or disagreement between the political parties than children, who said that if the political parties disagree about many things it is "very bad" for the country (Figure 26). Teachers, however, see the function of disagreement between the parties as promoting instructive dialogue in the political world.

In the sphere of political parties, teachers felt that independence, late choice of political party, and free choice with regard to alignment with parents' political party are ideal (Tables 44, 45, 46, 47). Eighth grade children tended to agree that independence is desirable and that one should vote for the best man rather than for the political party, though the differences in proportions of eighth grades and teachers choosing these alternatives were marked. By the end of elementary school, children have begun to move toward this point of view, however. To the extent that voting for the best man requires assessment of a given candidate's qualification for office, the teachers' influence is a positive force; it overlooks, however, the need for group support and group action for the attainment of political aims. On the timing of choice of political party, 43 per cent of teachers felt that children should postpone choice until after attainment of voting age; but eighth graders did not agree, 75 per cent endorsing commitment before the age of twenty-one (Table 45). The figures on alignment with parents' political parties indicate that while a majority of teachers felt that students should not be committed to choosing their parents' party, eighth-graders did not agree (Table 47). Earlier literature on parent-child similarity in attitudes indicates that similarity in party commitment is very great. It is conceivable that parents consciously or unconsciously attempt to socialize their children into partisanship, but that this is counteracted by teachers' socialization of independence.

In the area of political activities, teachers showed much more interest, more participation in political discussion, and demonstrated a more pronounced tendency to take sides on issues than did eighth graders (Figures 22 and 23, Tables 36 and 37). Two other indices of overt activity--sense of efficacy, and specific political activities--showed very few differences between eighth graders and teachers (Figures 21 and 27). This is somewhat difficult to account for except by specific factors in the indices themselves. The political activities inquired about did not of course include voting. Other types of activity--reading about current events, wearing buttons for candidates, and passing out literature--may reach a peak by the eighth grade (see also Table 49). The eighth grader and teacher means represent the endorsement of two out of three of these items. Teachers and eighth graders did not differ greatly in their sense of efficacy. Cynicism about individual political action and the benevolence of government (discussed earlier as characteristic of teachers) may be suppressing this score to some degree.

Teachers and eighth graders are more alike in areas where there is consensus in the society (e.g., the behavior of the good citizen) and less similar in attitudes which lack such consensus (political parties). Although the influence of the school is considerable, there are other sources of political attitudes and activities which affect the child before the end of the elementary school years. In some areas where pupils and teachers are dissimilar, the attitudes are apparently transmitted by the family (e.g. partisanship). In other areas, intra-family similarity is also low, indicating the importance of socialization and development which is to some degree independent of both home and school.

3. Religious Affiliation

Studies of adult voting behavior have documented a strong and consistent relationship between church membership and political participation. Catholic voters are particularly likely to be affiliated with the Democratic Party even when factors such as social class, ethnicity, education, urban residence, and union membership are controlled (Glantz, 1959; Gold, 1953; Greer, 1961). Gold also reported that individuals for whom religion was important were more likely to show this effect. These studies reported data from

Presidential elections where both candidates were Protestant. Campbell, et al. (1960) cited evidence that in Congressional elections which pair Catholic and non-Catholic candidates, Catholic voters will cross party lines to vote for a Catholic. The 1960 election which paired a Democratic Catholic Presidential candidate with a Protestant Republican offered an unusual opportunity to examine these tendencies. Scoble and Epstein (1964) reported that in the Wisconsin primary, voting for Kennedy was correlated with religion even when social class and education were controlled. Converse, Campbell, Miller, and Stokes (1961) reported that in 1956 the national Catholic vote split approximately 50-50. From the general tendency of Catholics to vote Democratic, in the 1960 election one would have expected 63% for Kennedy; he received 80% of the Catholic vote.[9] Apparently many Republican as well as Democratic Catholics voted for him.

For the most part, interpretations of the influence of religion upon political participation argue that members of a given denomination vote in similar ways because of factors related to minority or ethnic group cohesion rather than because of institutional pressures such as might be exerted by formal sanctions or the urging of a minister or priest.[10] If these influences are restricted to candidate and party preference, the effect upon the responses in our data should have appeared only on questions dealing with the election and political party orientation. The candidacy of Kennedy in 1960, which made the religious issue particularly salient, would have been likely to produce measurable orientations in children if, indeed, religious membership has this type of impact.

Whatever the influence of religion upon the choice of a candidate, there are theoretical reasons for predicting its more general effect upon socialization. One striking aspect of young children's comments about the President (whether Eisenhower or Kennedy) was the similarity of their image of the President to images usually associated with religious authority or even the Deity. The President was described as "about the best person in the world," as having absolute power over the nation, as being personally interested in the needs of each individual citizen. Essays about "Uncle Sam" written by children in one of our pilot studies, described this imaginary figure as the "spirit behind the government." On questionnaire items, children in the younger grades occasionally expressed the view that the pledge of allegiance was "like a prayer." To the young child's mind, then, the images of political and divine authority have much in common.

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[9] Roucek (1961) reported a similar precentage.

[10] The role of the church as an organization is not always so simple, particularly in such politically oriented efforts as the recent civil rights "revolution" in Birmingham and other cities which had explicit, organized religious leadership. The impact of churches as organizations upon election behavior of members is not so easily demonstrated, although there were reports during the 1960 campaign of Protestant ministers' speaking from the pulpit about the presumed dangers of electing a Catholic to the Presidency.

The church and its teachings, with few exceptions, induce in children a respect for religious authority and law and socialize them into role relationships with religious authority. These roles are similar in some respects to the initial steps in the political socialization process--attachment to and regard for the system's representatives and compliance with its rules. The teaching of the church is, of course, often reinforced by injunctions and examples in the home. Learning of this kind may be generalized to non-family authority systems, particularly ones in which the image of supreme authority has certain features common to religious figures. This generalization should be evident in items concerning respect for law and authority and those dealing with citizens' effectiveness in influencing the system.[11]

Compared with the impact of social class and IQ, religious affiliation has little effect on basic attachment to the country and government in the elementary school years. Of the 78 indices and items used in this report to define involvement, only 4 showed consistent differences between Catholic and Protestant, compared within social class.[12]

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[11] This measure of religious affiliation has several defects which should be made explicit. Research on religious beliefs and religion is especially difficult since investigation of such sensitive topics is considered by many adults to be an invasion of privacy. For this reason, we were very careful to maintain good taste and dignity in phrasing questions. The list of possible church affiliations was limited to Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Other, and None. These categories were much too inclusive and gross. It is obvious that among Protestant denominations there are wide variations in the teaching of attitudes toward religious authority and law; to subsume them obscures some effects. Also, the number of subjects in the categories "Jewish," "Other," and "None" was so small that valid comparisons seemed unlikely (Table 9). For these reasons, the data presented in this section compare Catholics with Protestants. Data on frequency of church attendance, though available, presented similar problems through reduction of the size of the resulting subgroups, and so was not utilized. As indicated in Chapter II, the reduction in total number of respondents came primarily from the refusal of several school systems to permit children to answer questions about religious practice and affiliation. In some states, such questions are prohibited by law.

[12] The fourth item, which is not graphed, is the mean rating of "The President is my favorite."

A very marked relationship between religious affiliation and involvement is the socialization of party affiliation. At all class levels, Catholic children selected the Democratic party more often than did Protestant children, the difference in choice being smallest among eighth graders of high status level, where the community is more Republican in partisan sympathies (Figure 36). Even in the high status group, the influence of religious affiliation was marked at the younger grades.

Religious affiliation also helps to define the meaning of political parties for children. The tendency for Catholic children to see Democrats as standing for positive contributions to the country was maintained through grades seven and eight in every social class (Figure 37). These findings are consistent with those reported for adults by Berelson *et al*. (1954) and by Lazarsfeld (1948).

The impact of religious affiliation is most obvious on items dealing with candidate preference. The overwhelming preference of Catholic children for the late President was clear, particularly at grades seven and eight (Figure 38). Even at the high status level, the difference between Catholics and Protestants was unusually large. This suggests that in the 1960 election the involvement of Catholics with the Catholic candidate went beyond party preference to engage children whose tentative affiliation was with the Republican party. The long range effects of this kind of early emotional involvement in a national election are difficult to assess.

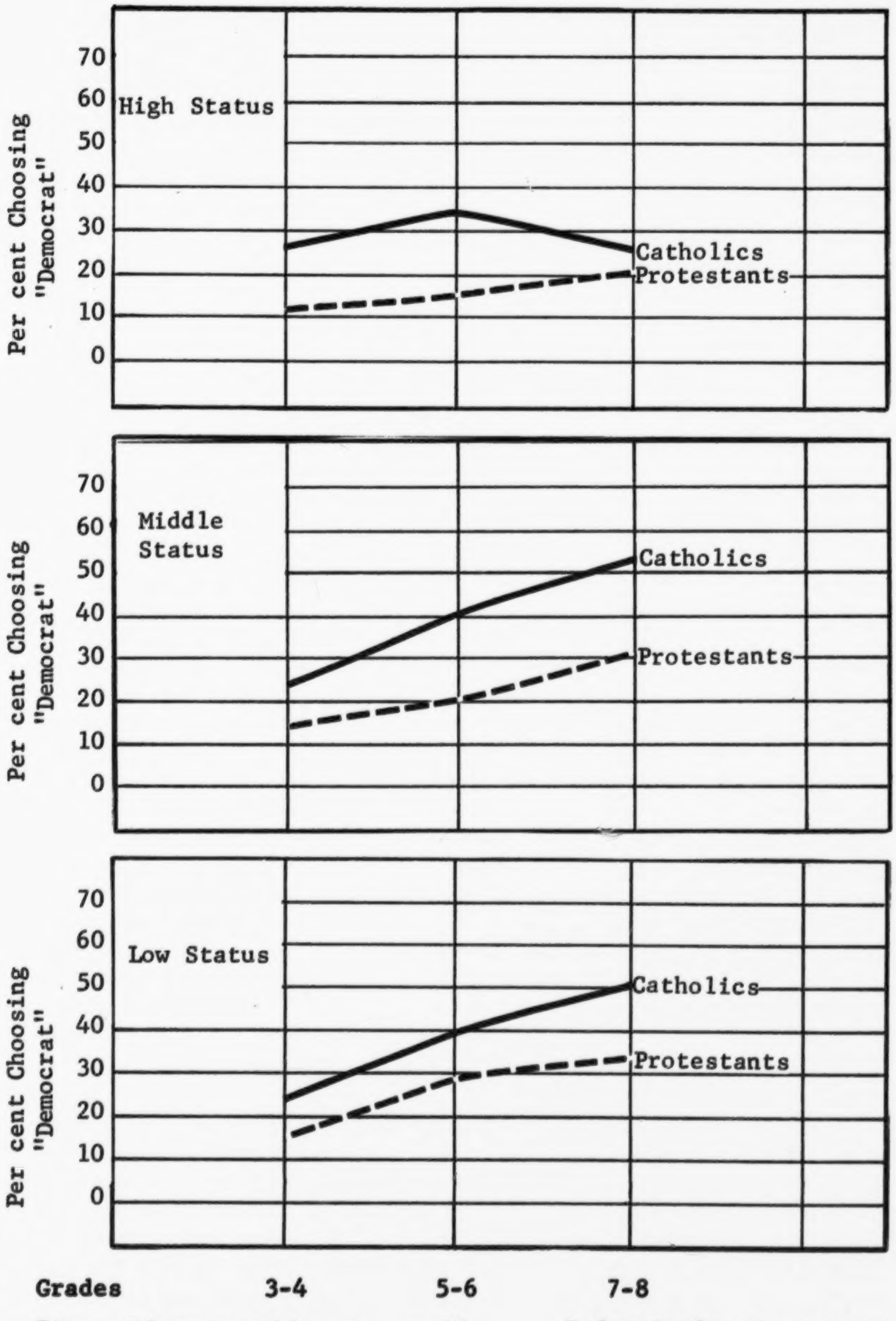
In summary, affiliation with a religious denomination apparently affects political socialization in much the same manner as does the family. There are few differences among children from different religious denominations in most of the orientations and attitudes touched by our questionnaire; there are few differences in participation and active involvement. Many of the apparent differences between Catholics and Protestants disappear when social status is controlled in the analysis of data. The major influence of Catholic church membership is upon Democratic party preference, defining the Democratic party as contributing to the national welfare and in emotional support of Catholic candidates. This corresponds to religious differences reported in adults.

4. The Peer Group and Political Involvement

The social systems which may influence a child's socialization are not limited to those composed of adults. The peer group is a powerful force in the development of many social norms. If political socialization were an interplay of the child's needs with the transmission of information, attitudes, and values by the adult community, the influence of his peer group would be limited and indirect. The peer group's effect, under our model, would be to reinforce adult norms with group consensus. Children who

FIGURE 36

COMPARISON OF CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS IN REPORTING DEMOCRATIC PARTY COMMITMENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

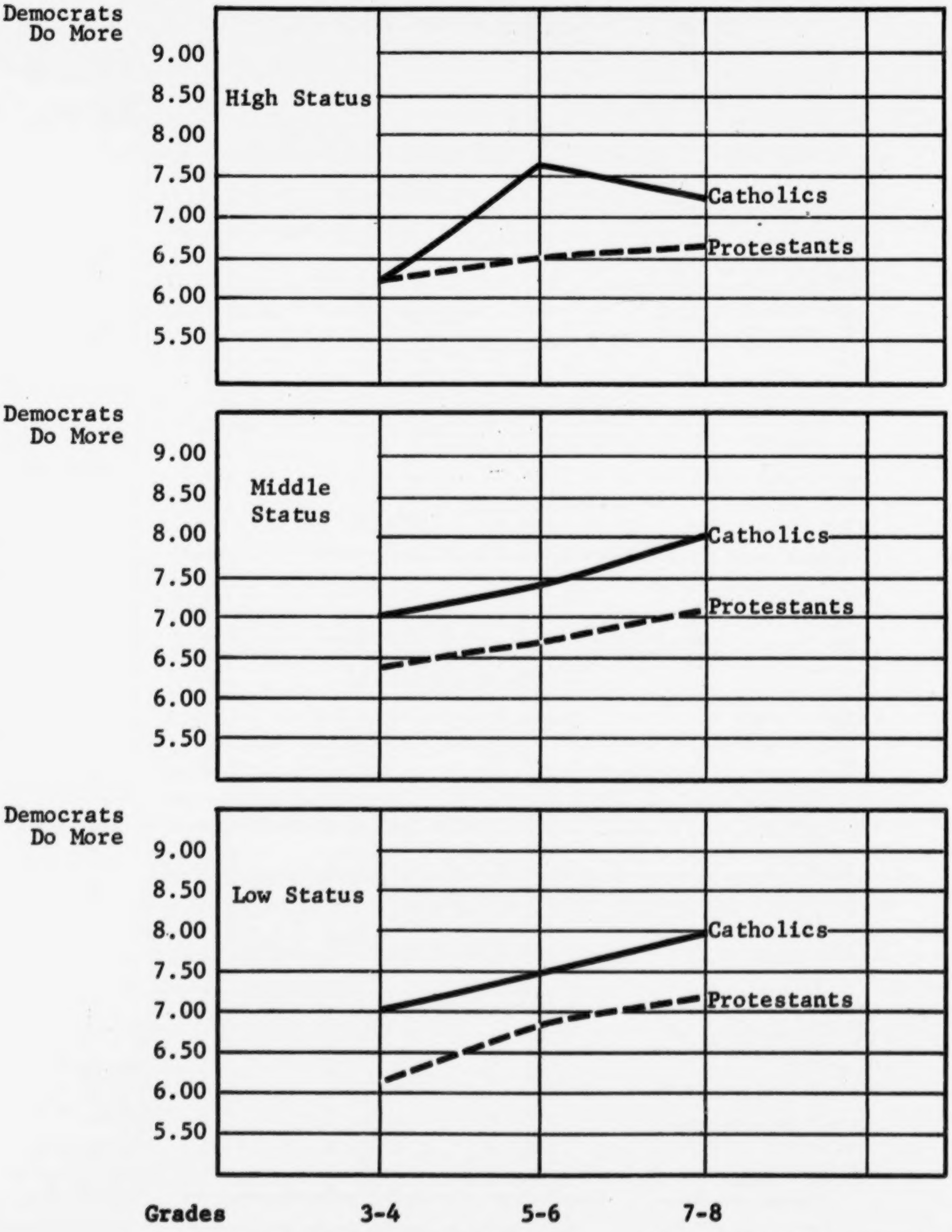
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 59 - 572

Significance Unit: 10%

FIGURE 37

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS IN THEIR APPRAISAL OF THE RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS TO THE NATIONAL WELFARE, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Combination of six items -- which party does more: for rich people; to keep us out of war; to help unemployed; to protect rights; to help your family; for the U.S.? (Choice of Republicans, Democrats, or both same).

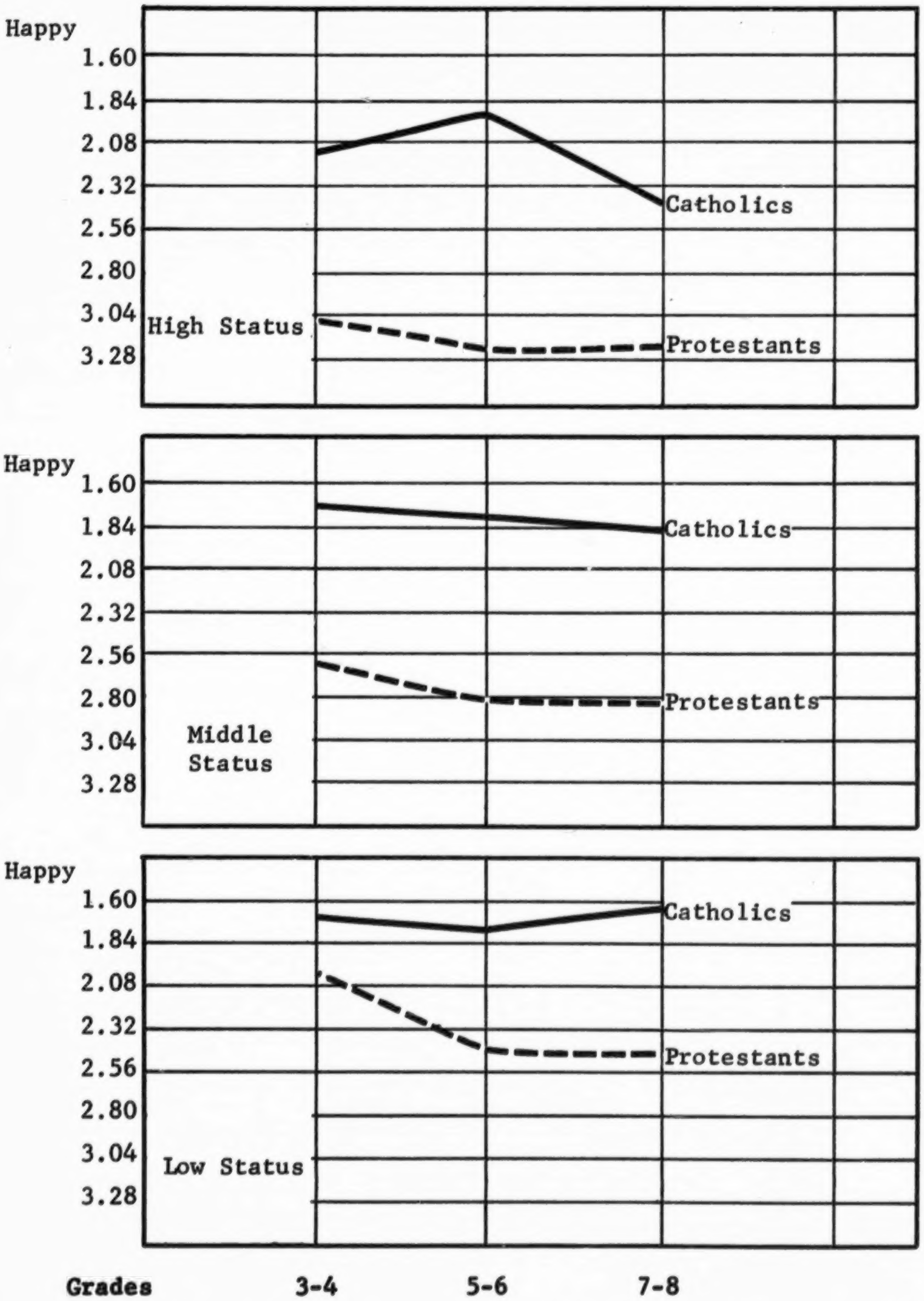
Index Scale: 1 - Republicans
7 - Both same
13 - Democrats

Range of N: 21 - 583

Significance Unit: .50

FIGURE 38

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS IN THEIR EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO KENNEDY'S ELECTION, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Did you feel happy or sad when Kennedy was elected?

Index Scale: 1 - Very happy
5 - Very sad

Range of N: 45 - 615

Significance Unit: .24

participate heavily in group activities should then show greater interest in political affairs and slightly greater acceleration in several areas of socialization than their non-participating contemporaries. This is essentially a reinforcement hypothesis.

An alternative hypothesis, compatible with our model, is that the experience of participation in organized group activities has some direct relevance to participation in the community and larger political units. Such experiences include the group decision-making processes, respect for minority opinions, compliance to rules, and effectiveness in influencing group decisions. Group participation would, under this hypothesis, provide a knowledge of quasi-political behavior that has elements in common with the role of a citizen. This hypothesis analogizes the role of the peer group to that of the family as a source of experience in the reciprocal role relationships which may later be transferred to behavior in the political system. This is basically a generalization or transfer hypothesis.

A third hypothesis (suggested by Rose, 1959, to be applicable to adult attitudes) is that persons who are attracted to groups are also attracted to political involvement; that is, the two experiences have a common appeal which is related to socialization or other experience occurring prior to participation in either.

There is considerable evidence that adult political behavior is associated with group participation (Buchanan, 1956; Hastings, 1954; Maccoby, 1958; Rose, 1962; Zimmer and Hawley, 1959). In his re-analysis of several national studies, Key (1961) concluded that adults who join organizations, on the average, have higher levels of political participation than non-joiners. Persons not active in formal organizations were about three times more likely to be non-voters than persons active in three or more groups. Although these results may be somewhat confounded by interaction with social class, this tendency is also found within specific occupational levels. For example, among farmers, membership in farm organizations is associated with a sense of political efficacy and involvement in elections. Also, among unskilled workers, membership in a union is related to higher participation in political activities.

In his volume The Joiners, Hausknecht (1962) discussed in detail the correlates of voluntary group membership. He argued from sociological theory that such groups provide channels through which social and political processes of the democratic society operate. Hausknecht documented relationships between group membership and a number of independent variables. Membership increases with educational level and income, and was greater in white than blue collar occupational levels. There were few differences in membership between men and women, but there was a tendency for adults between 26 and 64 to be more active than either younger or older age groups.

The tendency to join groups may be part of a configuration which Hausknecht labeled "interaction and contact with the environment." Joiners in all social classes read newspapers, listen to radio, vote, and are interested in politics more than non-joiners. Hausknecht also argues that association membership does not teach participants how a democracy works, as Rose suggested. Most associations are not democratically run; usually membership is not large enough to accommodate those operations typical of a democratic system. He concluded that members are generally those who are likely to be participants in the political process even without the impetus of group membership.

Erbe (1964) studied three small midwestern towns, using a modification of the Woodward and Roper political activity scale. Membership in organizations and socioeconomic status were both positively associated with political participation, other effects being partialed out. Alienation (feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation) was not a predictor of a citizen's low political participation when socioeconomic status and membership were controlled. Scores on a scale measuring membership in purely social organizations were related as strongly to political participation as membership in organizations fostering economic or political interests. Erbe suggests that those who join one organization are likely to join many and generally to be active in numerous endeavors.

Our own data provide some information about the association between group membership and political attitudes and young children's behavior. Group membership characterizes three types of activity in which the child may participate: children's service organizations (YMCA, Scouts, Campfire Girls, etc.); school-sponsored clubs (band, sports, etc.); and positions of leadership (holding office, etc.) in these groups. It should be noted that this measure was not one of popularity or informal sociability; students low in group membership were not necessarily social isolates. Rather, a composite of activities in these areas was used since preliminary data indicated that there was very little distinction among them in the effect they had upon political attitudes (Table 8).

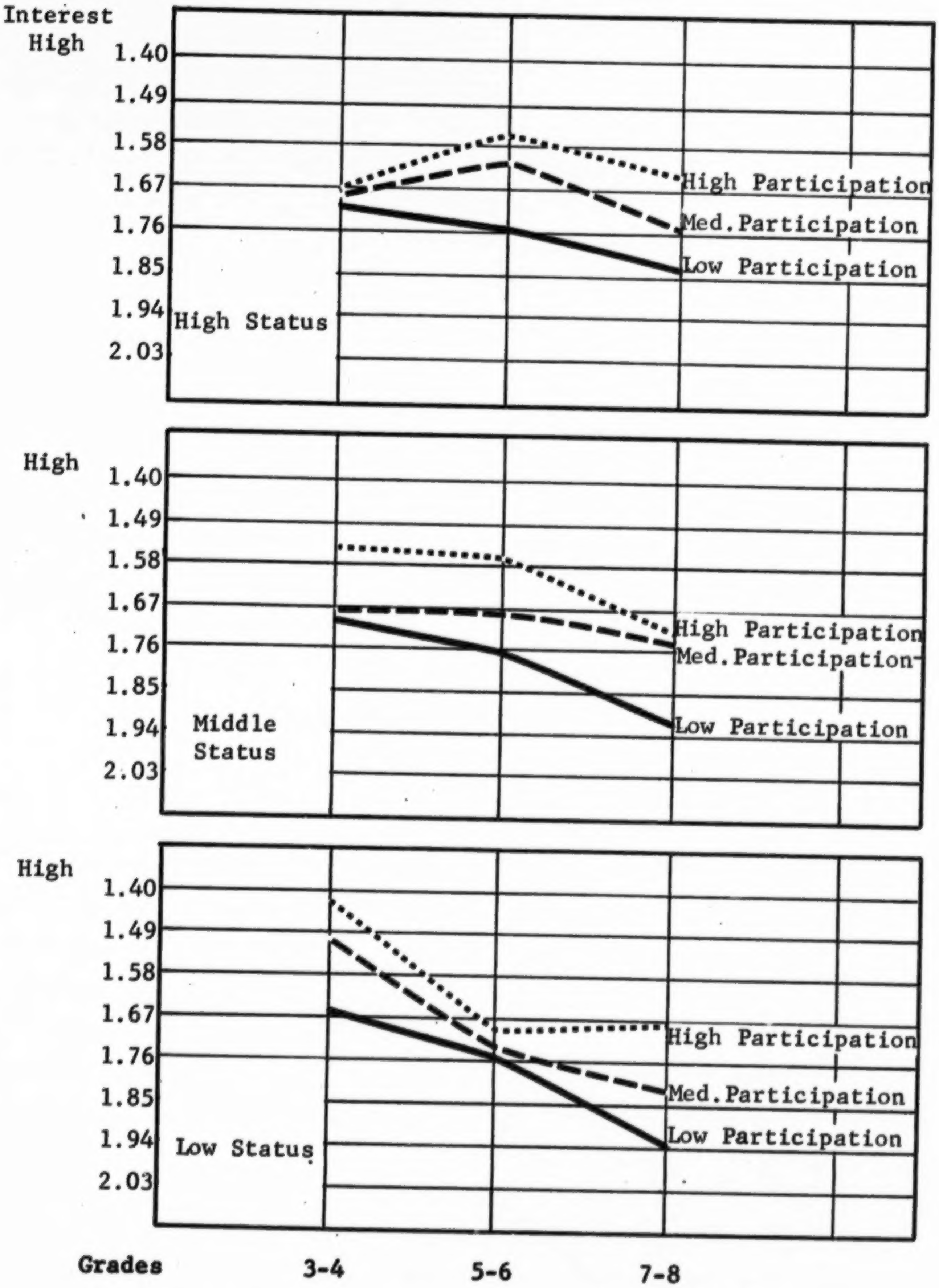
The relationship between group membership and political behavior for the research group is presented in Figures 39 through 43. Of the many comparisons examined, these were the only ones in which the difference between high and low participation groups was sufficiently consistent to indicate that an association exists. These charts deal primarily with involvement requiring some active engagement with the political system. That is, social participation influences primarily those attitudes which are closely related to overt political involvement.

Students who join groups express more interest in political affairs, are more actively involved in conversations about politics and current events, and defend their opinions on those issues.

FIGURE 39

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL INTEREST

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of political interest of three groups: children who report a 1)low, 2)medium, 3)high amount of participation in group activities.



Item: How interested in the government and current events are you?

Index Scale: 1 - High
3 - Low

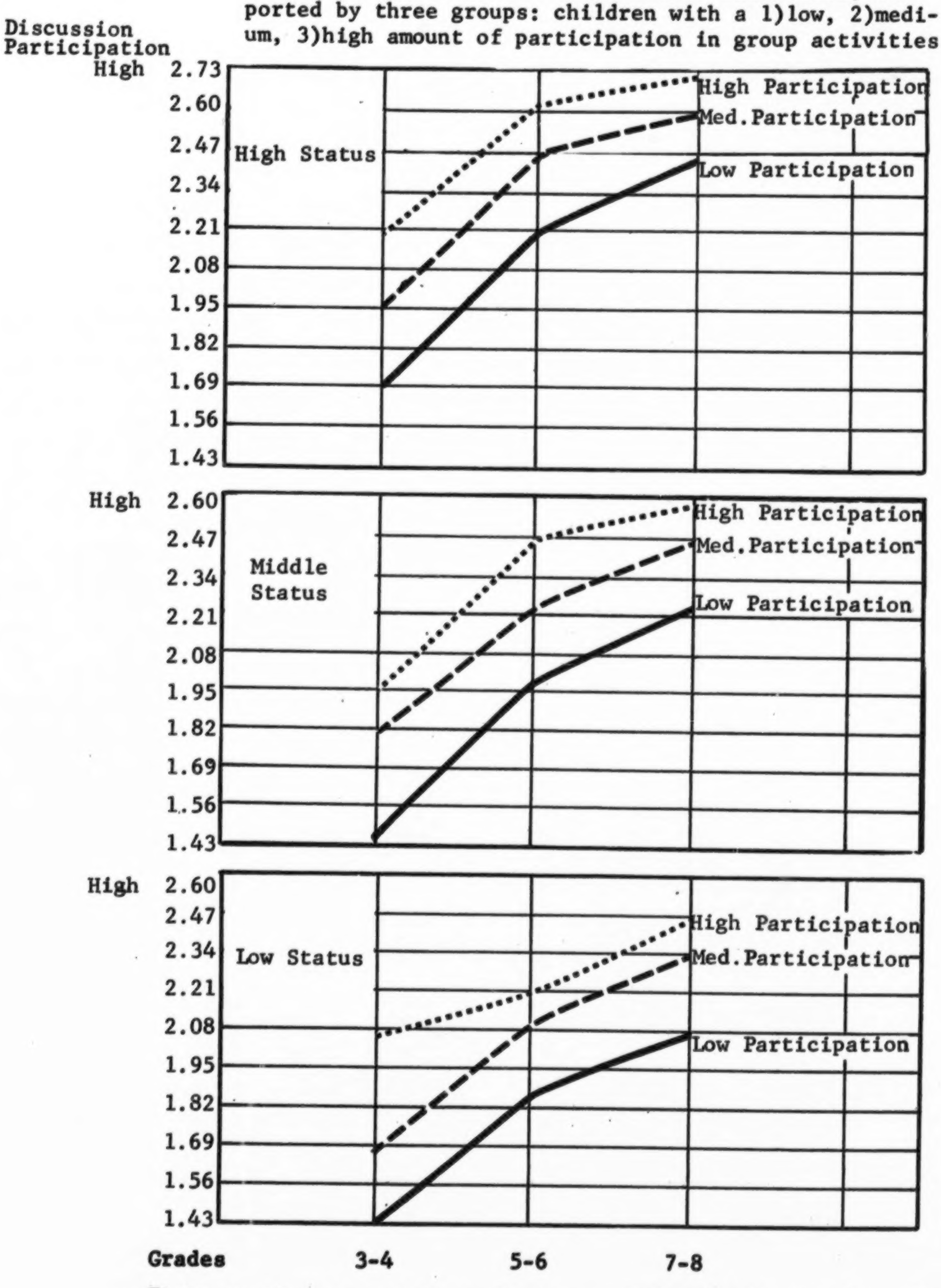
Range of N: 102 = 1004

Significance Unit: .09

FIGURE 40

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSION

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of participation in political discussion, reported by three groups: children with a 1) low, 2) medium, 3) high amount of participation in group activities.



Item: Combination of three items--have you talked: with parents about candidates; with parents about country's problems; with friends about candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - None discussed
3 - Three "

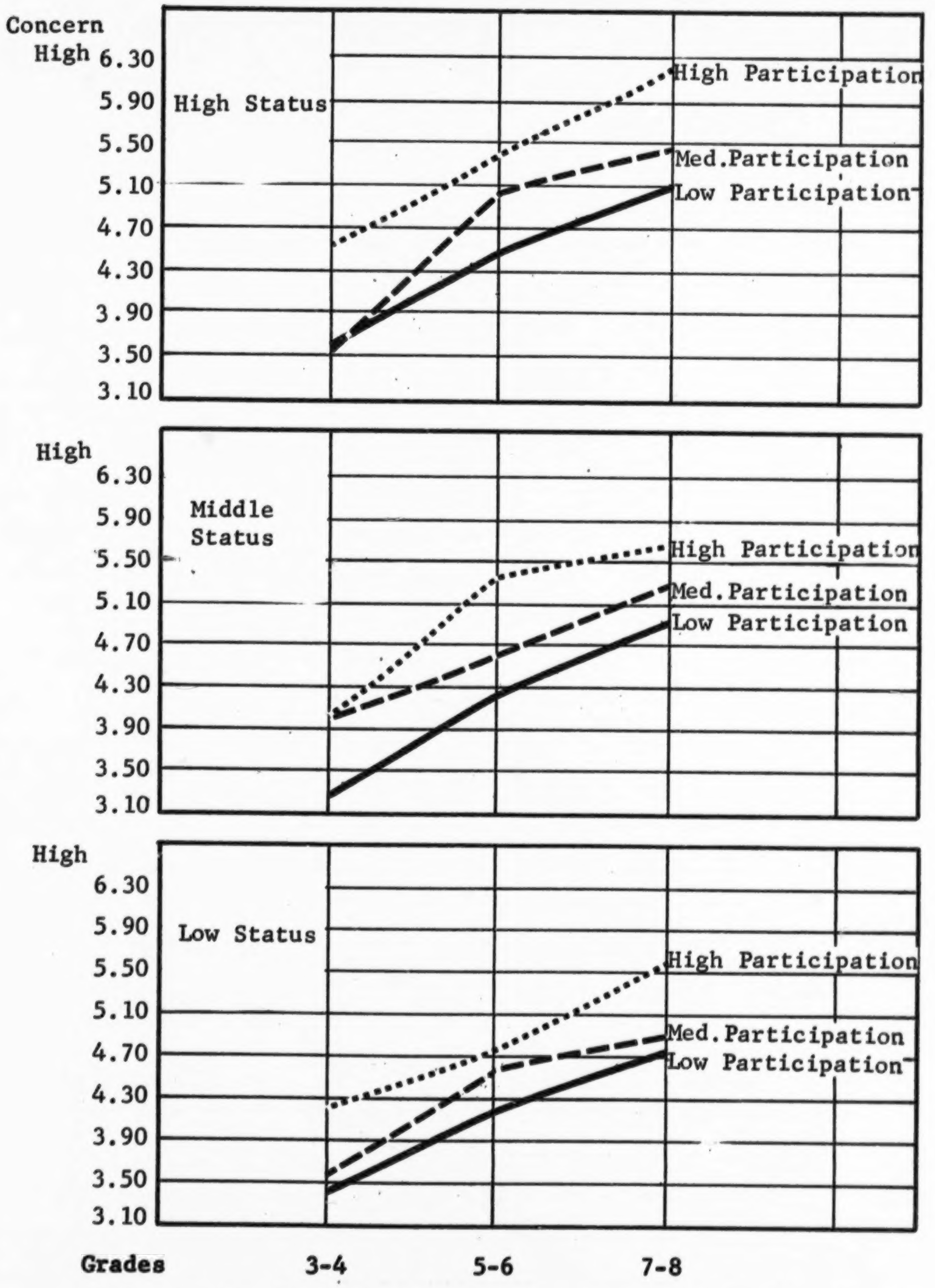
Range of N: 99 - 990

Significance Unit: .13

FIGURE 41

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of concern about political issues, expressed by three groups: children who report a 1) low, 2) medium, 3) high amount of participation in group activities.



Item: Combination of five items--have you discussed and taken sides on: the United Nations; foreign aid; unemployment; aid to education; taxes?

Index Scale: 0 - None
10 - Taken sides on five issues

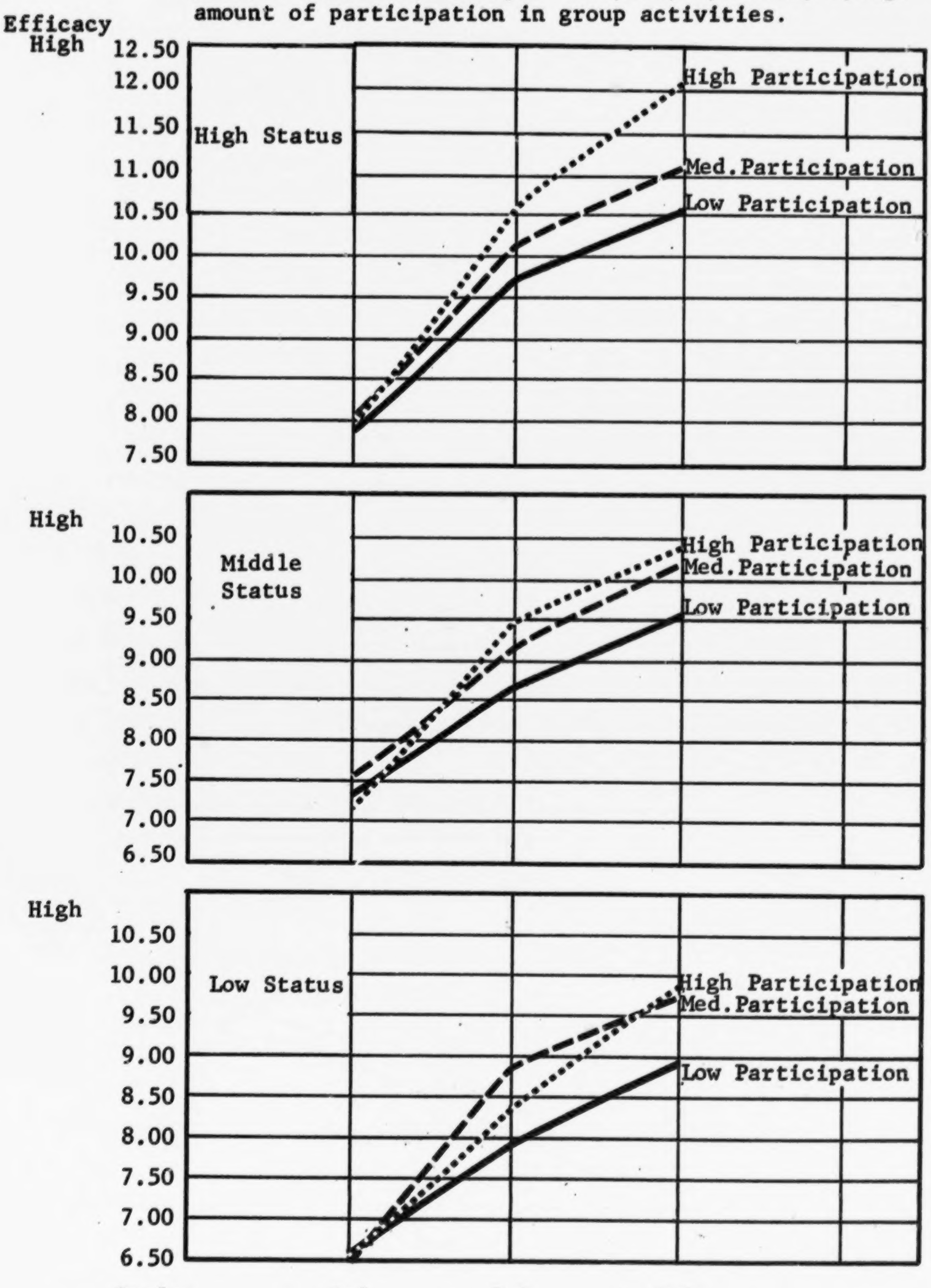
Range of N: 46 - 600

Significance Unit: .41

FIGURE 42

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean ratings of their own political efficacy by three groups: children who report a 1) low, 2) medium, 3) high amount of participation in group activities.



Item: Combination of five items concerning perception of government's responsiveness to citizens' attempts to influence it.

Index Scale: 1 - Low
16 - High

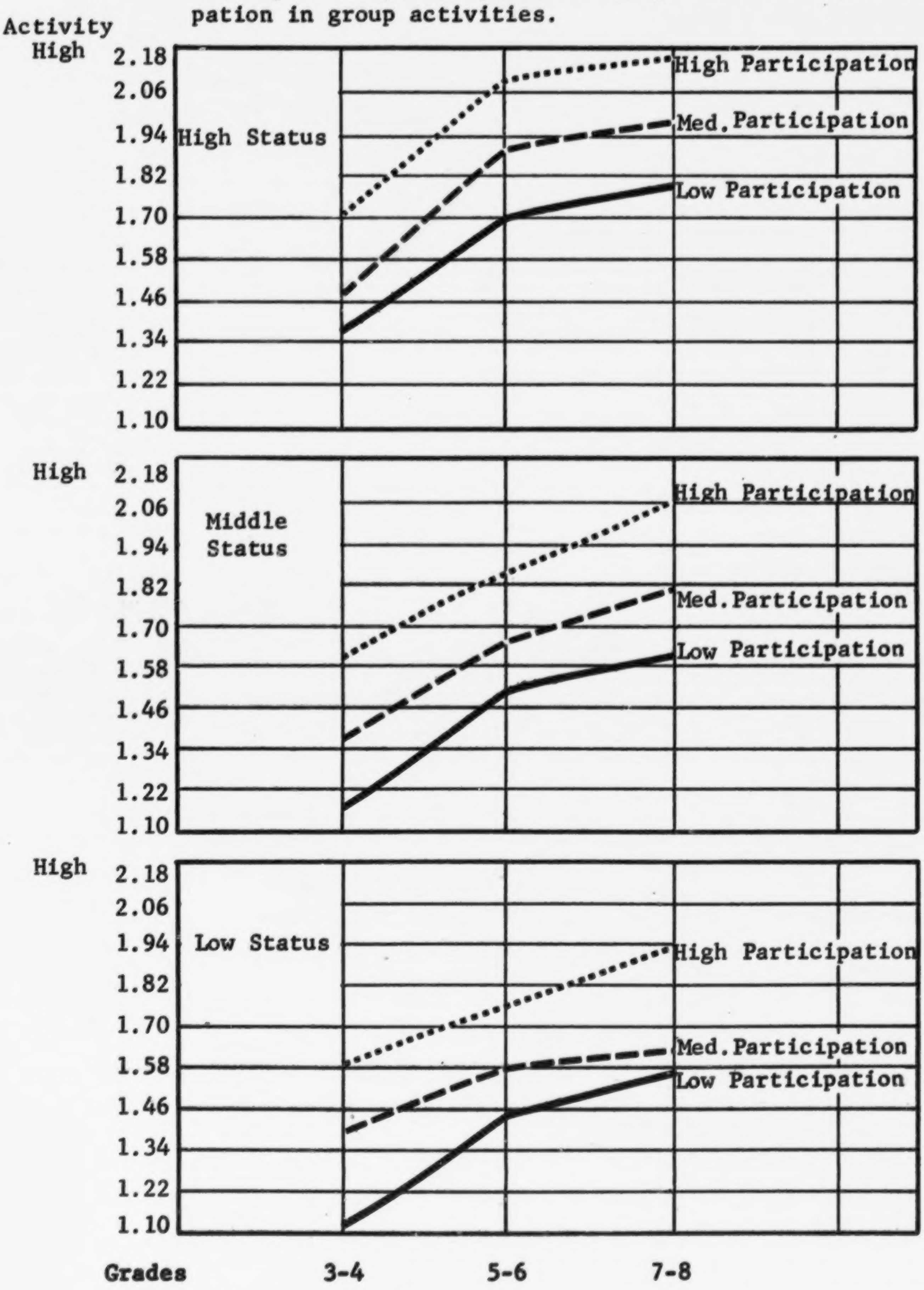
Range of N: 78 - 733

Significance Unit: .49

FIGURE 43

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of political activity of three groups: children who report a 1) low, 2) medium, 3) high amount of participation in group activities.



Item: Combination of three items--have you: worn election button; read about candidates; helped candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - No activity
3 - Three acts.

Range of N: 97 - 985

Significance Unit: .12

These data are presented in Figures 39 through 41. High social participators felt that individual political activity is highly efficacious (Figure 42). The difference between high and low participation groups was most extreme in political activities (Figure 43). These differences appeared in perceptions of the government's responsiveness to citizen influence and reports of active involvement in these political matters.

There is no evidence that social participation has any influence upon basic attachment to the system, acceptance of the norms of citizen behavior, or compliance to political authority. Basic attitudes and orientations toward the political world are not modified by experience in organizations; rather, group membership is associated with a tendency to become actively involved in attempting to influence the system.

While the data do not permit precise examination of possible causal relationship between membership in organizations and active involvement, they do allow some tentative interpretations. If the peer group reinforced attitudes taught by the adult community, attitudes in all areas would develop at a somewhat earlier age among members. This would be true, particularly of patriotic attitudes, which are the focus of many children's organizations (Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts).

The generalization hypothesis is consistent with the findings in some respects, since learning how to influence political structures in democratically organized childhood activities could lead to relatively greater participation in the larger system. If this were the process, however, one would predict differences in perception of the ideal citizen's behavior; these do not appear. Both Hausknecht (1962) and Erbe (1964) suggested that group membership is one type of active interchange with the social world and that it does not have particularly political implications. This is also the most plausible interpretation for our findings. The tendency to join children's groups is part of a cluster of attitudes, personality characteristics, and preferences which increases interaction and contact with the environment. The data do not show organization membership to be a distinct factor in the socialization of political attitudes. It seems more likely that children who are more politically involved are also more active participants in non-political groups.

CHAPTER V

SYSTEMATIC INFLUENCES ON THE SOCIALIZATION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR (CONTINUED)

A. Mediators of Political Socialization

1. Intelligence and Social Class

a) Introduction

The effect of cultural and socioeconomic environments in shaping human behavior is of particular significance in political involvement since the political system is closely related to the economic, social, and cultural life of a people. Attitudes toward political leaders vary greatly from one country to another. Some differences in pre-adult socialization have been reported in cross-national studies of children's attitudes toward political authority figures (Hess, 1964). The effects of social class environments within the United States can be observed in many areas of behavior. Investigators have repeatedly found social class differences both in political preference and degree of political involvement.

It is well established that members of the working class favor the Democratic party, while middle and upper class groups favor Republicans (evidence summarized by Lipset, 1959). Key (1961) showed that the relationship between occupation (social status) and point of view on public policy may vary according to the historical period and relevance of the policy decision to the economic welfare of a given occupational group. Greenstein (1965) recently summarized differences found between the social classes in liberal attitudes. The lower classes tend to be high in economic liberalism and low in liberalism regarding civil rights, foreign policy, and more areas of political behavior. There have been some studies of the degree to which class identification influences political behavior. They have assumed that, in some groups, the direction of the vote is more likely to be influenced by social class, while in others different influences take precedence. For example, Berelson *et al*. (1954) indicated that women are less likely than men to follow class lines in their voting. Relationships among the direction of political feeling, viewpoints on political policy, and social class are not simple; and generalizations made during one historical period in regard to a specific election or a particular public situation must be modified by an understanding of historical circumstances and influences.

Education has been used infrequently as a variable to explain *direction of involvement* (Democratic, Republican).

Key (1961) asserted that education is unrelated to the direction of opinion unless information activates some particular outlook. For example, knowledge of foreign countries might produce more liberal attitudes toward foreign policy. As discussion turns to the degree of involvement in political matters, however, education and social class appear together as variables. Key believes that interest in political events is the only area of political involvement which is more strongly related to occupation than to education. Businessmen, even those with elementary school educations, have high interest in elections.

A more impressive set of variables is related to education: within every occupational group feelings of citizen duty, efficacy, and political participation increase as education increases. Sex differences are less pronounced among the highly educated, there being almost none between college graduates. Key (1961) reported that the frequency of "No opinion" and "Don't know" also decreased with education within occupational groups. He suggested that the influence of education on expression of opinion is due to increased verbal competence to cope with opinion questions, rather than to specific information gained in school. He supported this with an analysis showing that education differences in "No opinion" responses are less pronounced for questions which can easily be related to self-interest. Most persons, for example, whatever their educational level, expressed an opinion on the question: "The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job." He concludes his discussion of education and social-occupational status in adults by questioning the conclusion of other writers that education primarily indoctrinates values of the culture. He suggested that the more highly educated person is subject to different influences such as different social groups, and has greater familiarity with the intricacies of public policy throughout his life. In other words, the social contexts and institutional supports for political activity in adulthood are much stronger for the more highly educated individual.[1]

Campbell et al. (1960) presented evidence that education is the single strongest predictor of voting and non-voting. Lipset (1959), in summarizing the demographic characteristics of voters and non-voters, cited both social status and education as predictive of high voting rates. Lazarsfeld (1948) cited both socioeconomic status and education as contributing to interest in the election. Campbell et al. (1954) reported clear-cut relationships between education and efficacy, income and efficacy, and occupation and efficacy. Higher groups consistently expressed greater feelings of efficacy.

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[1] The continuum of education which Key (1961) discusses, compares adults who completed grade school to those who completed high school or college. The groups discussed here in some sense correspond to adults completing grade school, since the oldest children in this sample are in the eighth grade.

Lane's (1959) explanation for social class differences in political behavior emphasized social class differences rather than education. He suggested that less leisure time in the lower class, less economic security and feeling of control over one's life, and less adequate personality development produce these differences in political behavior. Most important, he asserted that the lower class can influence and benefit from government action only by group activity and membership. The upper class can influence and benefit from such action individually and therefore has more incentive for political action.

In the search for explanations of social class differences in adult political behavior, the aspects of political socialization that differ by social class were examined by Greenstein (1965) in his study of New Haven school children, grades 4-8. He classified children by census data from the school districts in which they were enrolled, to form an upper class and a lower class group. A number of the upper class group were children of faculty members at Yale University. He found that upper class children made more references to political issues and were more likely to think in political terms, a tendency which sharply increased between grades four and five. A comparable increase did not occur until one year later for lower class children. In the seventh and eighth grades, upper status children (more than lower status children) tended to volunteer the classification "independent" when asked the party with which they identified. When upper status children did choose a political party, however, there was more relationship between the party chosen and evaluation of the President, in this case, Eisenhower.[2] Greenstein found that upper class children when given a choice more frequently chose a political figure either as an ideal, one that they would like to emulate, or as non-ideal, one that they would not want to be like. Lower class children, in general, tended to rate leaders more favorably. Greenstein argued that idealization of leaders in this fashion is an immature response. Lower class children tended to say that they would go to the teacher for advice about whom to vote for rather than making up their own minds. Greenstein interpreted this to mean that lower class children do not feel that political choices are theirs to make. There were also areas in which Greenstein found no social class difference between upper class and lower class children. He found no difference in children's predictions of how likely they would be to vote when they were grown up; this is analagous to the citizen duty scales reported in adult studies. He interpreted this as indicating that the explicit rationalizations which go with low political involvement in adults--i.e., most elections are not important enough to bother with--are not present by grade eight in children.

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[2] Thirty-seven per cent of the upper class children who called themselves Democrats rated Eisenhower high, whereas 68 per cent of the lower class children who rated themselves as Democrats did so.

Several studies of children's understanding of social concepts (usually meaning ability to define concepts) have indicated that high socioeconomic status is associated with greater understanding (Bates, 1947; Meltzer, 1925; Ordan, 1945). These authors also reported that when mental age or IQ is held constant, in most cases the social class differences disappear.

In the light of previous work done in this area, this study has unusual data for examining and understanding differences in political socialization in different groups. This study has information on both intelligence (IQ scores) and social class, which was examined in order to understand the interactions between social class and IQ. We also have unqiue data on attachment, compliance, and participation which go beyond the issue of overt participation in political activities.

In this analysis, IQ has been treated as a variable which mediates school learning. The curriculum is likely to be absorbed more completely by children of higher intelligence. Perhaps the greater ability of the bright child allows him to learn better and gives him more tools for synthesizing what he has learned and for relating information and attitudes to action.

Social class is a more complex phenomenon. In the analysis of these data, social class has been treated as an index of subtle, complex pressures and experiences ocurring outside the school. Social class effects are, perhaps, most fruitfully conceptualized in terms of roles and perception of relationships. Interaction between children and adults, particularly parents, has a different quality in the lower class than in the upper class. In our terms, the reciprocal role experiences of the working class child differ markedly from those of the middle class child.

Maas (1951) illustrated the more hierarchical structure of the lower class family and the lessened communication between parent and child; Kohn (1963) showed the greater stress on obedience and outward conformity in the lower class; Bernstein's (1960) and Hess's (1964) work on family structure and linguistic codes is also relevant. Dubin and Dubin (1963), discussing the authority inception period in socialization, specified a number of processes which contribute to the socialization of attitudes toward authority. Although not explicitly referring to social class differences, other research related to the stages they suggested indicates that social class differences in children would be expected. Greenstein (1965) summarized results from numerous studies relevant to social class differences in child rearing by indicating that lower class children have less psychological freedom in the home; less attention is paid to their opinions. It was suggested earlier that the child's modeling of parental behavior is important. In summary, if the generalization of reciprocal role relationships from experience in the family to experience in other social systems and the child's modeling of adult behavior is valid, the political system is an important arena where social class differences should be apparent and consistent.

b) Data

The analysis of data in this study controlled for social class so that it was possible to compare children of high intelligence with those of low intelligence within each social class group. Conversely, the variable of intelligence was controlled so that it was possible to compare children with high, middle, and low status backgrounds within each level of intelligence.

The procedure for presenting data in this section will be to follow the outline of the socialization of political involvement used in Chapter III, including a child's attachment to the country and the system, his definition of it, his perception of and attachment to figures and institutions, and his view of how the system is related to him. A second section deals with a similar outline of his perception of law and his relationship to legal institutions. The third area treats the types of active participation in which adults engage, particularly citizens' attempts to influence government. The fourth deals with the citizen's influence in changing incumbents within the political structure through elections.

(1) The acquisition of attitudes

The acquisition of attitudes toward political objects is influenced by both social class and intelligence, but in different ways. We may expect a child of high intelligence to be accelerated in his acquisition of attitudes and the range and level of social concepts which he can understand, learning more rapidly those attitudes which are taught by the school. The influence of social class is more likely to be found in the nature of attitudes, concepts, and role relationships.

High intelligence accelerates the acquisition of political attitudes. Intelligence apparently does influence the amount of information and the number of attitudes children express (within each of the social class levels--Figure 44). At the younger age levels there was less difference than at higher levels. Younger children of high intelligence were as willing to admit that they did not have attitudes as those in lower IQ groups. This further suggests that in pre-school years, children of high intelligence do not absorb more political information from their families than children of low intelligence. The "Don't know" response of all high IQ groups decreased sharply, until the mean number of "Don't know" responses for all social levels at grade eight was less than three out of a total of thirty-two items. The tendency to respond "Don't know" did not decline as quickly for the other groups, indicating that as expected bright children acquire political attitudes, information and concepts during the school period more rapidly than children who are less gifted.[3]

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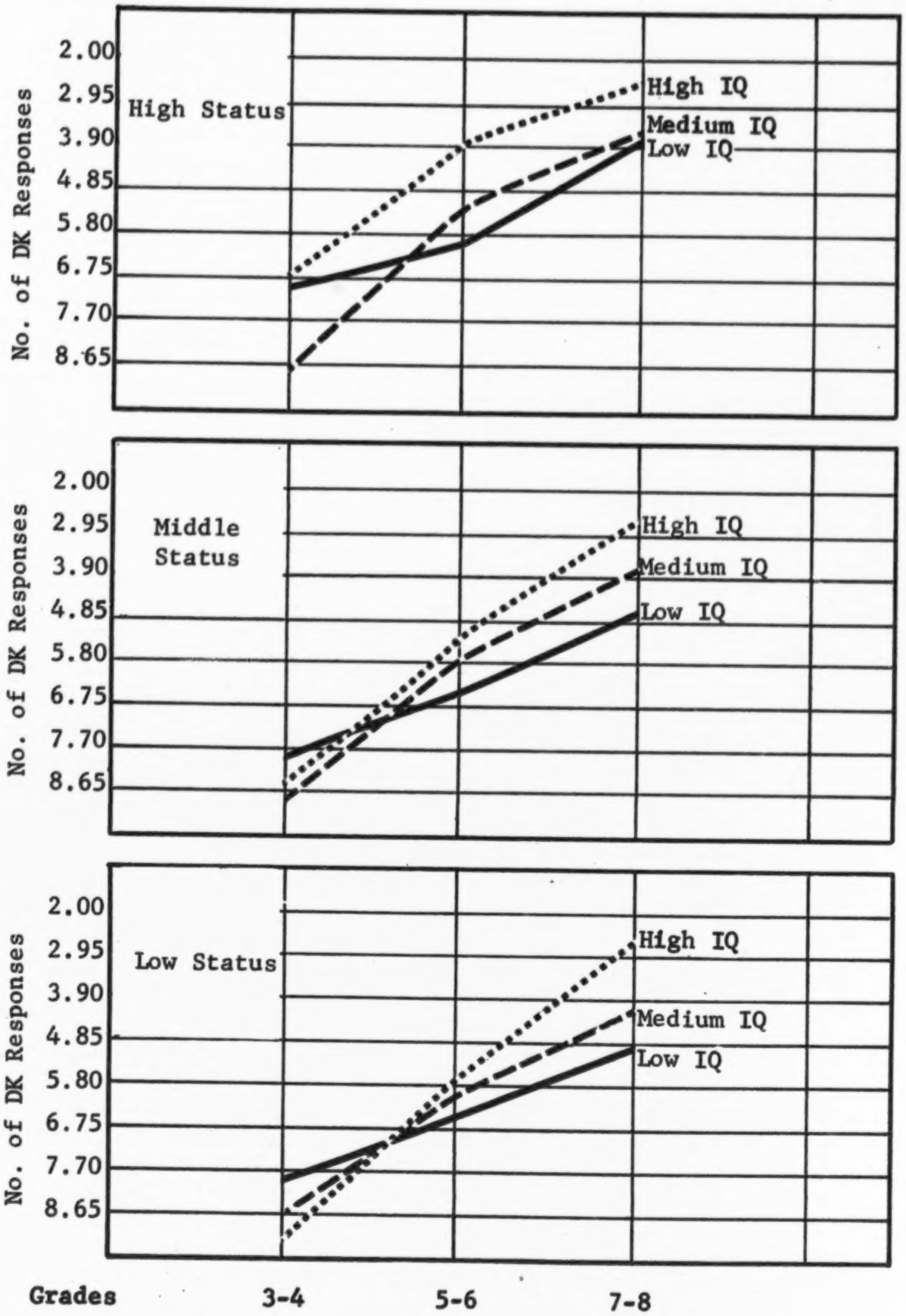
[3] This difference in choice of "No opinion" extended into

FIGURE 44

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THE ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES,WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 questions

Index Scale: 0 - No DK
32 - High DK

Range of N:[a] 26 - 426

Significance Unit: .95

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[a] The lower limit of the Range of N in certain figures results from two factors: some questions were not administered at grade 3; and the low correlation between some independent variables meant that some group sizes were reduced. For all graphs, group sizes cluster at top not bottom of reported Range of N.

Social class differences within IQ groups in "Don't know" responses were somewhat less striking (see Figure 44, examining IQ groups for status differences). The differences which were observed were most apparent in the high IQ group. The combination of high intelligence and membership in the top social strata seem to work together to produce the most accelerated attitude growth curve.

It appears that bright children are more completely socialized in political attitudes and behavior by grade eight than are children of lower intelligence. If it is true that political concepts and attitudes are more easily acquired by intelligent children, the possession of some basic orientations toward governmental processes and the citizen's role may not be part of the background of every citizen. For low IQ groups, the ability to understand and handle concepts related to political processes may be retarded in a way that limits absorption of information and comprehension of political issues.

(2) Attachment to the nation

Basic attachment to the nation is not influenced by intelligence level or social class.--There were some differences by social class but these were not large (see Appendix G) and were less pronounced at grade eight than earlier. It should be noted that for the items "America is the best country in the world" and "The American flag is the best flag in the world", the responses of all groups at all age levels were highly positive and variance was very small. That is, all children by the second grade seemed to be strongly attached to the country and to feel that it is the best country in the world. By grade eight, high IQ children were somewhat less emphatic in agreeing with these statements, reflecting perhaps greater understanding of the flag as a symbol rather than as an object of independent worth (Appendix G). There were virtually no responses that indicated any hesitation about loyalty or patriotism.

(3) Attachment to figures and institutions of government

(a) Conception of the System.--The conception of the governmental system varied markedly between IQ groups. In Chapter III it was argued that older children have begun to shift attention from individual authority figures to include governmental institutions. It was proposed that the major route to engagement with a social system is through reciprocal involvement with a representative of the system (e.g., the President). This shift is related to the development of certain cognitive processes. Greater cognitive maturity is needed for a conception of government

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adulthood is illustrated in Key's report (1961) that individuals with higher levels of education express more opinions.

as based on institutions rather than persons. The more intelligent child is able to develop abstract concepts of a system which are not dependent upon his perception of personal objects but which imply intangible relationships to a group of persons, laws, and processes. The acquisition of information is obviously basic to the development of this system concept.

Differences between IQ groups in choosing Congress as the law-making branch of government are very large (Figure 45).--This item is more closely related than others to information taught in the school. Figure 45 indicates that children of high intelligence learn this information about the formal structure of government earlier.

The greater the child's ability to abstract, the earlier he is likely to perceive government in institutional rather than personal terms. Data on IQ and social class differences among groups of children in personalizing the conception of government are presented in Figures 46 and 47. IQ differences prevailed at all social class and grade levels. Children of high intelligence personalized the government and its facets less, conceptualizing it instead in more institutional terms. These effects must be examined in the light of age trends on these items: with increasing grade there was a declining tendency to personalize the government, which suggests this is a less mature symbolization of the governmental system. The ability to deal with an abstract rather than personalized system is apparently related to cognitive maturity. Social class differences are significant but are less marked than the effects of intelligence. These social class differences showed that working class children personalized their view of the government.

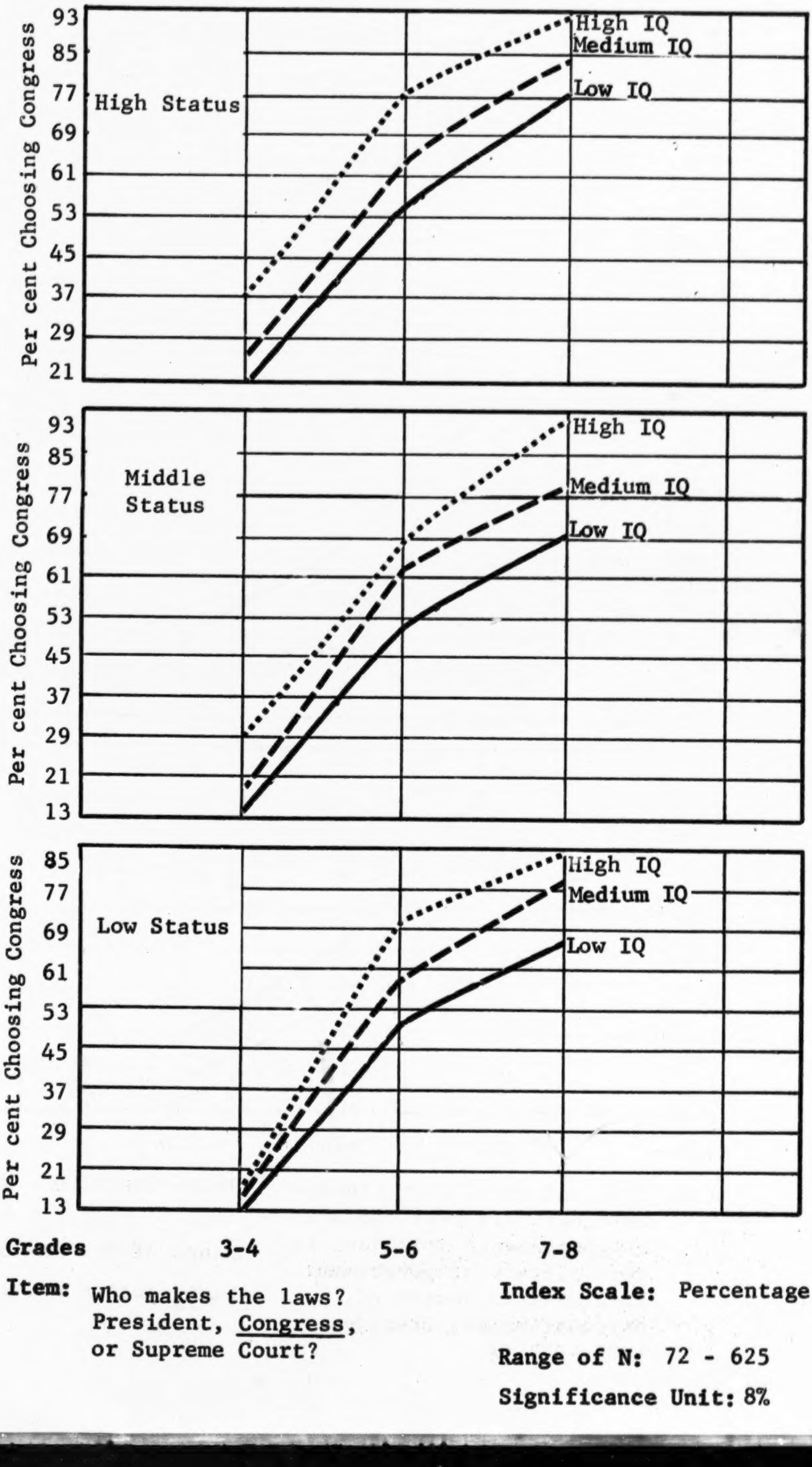
(b) Interaction with the system.--It was argued previously that children's initial attachment to the political system is motivated by a need to see authority, particularly distant political authority, as benign and protective. These early attachments are primarily emotional and are not acquired in the same way as attitudes taught by formal instruction. If this is true, early attachment should not be highly related to intelligence or social class.

The child's attachment to governmental figures varies by social status but the perception of their responsiveness does not. --In considering the items which deal with the child's expectation of protection, help, and nurturant behavior from the government, its officials, and representatives, some differences appear to be significant at particular ages and in particular IQ and social class groups. These differences were not systematic or large (see Appendix G).

The child's expectation of assistance, help and protection from government and the President is apparently not strongly influemced by his social class membership or his level of intelligence.

FIGURE 45

COMPARISON OF IQ GROUPS IN CHOICE OF CONGRESS AS THE SOURCE OF LAWS, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Who makes the laws? President, Congress, or Supreme Court?

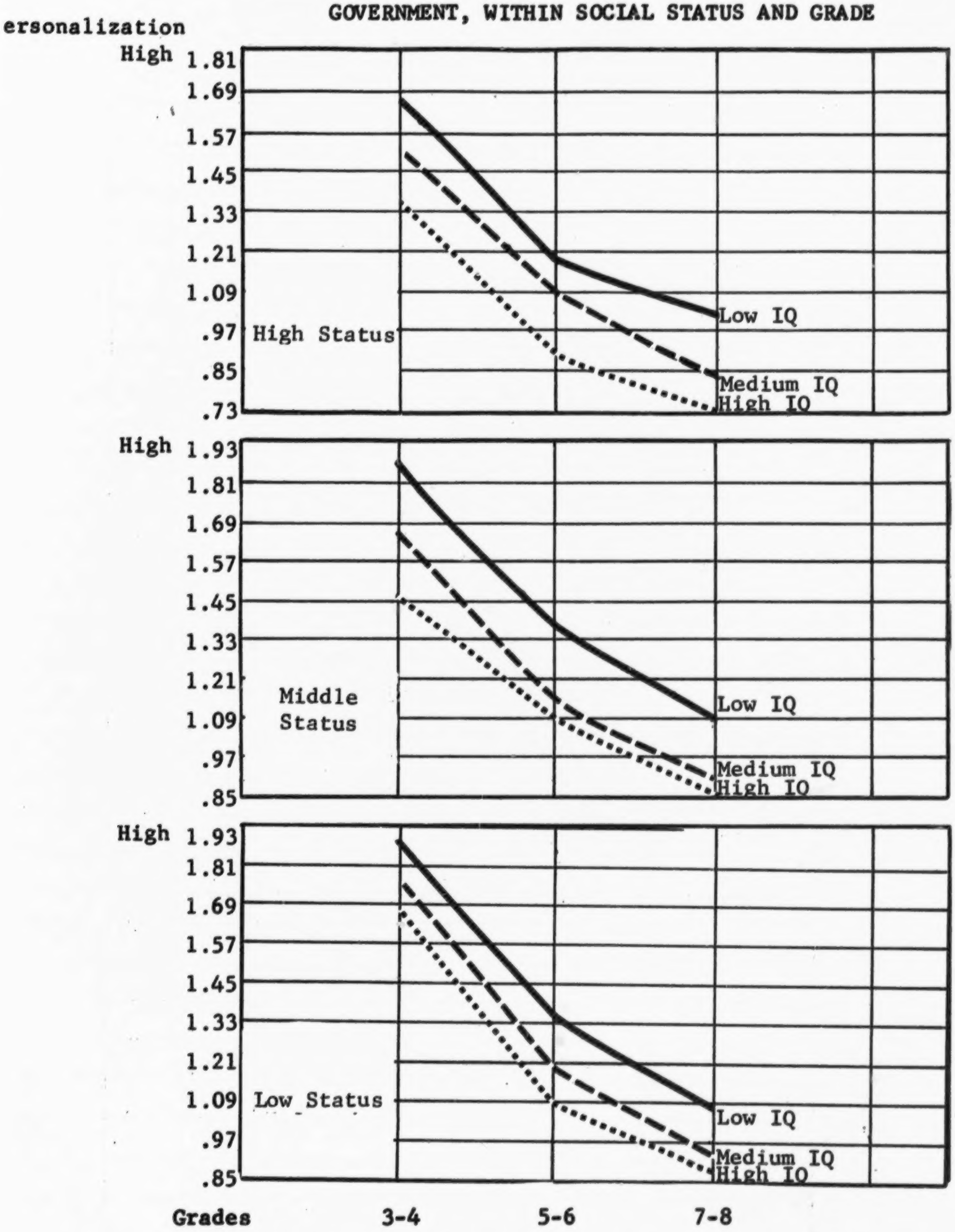
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 72 - 625

Significance Unit: 8%

FIGURE 46

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN PERSONIFYING THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Combination of four items--Washington is best picture of government; President is best picture of government; President is source of national pride; President runs country.

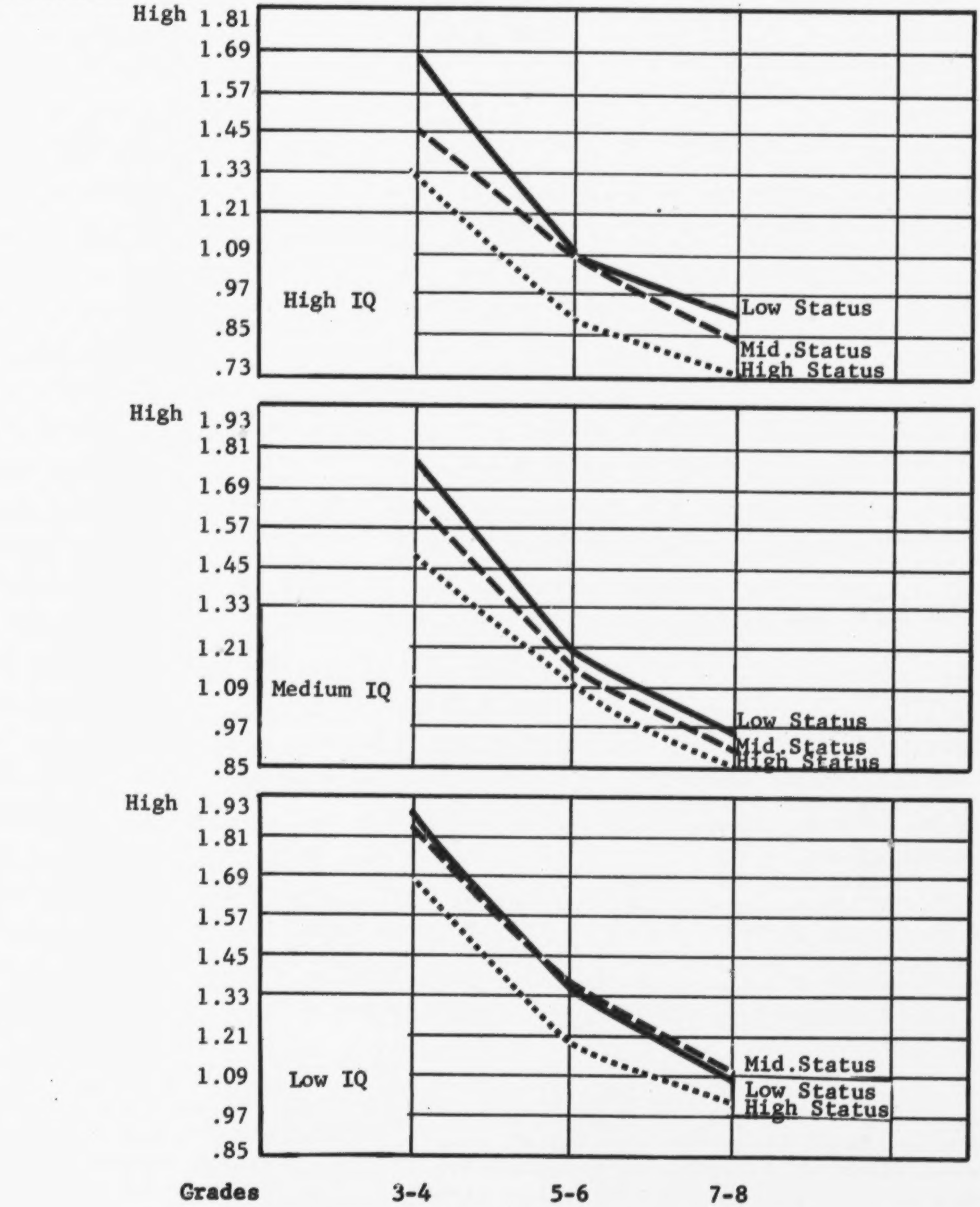
Index Scale: 0 - None
4 - All

Range of N: 72 - 631

Significance Unit: .12

FIGURE 47

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN PERSONIFYING THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Combination of four items -- Washington is best picture of government; President is best picture of government; President is source of national pride; President runs country.

Index Scale: 0 - None
4 - All

Range of N: 72 - 631

Significance Unit: .12

It is important, too, that these expectations changed markedly with age. Findings support the contention that attachment to government and the conception of what may be expected from one's government are established fairly early. These attitudes show consensus in our group--consensus not greatly altered by social class experience or through the mediation of intelligence.

Another aspect of the child's attachment to the system concerns his feeling of attachment for its representatives and for the governmental system as he perceives it. The feelings of affiliation children express toward the President showed considerable difference by social class. Differences between IQ groups on the item "The President is my favorite" were minimal, while social class differences were extreme and existed at all grade levels (Figure 48). Children coming from high status homes tended to be less attached, or at least less attracted to the President of the United States as a personal favorite. This may reflect some partisan feeling. Similar trends appear in "The policeman is my favorite," which is an item unlikely to be influenced by partisan feeling. The tendencies are consistent with data on personifying the government, children from working class homes see the system in more personal terms and are attached to figures that represent it; children from homes of higher status have less investment in individual authority figures, although their attachment to the country is at least as strong as that of children from other social class backgrounds.

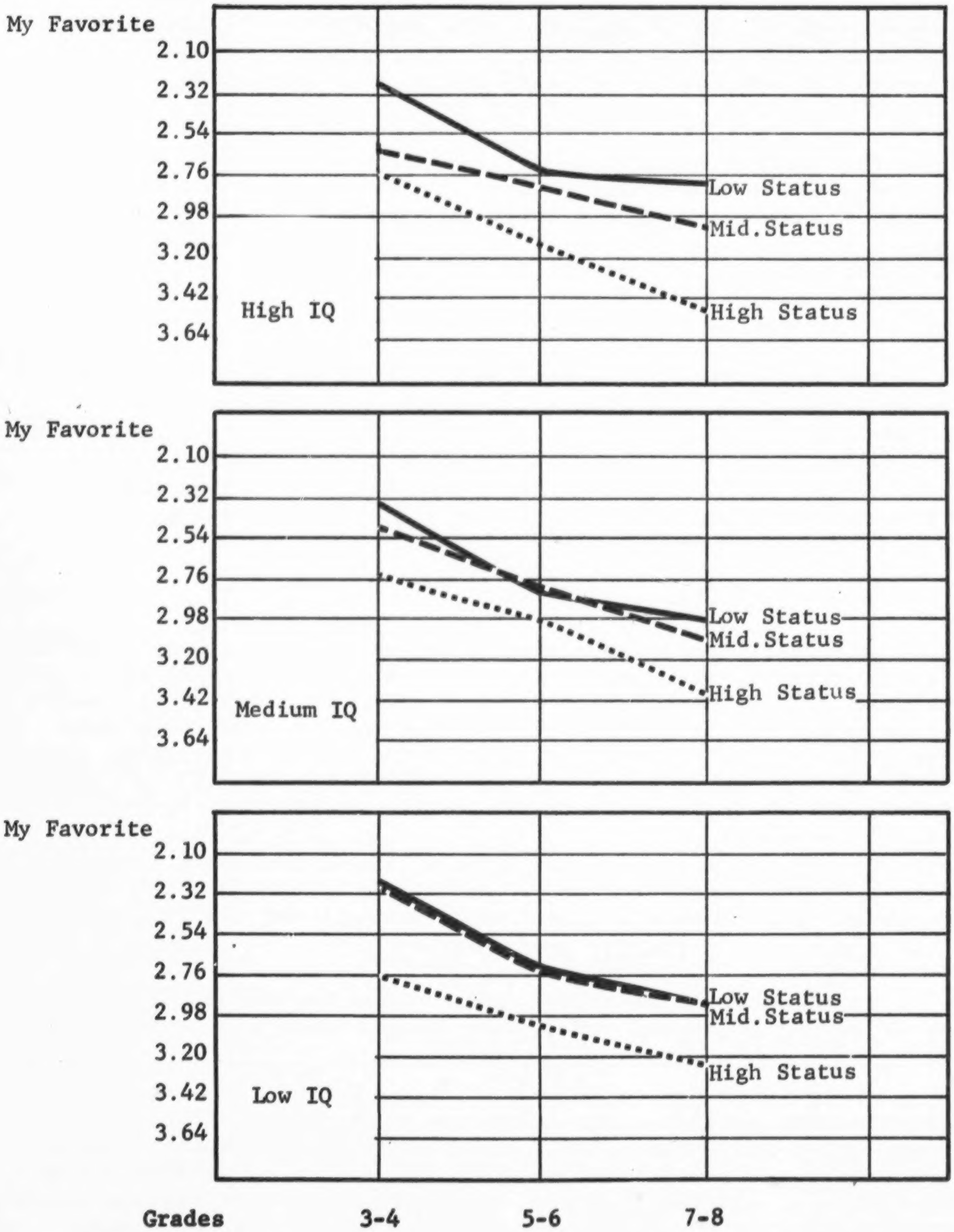
We have argued previously (Hess & Easton, 1960; Torney, Hess, & Easton, 1962) that the young child's highly positive image of the President is in response to feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability in the presence of powerful authority. This tendency for the child to compensate by seeing the President as benign and nuturant by this argument should also be related to the child's feeling of protection within the structure of a group with which he interacts--the family. It would follow from this that children who have less positive images of their fathers would have a greater need to project the qualities of an ideal father onto the President and to become attached to him. This view is compatible with the data of this study. Children from working class backgrounds have less positive attitudes toward their fathers than do children from middle and upper status homes and more positive attachment to the President.

Children's highly positive image of the President's performance of his role, and the persistence of this image through the age span, has been discussed in Chapter III. No notable differences by social class or IQ appeared in judgments of the President's knowledge or decision-making power, the elements of which are among the most clearly defined characteristics of his role.

Attitudes toward the Supreme Court are socialized by teachers; that is, children learn the functions of the Supreme Court in school. Children of high intelligence saw the Supreme

FIGURE 48

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE PRESIDENT, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: The President is my favorite of all.

Index Scale: 1 - Favorite of all
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 72 - 628

Significance Unit: .22

Court as having more decision-making power than did children of low intelligence (Figure 49), which is consistent with findings presented earlier in this section. Apparently, although all children defined the President's decision-making power as part of his role, the decision-making power of the Supreme Court is learned in school and is acquired more rapidly by brighter children. Class differences in image of the Supreme Court are less pronounced and not consistent across grades (Figure 50).

(c) Summary.--There is an interplay between information, needs, school, and home, in the development of attitudes toward political figures. The young child sees government as represented by personal figures; he is unfamiliar with institutional structures such as Congress or the Supreme Court. The school is the agent that teaches about these structures, instruction which is effective at an earlier age for children of high intelligence.

Not only does the working class child see government in personal terms, but he also expresses more personal emotional attachment to the President. It is interesting, however, that social class and IQ differences in the child's patriotic attachment to his country and in his expectation of nurturance and protection from personal figures of government are minimal.

(4) Compliance and response to law

An individual's experience with law and its representatives varies considerably by social class. Lower class persons have less organizational and institutional protection (from family influence or protection from larger institutions of the society) than those in the middle class (Ribman & Ribman, 1964). In urban areas, such as those in which this study was conducted, children and adults in different socioeconomic areas of the city receive differential protection from the political system and police. In lower class neighborhoods, children are more likely to see policemen making arrests or performing punitive roles; middle class children are less likely to witness this particular exercise of the law, except for the vigilance of traffic policemen.[4]

In the process of socialization into any system of rules, those of family or social group, the child begins with a perception

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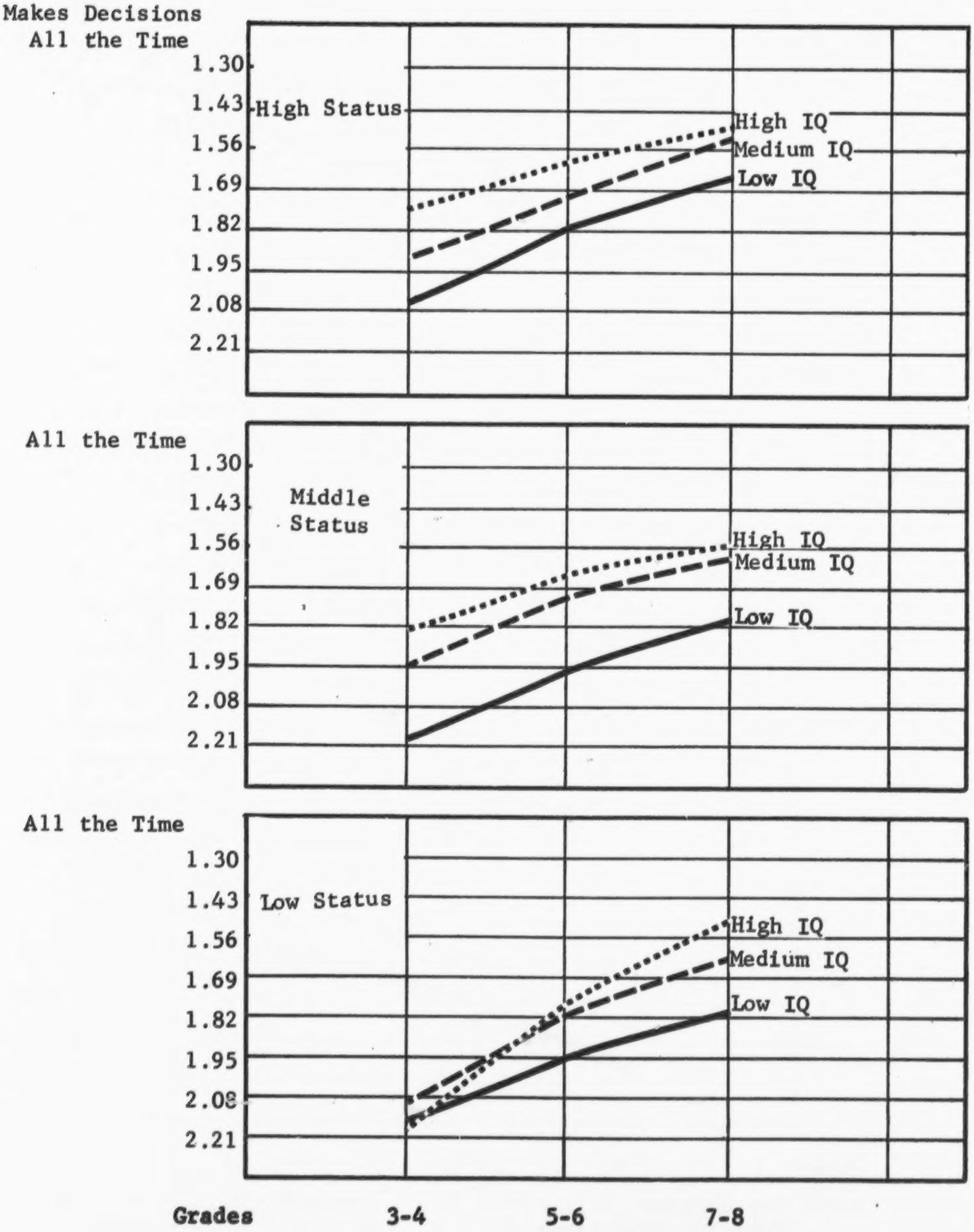
[4] Television may represent a large part of the child's experience with policemen and other law enforcement officers. Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961) report that in one hundred hours of programming at a peak viewing time for children, sixteen different detectives, sixteen sheriffs, nine policemen, and various other law enforcement officers appeared on television. There is some evidence that the effect of television on ideas of law enforcement (in the direction of less positive images) is more pronounced in children of lower socioeconomic status (Scott, 1954).

FIGURE 49

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE OF THE SUPREME COURT (DECISION MAKING) WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: The Supreme Court makes important decisions all the time.

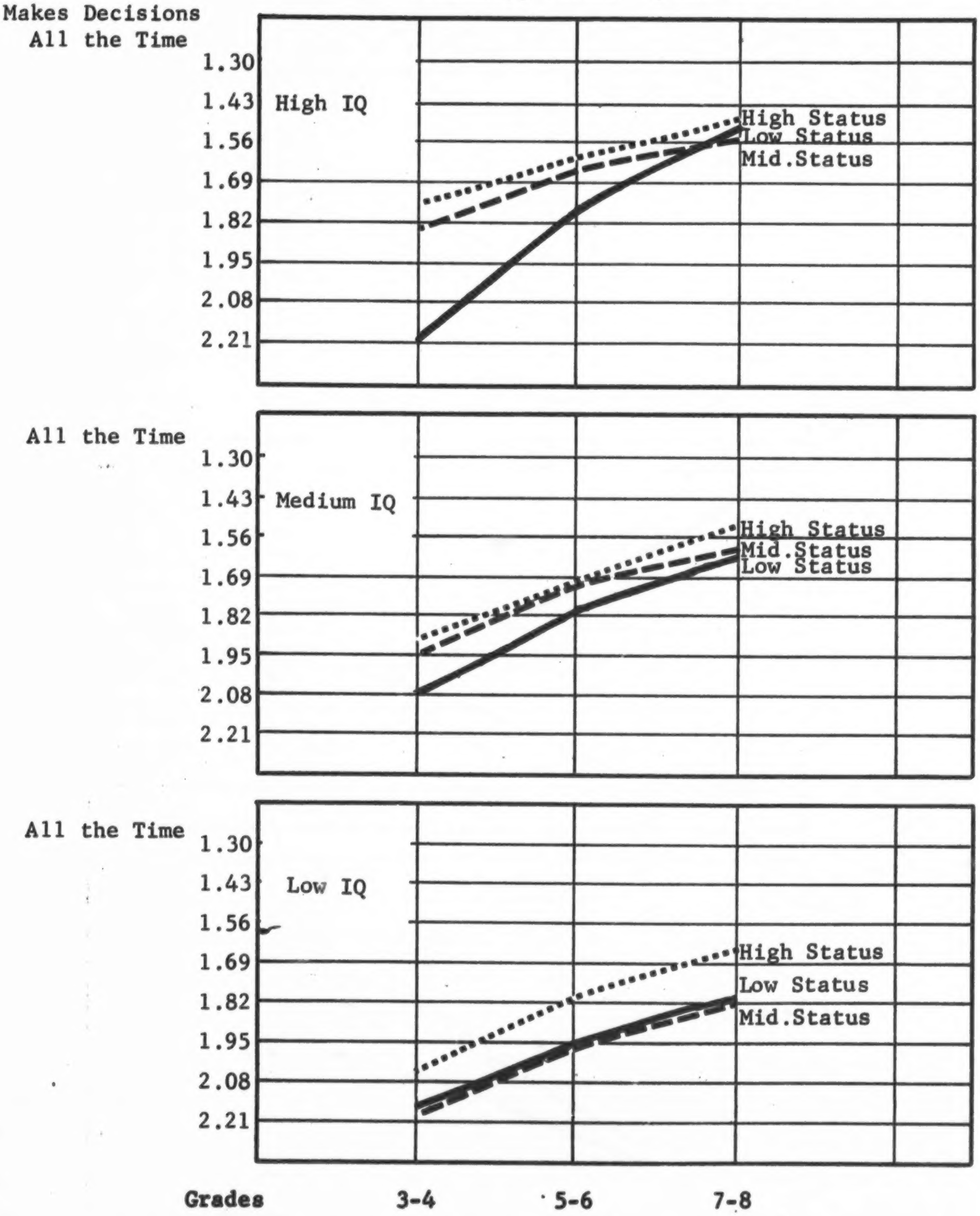
Index Scale: 1 - All the time
6 - Never

Range of N: 28 - 546

Significance Unit: .13

FIGURE 50

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE OF THE SUPREME COURT (DECISION MAKING), WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: The Supreme Court makes important decisions all the time.

Index Scale: 1 - All the time
6 - Never

Range of N: 28 - 546

Significance Unit: .13

of the system as absolute and unquestionable (Kohlberg, 1963; Dubin, 1963; Tuttle, 1943). It is apparent from our data, as well as from the work of others, that as the child gets older he sees rules as more flexible and less absolute. This ability to differentiate situations in which obedience to laws and rules must be unquestioning from those in which more flexible choices are available is, to some extent, a matter of experience. It is also a function of the individual's ability to discriminate among what seem to be highly similar situations. This requires a high level of cognitive ability. These factors lead us to expect a difference between IQ groups in perception of laws and the need for compliance.

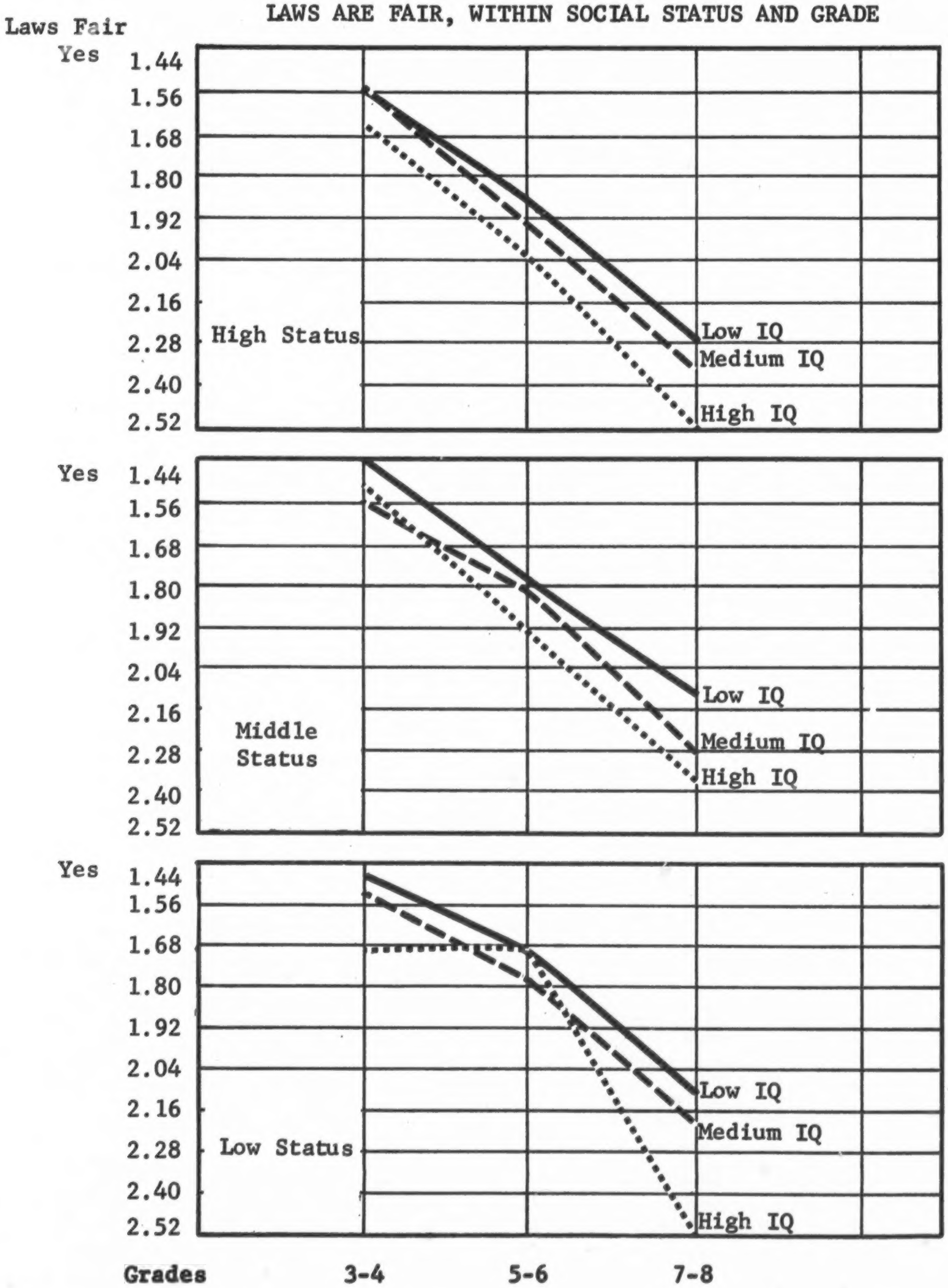
Several theories have been offered to explain the differences between social classes in their manner of indoctrinating children into rules and regulations of the family and society. Kohn (1959) contrasted the middle class parent's concern for the child's intent with the concern of working class parents for respectability and appearances. The working class parent emphasizes obedience and is more rigid and authoritarian in administering family rules and regulations. The effects of these kinds of social differences in family training are described by Maas (1951) in his article on children's group behavior and their relation to group leaders. A perceptive analysis of social class differences and their effects comes from the work of Bernstein (1960, 1962, 1964), who discussed social differences in cognition and IQ by focusing on the techniques parents employ in transmitting standards, values, and regulations. A family may enforce rules on the basis of status, insisting upon obedience based upon arbitrary rules or role definitions (e.g., "Do this because I say so," or "Little girls don't act that way"), or rule enforcement may be based on orientation to persons, with parents explaining the effect actions will have upon the child and others. These findings lead us to expect children from working class families to be less flexible than children from the middle class in dealing with the compliance system.

(a) Conception of the system.--A major feature of the young child's conception of the compliance system is that he perceives laws to be absolute and unquestionable. In our questionnaire, the item most closely approximating this concept asked whether "all laws are fair." Presumably, children answering "yes" to this item perceive that the system has an appropriate claim to unquestioning compliance from the individual.

High status and high IQ children perceive laws as less rigid than do low status children. Social class and IQ differences in the child's view of the justice of law are shown in Figures 51 and 52. Differences in both areas appeared, being more pronounced among older children. Those from high status homes agreed somewhat less often that all laws are fair than did working class children. Lower class homes, which stress obedience to rules parents arbitrarily define as "fair" and therefore unquestionable, foster an accepting, idealized attitude toward law. Bernstein's (1964)

FIGURE 51

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THEIR BELIEF THAT LAWS ARE FAIR, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Are all laws fair?

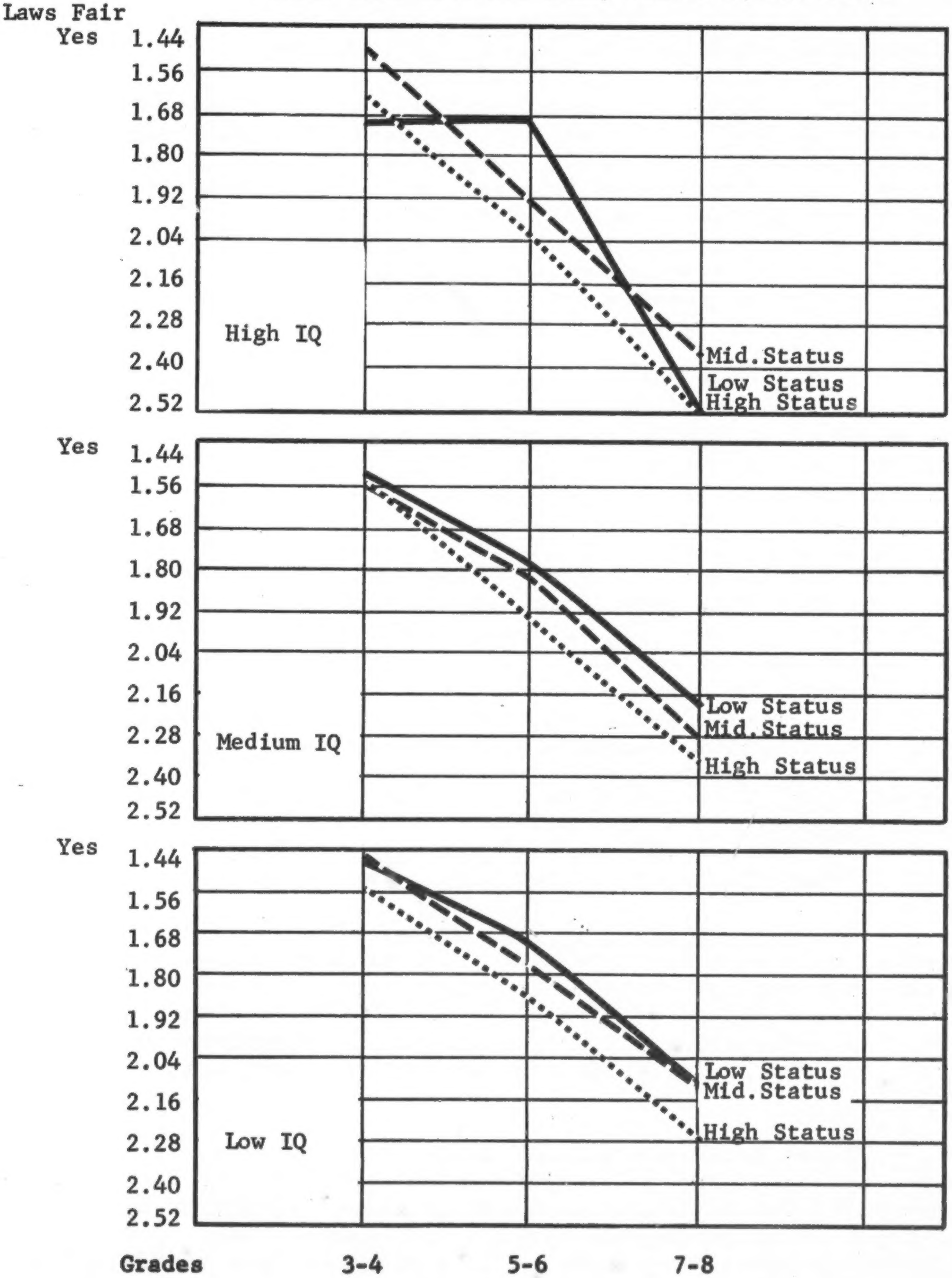
Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 - Strong disagree

Range of N: 69 - 584

Significance Unit: .12

FIGURE 52

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN THEIR BELIEF THAT LAWS ARE FAIR, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Are all laws fair?

Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 - Strong disagree

Range of N: 69 - 584

Significance Unit: .12

discussion of status-oriented rule enforcement in lower status homes is the clearest example of this: "This is a fair rule because I am adult, you are a child, and I tell you to do it," becomes translated into "This is a fair law because the system is bigger and stronger than the individual and all things the system tells individuals to do are right and fair."

Frank (1949) has suggested that what he calls the "legal myth"--the desire to believe that all laws are infallible and unchanging--results from adults' search for the infallible Father-as-Judge that they knew as children, in retreat from the uncertainties and instabilities of adult life. Lower class children more often see the system of laws as infallible either because of their greater experience with autocratic fathers or as compensation for the chaotic and uncertain nature of their life situation (see Torney, Hess, and Easton, 1962).

Differences by IQ in perception of the justice of law are in the same direction as social class trends, but are somewhat more marked. High IQ high status children saw the compliance system in less absolute terms, recognizing the possibility that laws may be defective even though they must be obeyed.

This flexibility in interpretation of laws does not imply a belief that laws are made in a haphazard fashion or that they are frequently modified. Intelligent children saw more permanence in the system of law (Figure 53). "The law" is like certain institutions in its dependability, although it may not always be fair.

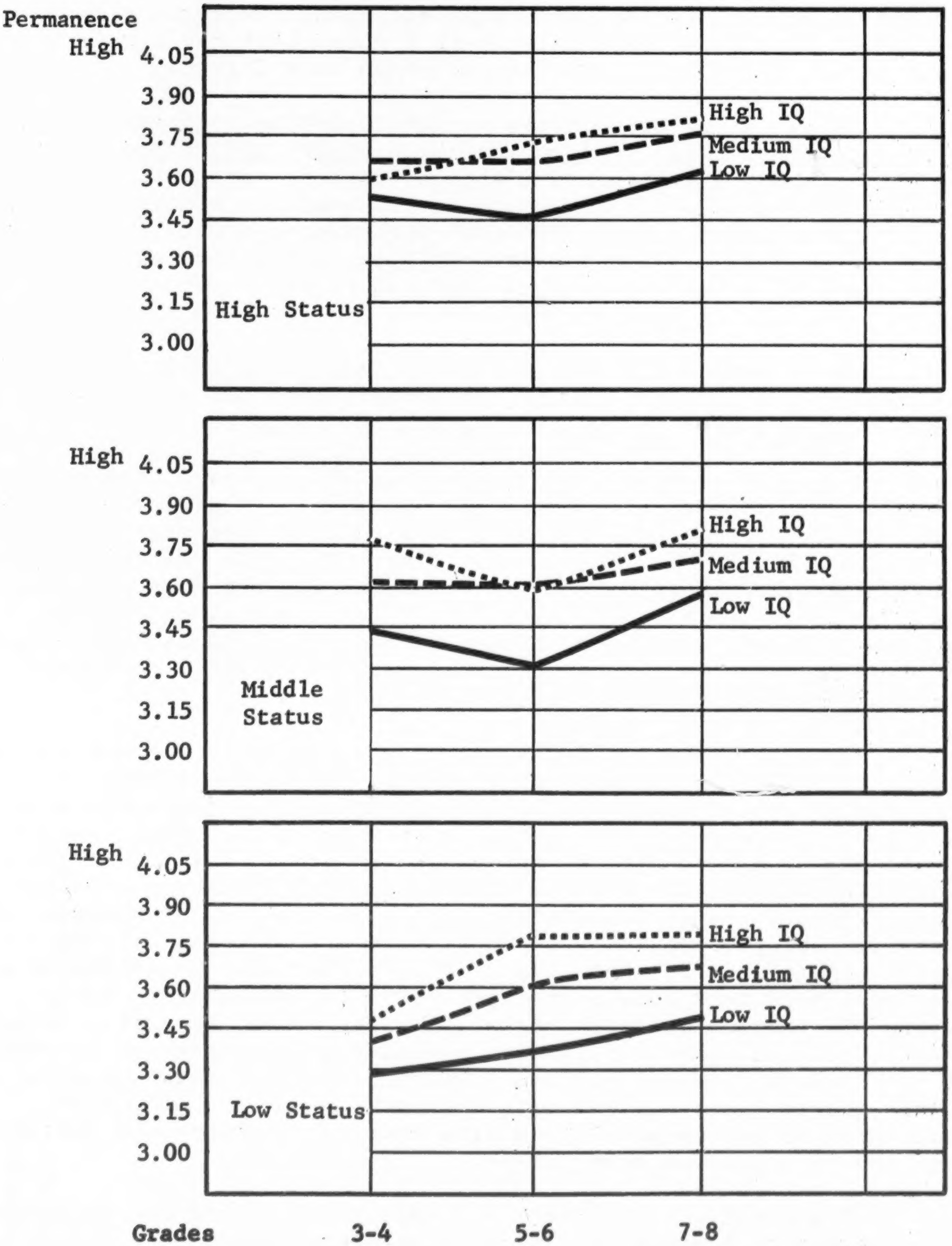
(b) Perception of the role of the citizen.--Neither social class nor IQ affects children's perception of the importance of compliance as a mark of good citizenship (Appendix G). The tendency of upper status children to see laws as less absolute did not lead to a disregard of established law. Consensus on this point may reflect the school's effectiveness in teaching obedience as a vital characteristic of citizenship.

(c) Interaction with the system.--In the same sense that personal role relationships with the President orient the child to the governmental system, the policeman is, to the child, a personal representative of the system of laws (see Chapter III). A child's interaction with the policeman is therefore important in determining his expectations concerning a more abstract system of laws.

There were only minimal differences by level of intelligence in perception of the policeman's intent--children of low intelligence rated the policeman as slightly "less willing to help" them--but these disappear by the seventh and eighth grade. Social class differences also were minimal. This suggests that virtually all children learn that the system of laws and its major personal representatives are organized to protect the individual. Judgments about the policeman's responsiveness did not decline with age,

FIGURE 53

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THEIR BELIEF THAT LAWS ARE PERMANENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Is it easy to get a law changed?

Index Scale: 1 - Easy to change
4 - Hard to change

Range of N: 73 - 476

Significance Unit: .15

suggesting that this quality of policemen is a defining role characteristic--part of the job of the policeman is to help those who need assistance. The policeman is among the first figures studied in social studies curricula, and even from cursory examination of curricular materials it is obvious that the aim is to teach the child to look upon the policeman as a friend.

Social class differences on the item "The policeman is my favorite" were marked; lower class children are more attached to the policeman. IQ differences, though present, were not so great (Figures 54 and 55). As suggested in discussing a similar finding about "attachment to the President," when compared with the middle class, lower class children seem more emotionally involved with extra-familial authority, perhaps related to their perception of family authority in less positive terms.

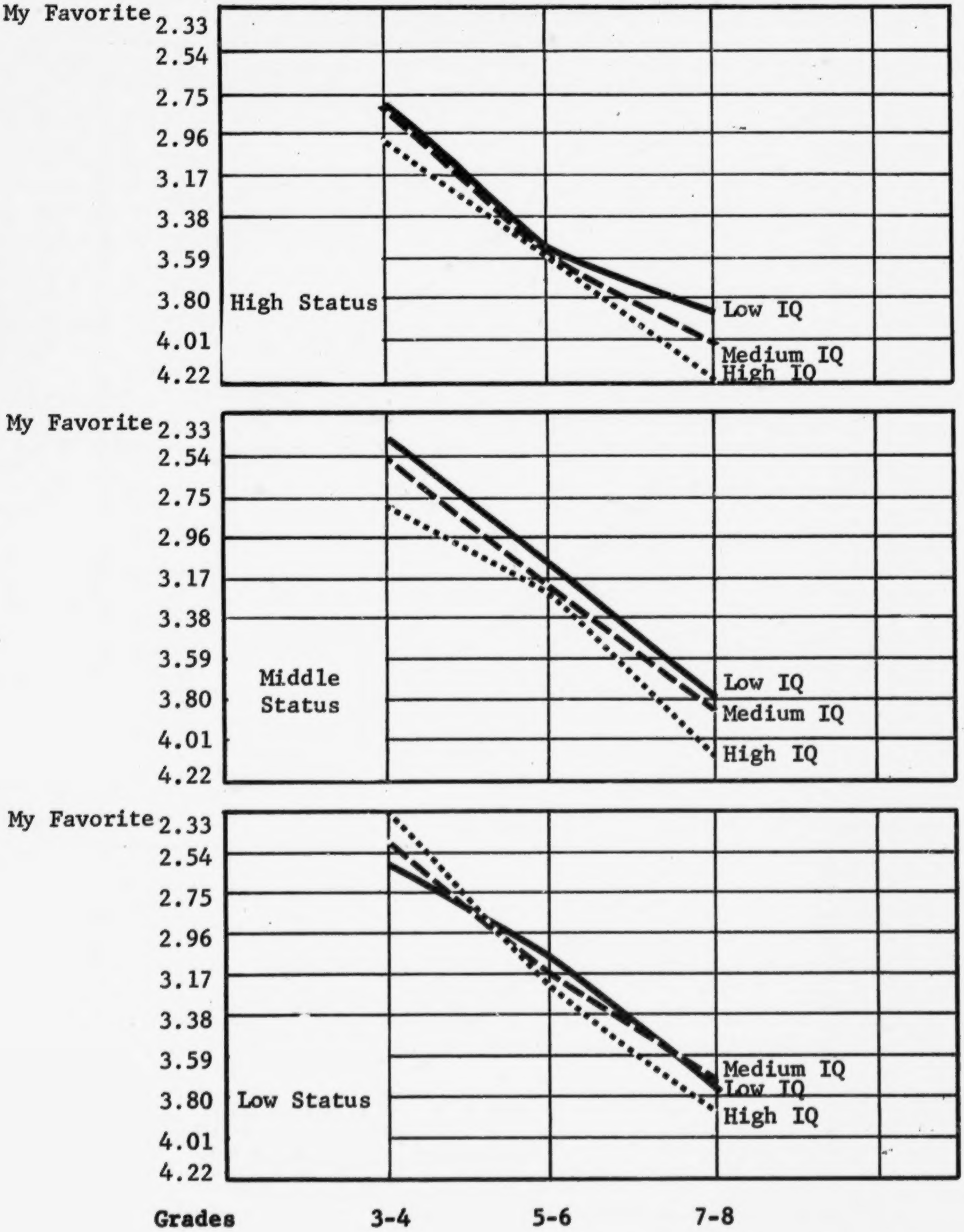
There was no difference by intelligence or social class in children's assessment of the policeman's power to punish or to "make people do what he wants." Again, the responses to these items were stable over the seven grades. These are probably defining characteristics of the policeman which show a high level of consensus. However, children of lower social status and intelligence saw the policeman's major role as "catching people who have broken the law," rather than as "helping people" or "making people obey the law" (Figures 56 and 57). Lower class children and those who absorb the school curriculum less effectively place greater emphasis upon the "cops and robbers" aspect of the policeman, which suggests that their image of policemen may be formed from experience with mass media rather than by the schools.

The only role quality item in which social class and intelligence differences appeared consistently was in assessment of how much the policeman knows. Children of high intelligence and high status were less convinced of his omniscience than others (Figures 58 and 59). Children in the upper middle classes have had experience with many men who possess a great deal of knowledge. Policemen are seen as educational inferiors by people in professional and executive occupations, but the occupation of policeman is of relatively high status to individuals in the lower class. If children use "most men" they know as the criterion for comparison, it is reasonable that children of unskilled workers sometimes will judge the policeman as more knowledgeable than men they know and children of professionals and executives will find him less knowledgeable. To the degree that children of high intelligence are also more familiar with knowledgeable men with whom they compare the policeman, the same process may operate.

The child's view of the system's power to enforce compliance was assessed by a number of items: ratings of power to "punish" and "make poeple obey" which the "Supreme Court," "government," and "Senator" possess. These items represent the compelling, coercive power of various levels and components of government, apart from the policeman, and are independent of the children's view of the

FIGURE 54

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE POLICEMAN, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: The policeman is my favorite of all.

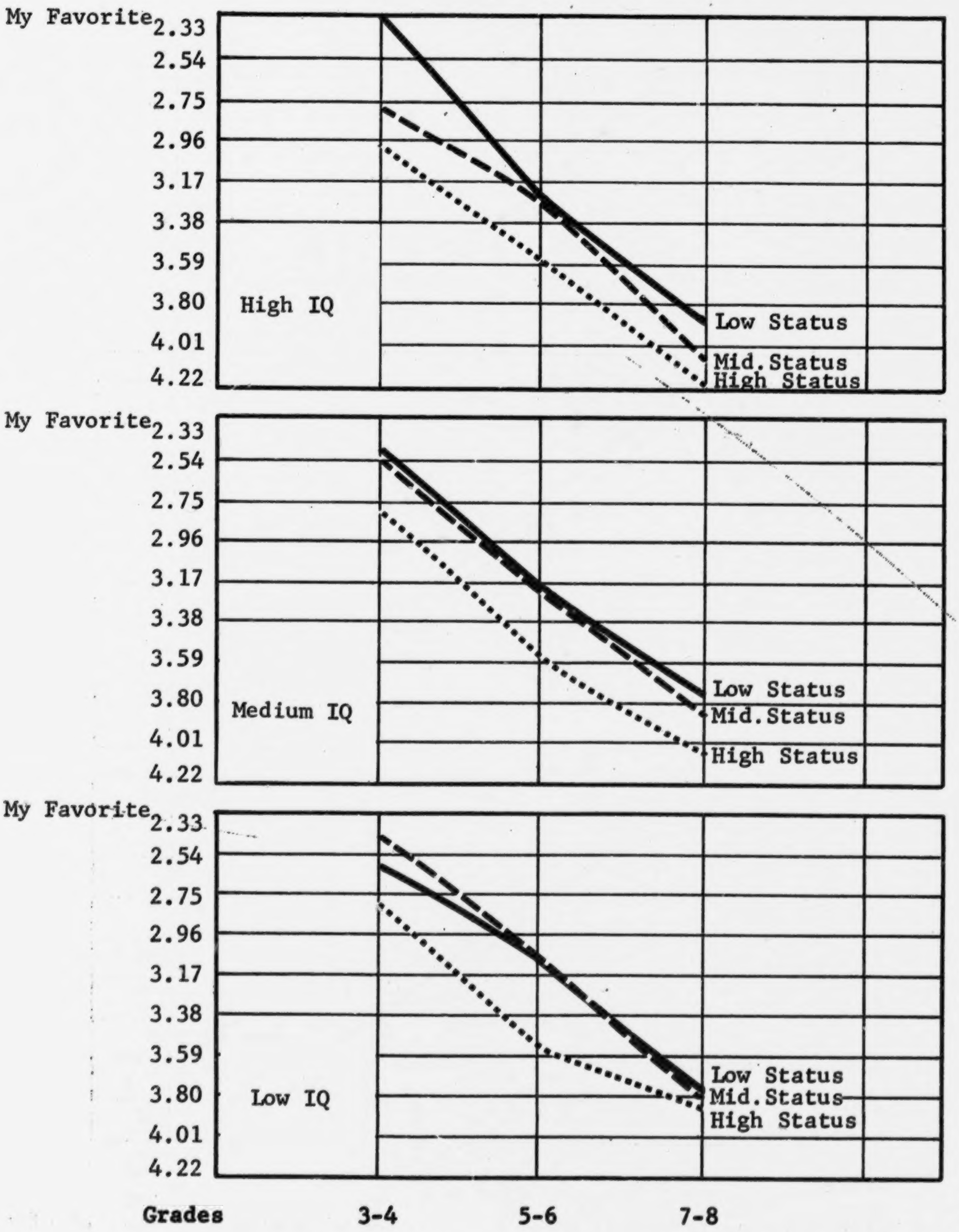
Index Scale: 1 - Favorite of all
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 72 - 622

Significance Unit: .21

FIGURE 55

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE POLICEMAN, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: The policeman is my favorite of all.

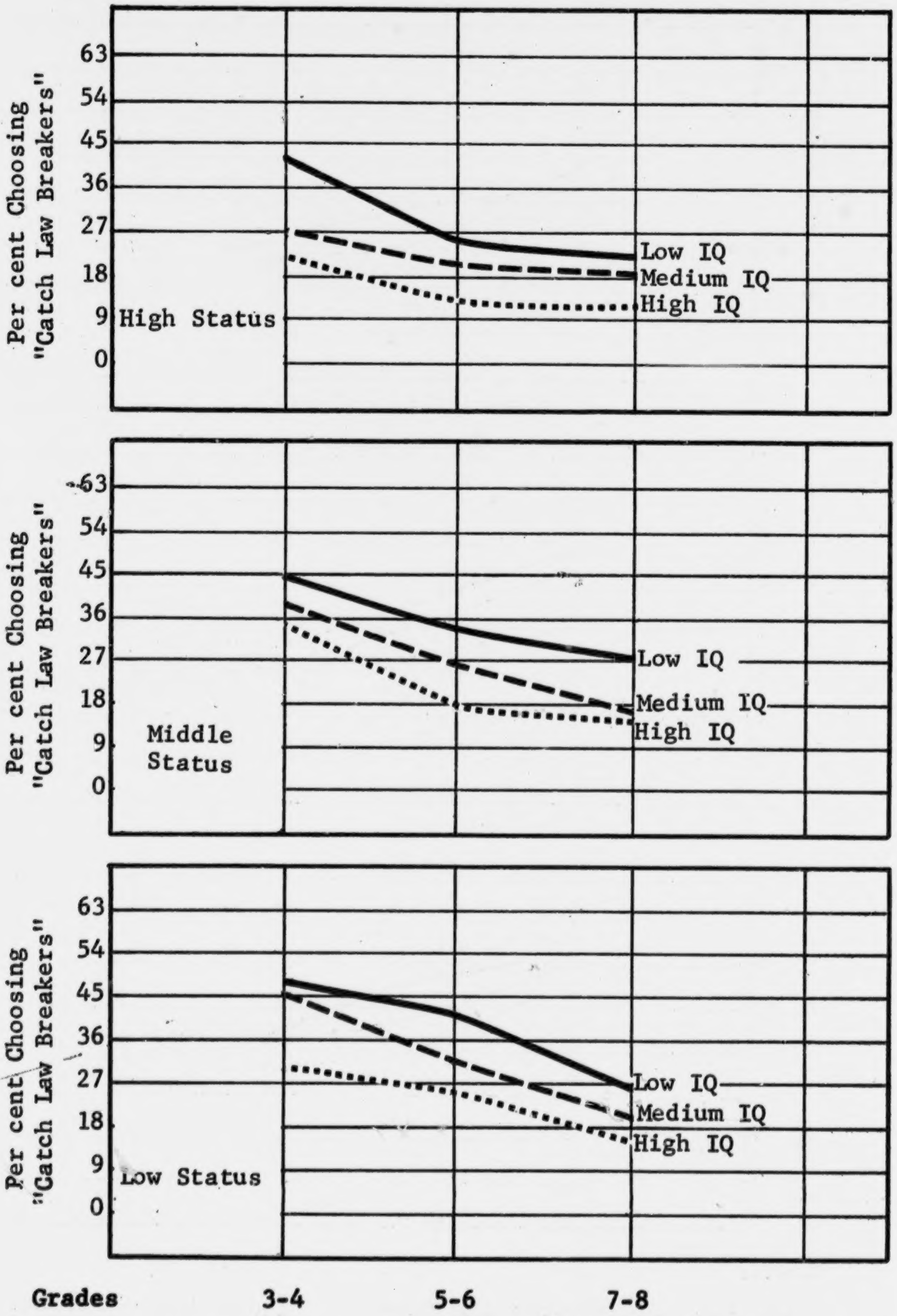
Index Scale: 1 - Favorite of all
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 72 - 622

Significance Unit: .21

FIGURE 56

COMPARISON OF IQ GROUPS IN CHOICE OF "CATCH LAW BREAKERS" AS MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE POLICEMAN'S ROLE, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Which is most important for the policeman to do: Make people obey law, help people, or catch law breakers?

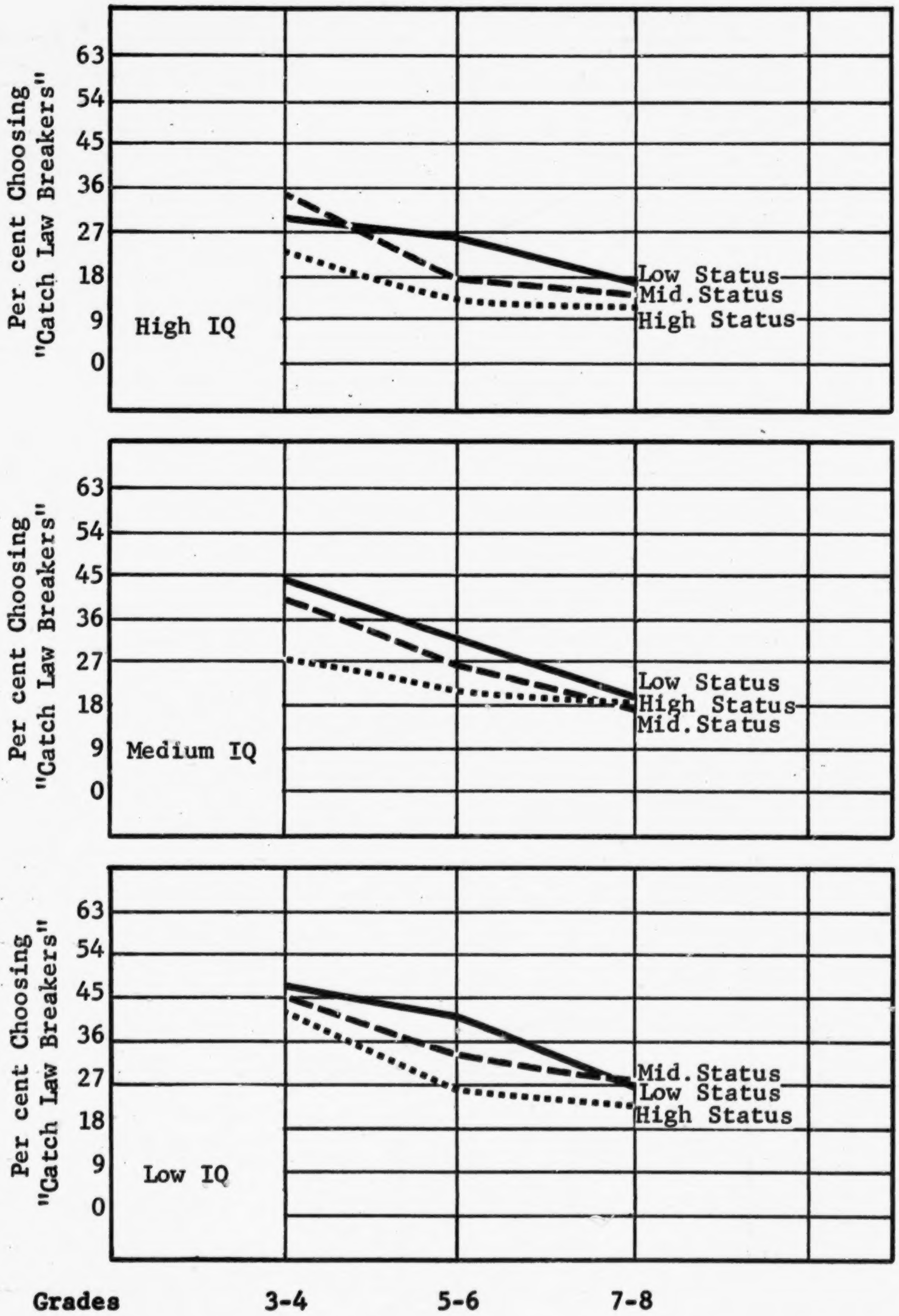
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 33 - 565

Significance Unit: 9%

FIGURE 57

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN CHOICE OF "CATCH LAW BREAKERS" AS MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE POLICEMAN'S ROLE, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: What is the most important thing for the policeman to do: Make people obey law, help people, or catch law breakers?

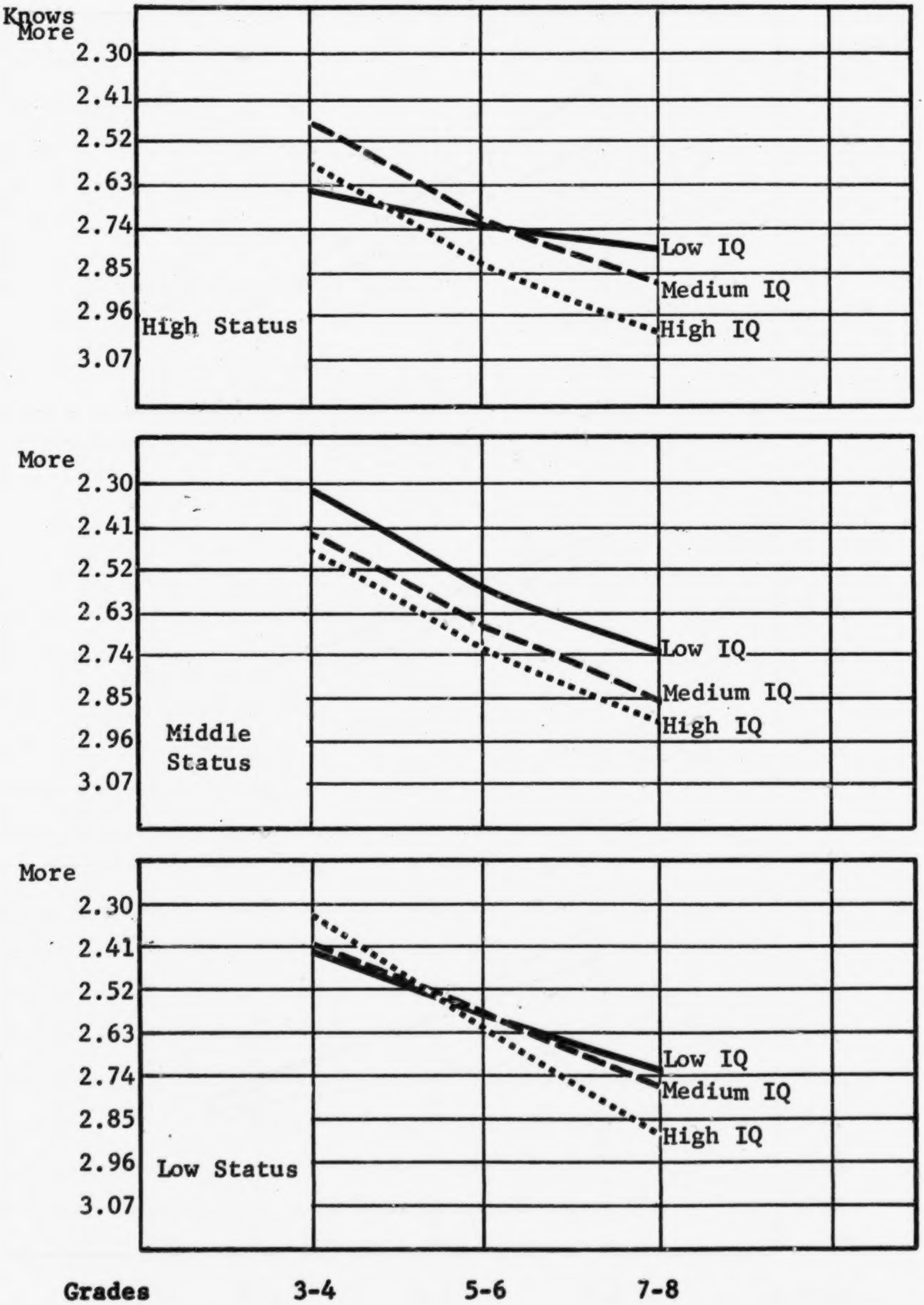
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 33 - 565

Significance Unit: 9%

FIGURE 58

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE OF THE POLICEMAN (KNOWLEDGE), WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: The policeman knows more than anyone.

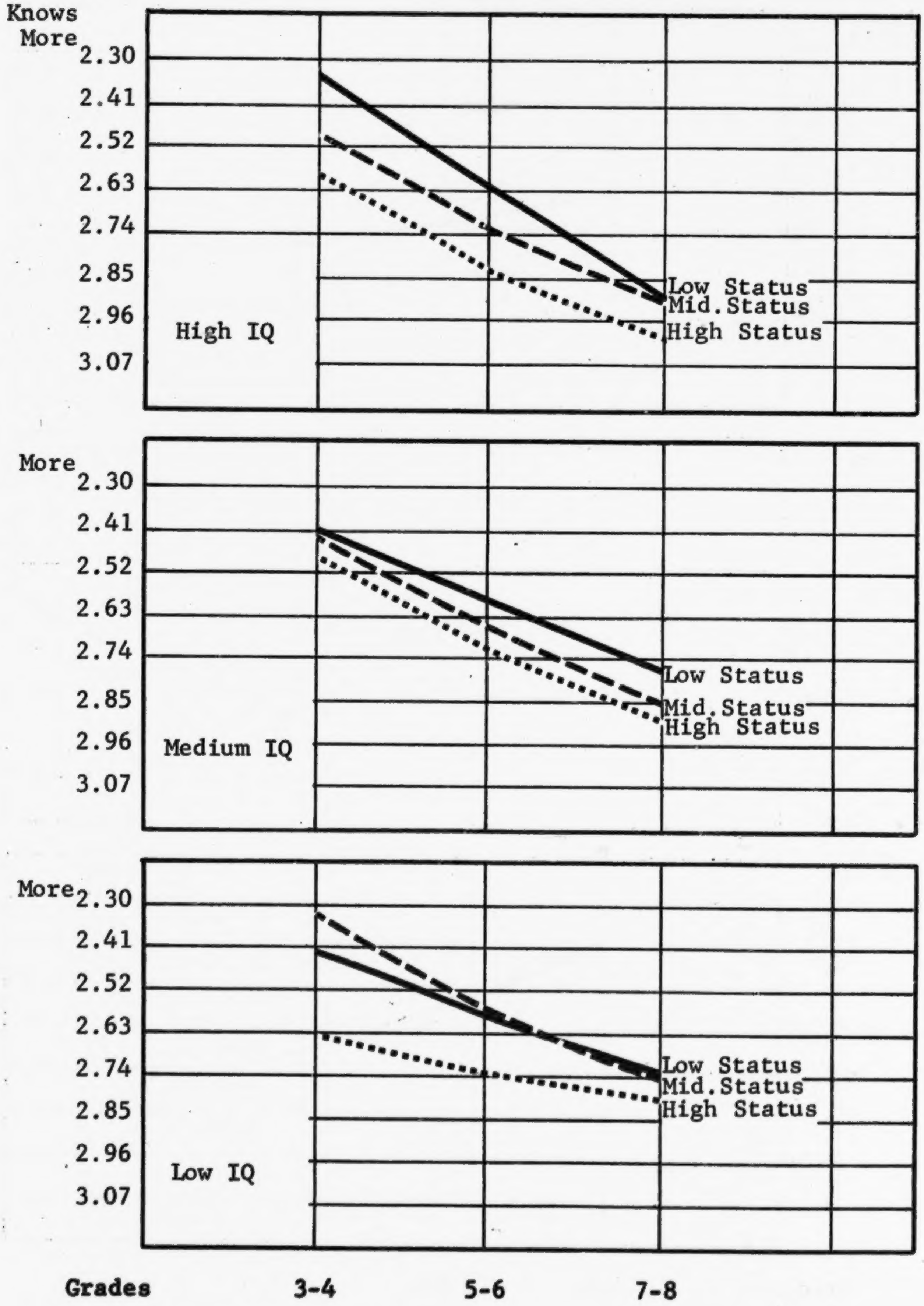
Index Scale: 1 - More
6 - Less

Range of N: 71 - 564

Significance Unit: .11

FIGURE 59

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN RATING THE ROLE PERFORMANCE OF THE POLICEMAN (KNOWLEDGE), WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: The policeman knows more than anyone.

Index Scale: 1 - More
6 - Less

Range of N: 71 - 564

Significance Unit: .11

justice of established law. The child's respect for the President's power showed social class differences at certain ages; but these do not, in our opinion, indicate consistent social class variations. The same is true for ratings of the "power of the average U.S. Senator." Perception of the President as powerful is established at a fairly early age and is uninfluenced by school learning. The image of the President as the "supreme authority" in the political system seems to be consensual.

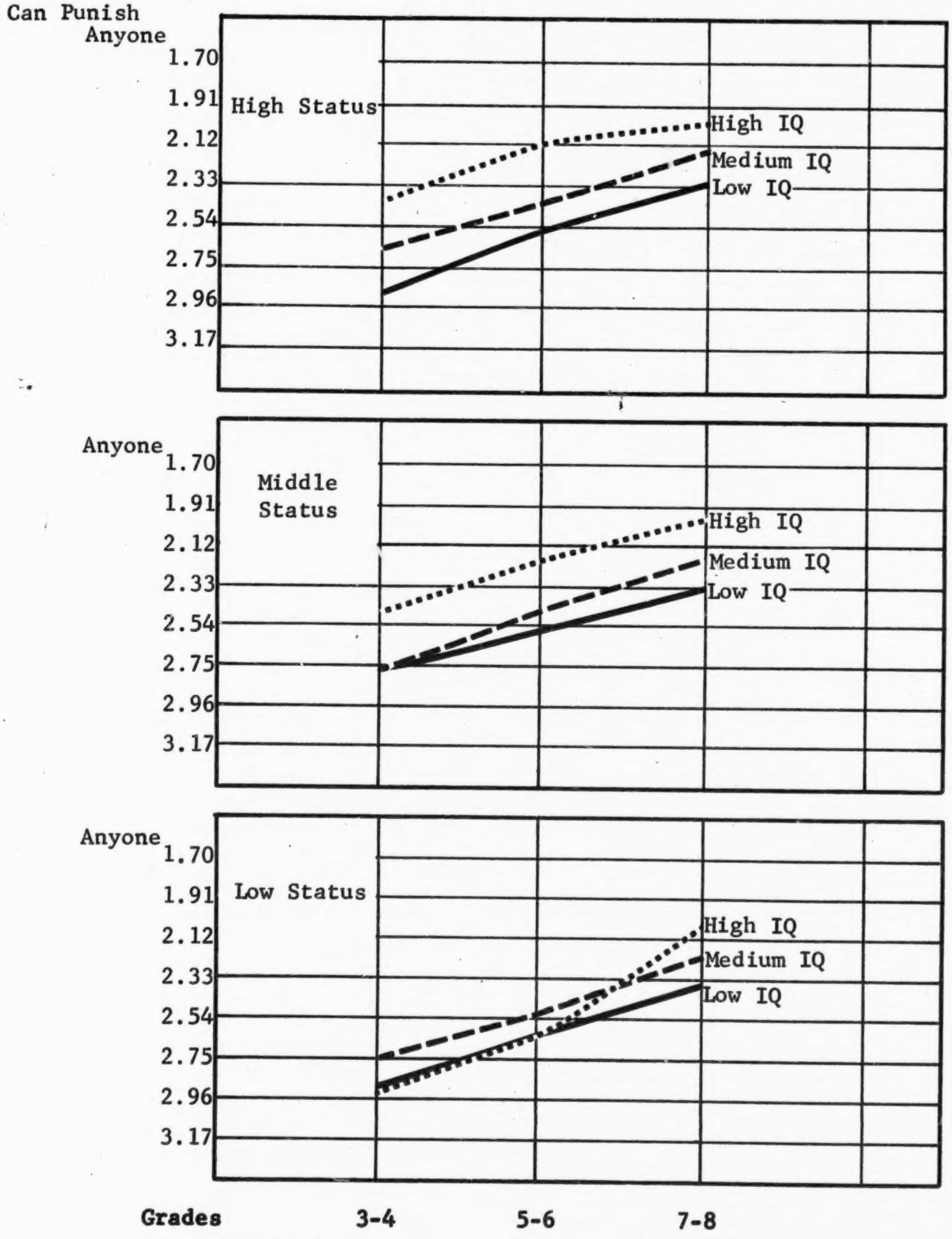
These items showed relatively few age differences, except as previously noted. Assessing the power of the Supreme Court and of the government as an institutional whole increased positively, consistent with the general tendency for children to see government in institutional rather than personal terms. As suggested earlier, the relatively bright child learns this lesson from formal classroom instruction at an early age. When compared with the low IQ group, the high IQ groups perceived that both the Supreme Court and the government had more power to punish (Figures 60 and 61). This attribution of power to institutions rather than to persons occurred earlier for children of high intelligence. Social class differences were less pronounced on this item. Home and school may combine to reinforce an institutionalized view of government among children of high intelligence, permitting them to form this view from a school curriculum which does not stress this topic until grade six or later. This hypothesis is supported by observing that intelligence differences for both of these items were least marked in the lower classes at early grade levels.

The children's view of the citizen's response to the system's demands for compliance was measured by two items: one dealing with the consequences of disregarding law; the other dealing with the appropriate response for a citizen to law enforcement officers who are in error. In the first of these, IQ differences were evident (Figure 62). Children in high IQ groups were less convinced that all those who disobey the law will be punished. This is consistent with findings reported earlier concerning the low tolerance for ambiguities in the legal system which seems characteristic of less intelligent children. Dolger and Ginandes (1946) reported that children from lower classes prescribe harsher punishments for crimes, but their study did not control for intelligence.

The item which deals with a citizen's response to the policeman who is in error showed no social class or IQ differences. Age trends appeared on this item, but apparently they represent developmental, age-related tendencies for children to feel less awe for authority as they grow older. This absence of social class and IQ differences in children's response to a policeman who asks them to do something they feel is wrong is congruent with the absence of social class and IQ differences in assessing the policeman's power.

FIGURE 60

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN RATING THE PUNITIVE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: The Supreme Court can punish anyone.

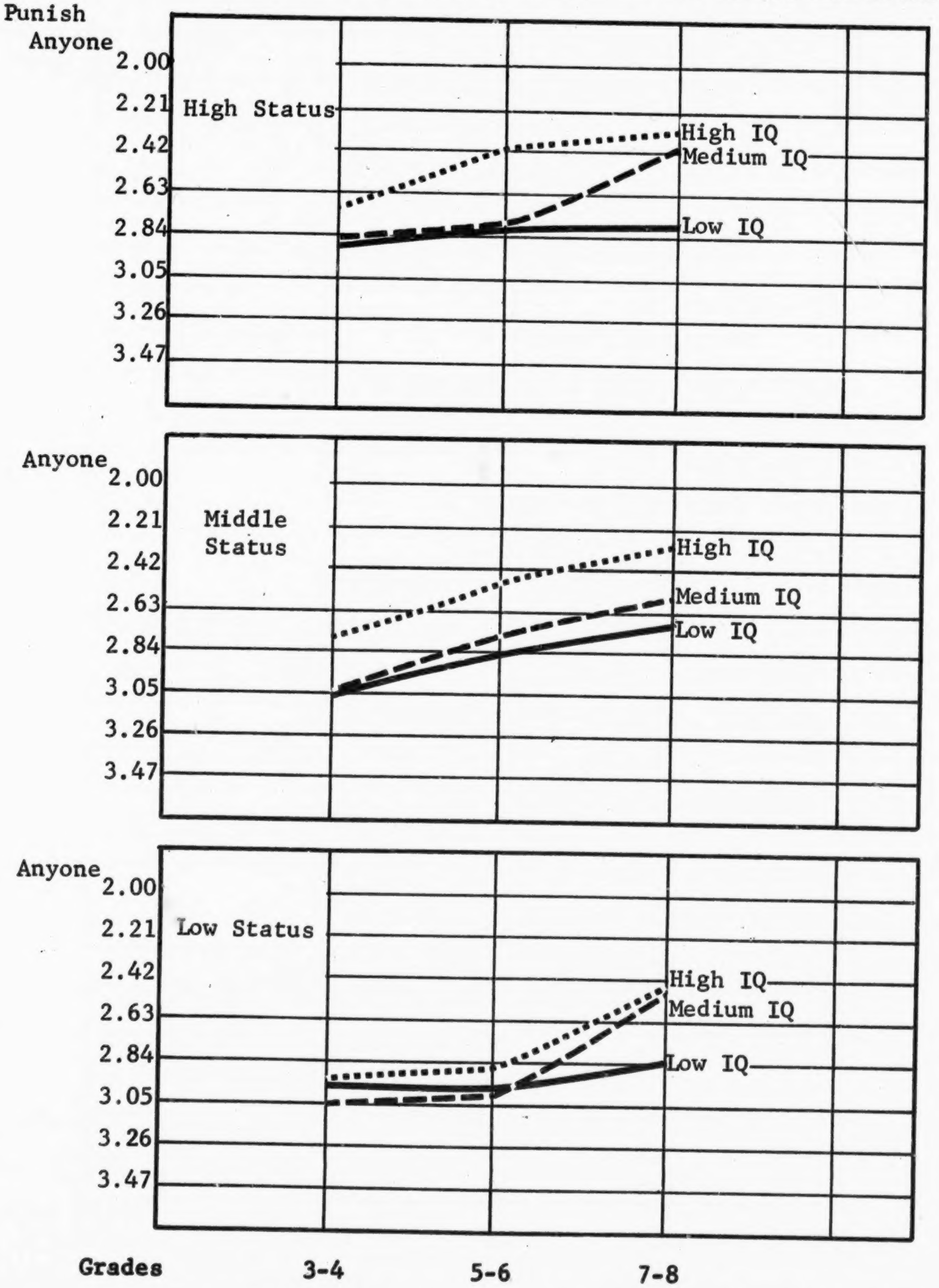
Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - No one

Range of N: 28 - 543

Significance Unit: .21

FIGURE 61

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN RATING THE PUNITIVE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: The government can punish anyone.

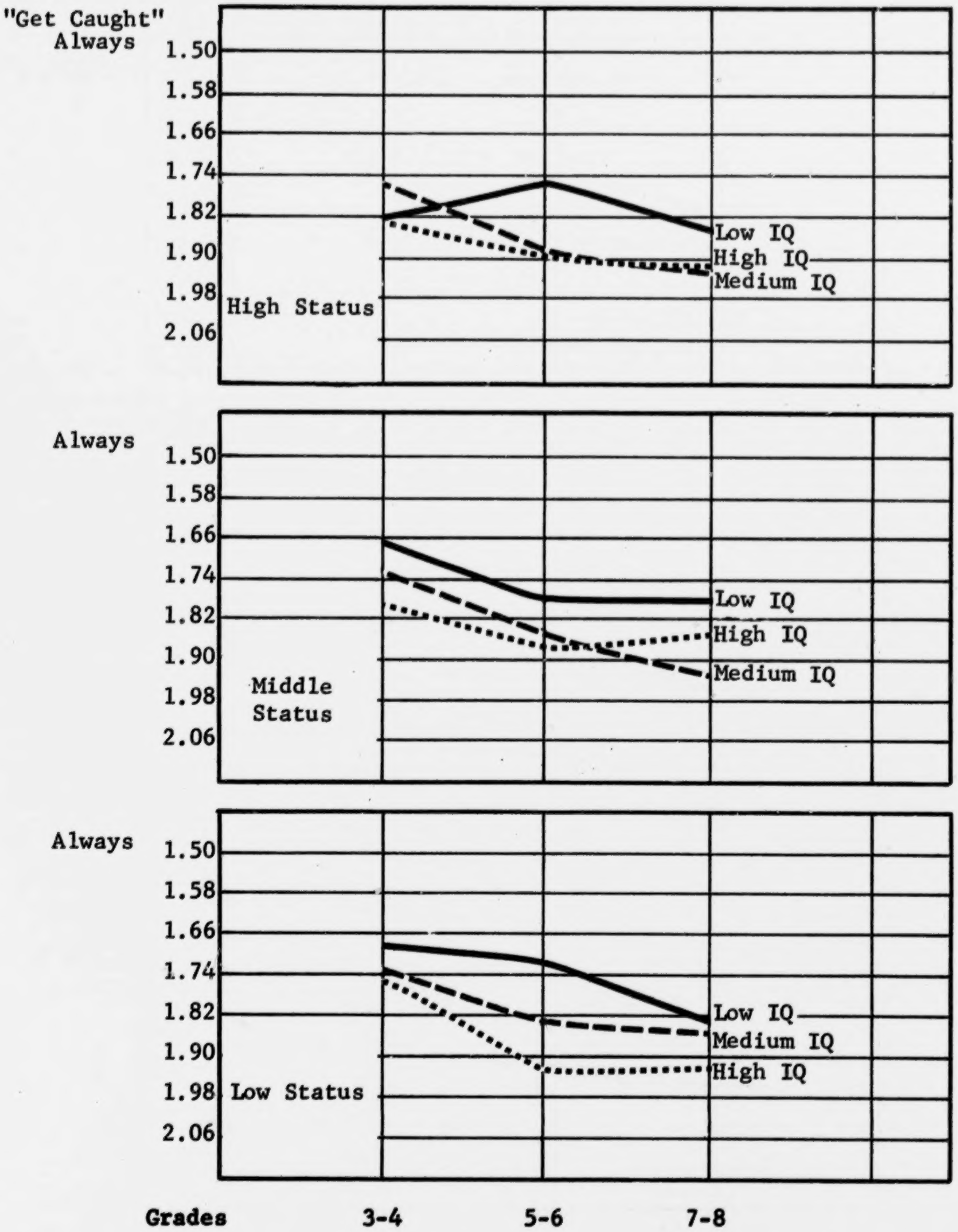
Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - No one

Range of N: 81 - 552

Significance Unit: .21

FIGURE 62

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN PERCEPTION OF THE SUCCESS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: People who break laws always get caught.

Index Scale: 1 - Always
4 - Never

Range of N: 72 - 615

Significance Unit: .08

(5) Influencing government policy

Perhaps the most critical element in the complex interaction between the citizen and the government is his perception of his own ability to influence the governing process. This view includes a conception of the government's responsiveness to persons and to groups and an image of his own role--the effective action he can take and the methods by which he can make his opinions known. This aspect of the role relationship between the government and the individual citizen is essential for the functioning of a democracy. It is this behavior toward which the individual child must be directed if he is to act effectively as an adult citizen. The influence of the home and the school join to produce a participating citizen who feels efficacious in influencing office holders and policy-making units.

Family influence focuses on developing a sense of respect and attachment to the system and may also encourage the child's interest in current affairs and national topics and his participation as a member of community groups. Although the child's attachment to the system and his orientation toward compliance with the rules and regulations required by group membership may transfer directly from the family to other groups and organizations, it is more difficult to argue that a feeling of participation in the decision-making processes of the national government can be generalized from experience within the family. The influence of the family may be more directly relevant in the development of attitudes of affiliation and compliance than it is in the organization of a sense of personal efficacy and ability to influence the system. The family's impact in this area is more likely to come from the child's observation of his parents' behavior and from identification with their pattern of participation and expressions of efficacy, than from the child's experience of effectiveness in influencing family decisions. The child's perception of familial models for political activity differs by social class. There is evidence that the high status individuals express more interest in politics than do lower status persons. Also, high status adults receive more institutional support for engaging in political activity than do persons in the working class. Children may use these observations in formulating their own expectations about the efficacy of political involvement.

This feeling of effectiveness vis à vis the political system is related to earlier stages of attachment and compliance. Evidence presented previously demonstrates the blind faith of young children in the benevolence and omniscience of the President and the government. So long as this unquestioning trust persists, there is presumably little need for the child to exercise control or influence in the governmental activities. If government need not be influenced--if it is so protective, so strong, and so perfect that the citizen's needs are automatically served--participation is unnecessary. The child who is strongly attached in this elementary fashion would not be likely to develop attitudes which lead to political involvement. It is necessary for him to shift from these early idealistic orientations toward the system to a view of government that permits and encourages his participation; there must be a reorientation or differentiation in the child's perception so that he will see the government in more complex terms. Compared to the young child's idealization, this ramified conception of the government is less positive, more cautious in character. In a publication in 1943, Tuttle considered the dysfunctional consequences of attempted inculcation of unquestioning obedience as a character trait. He called obedience a temporary protection for the child and a convenience to society. Unquestioning obedience negates the free choice which democracy requires.

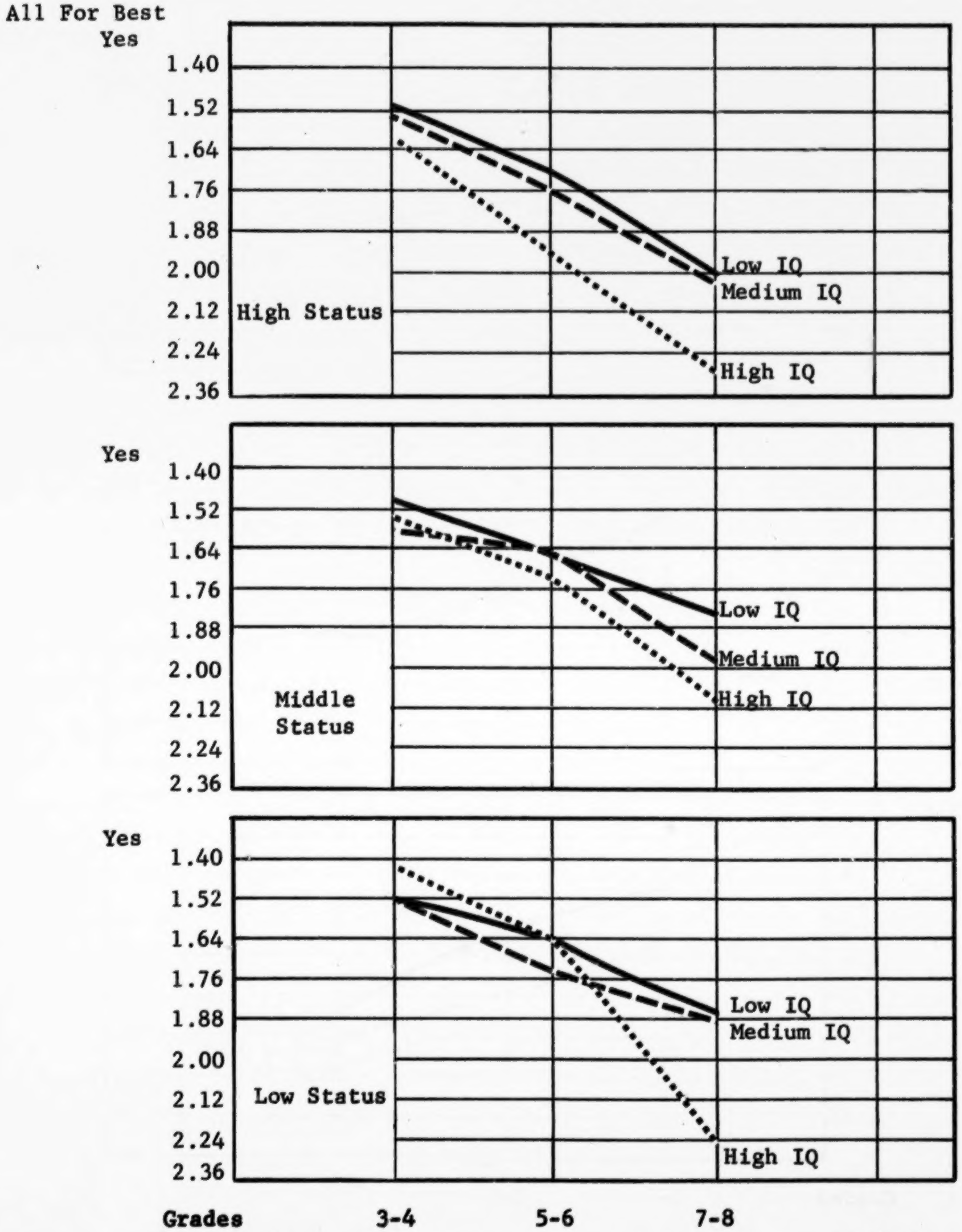
This reorientation in the view of the government and its operation is presumably related to information obtained at school; that is, teaching in the classroom should give the child a more realistic perception of government, redirecting his earlier attachment and compliance orientations. The school provides a more complex conceptualization of the system. The data presented in this section will allow an evaluation of the relative influence of the family and the school and of the impact of information and cognitive elements in the development of efficacy.

(a) Conception of the system and the role of the citizen.--High IQ children have more reservations about the competence of the government than do low status children. The child's image of government and governmental processes changes dramatically during the elementary school years. Unlike the young children who perceive the government as an undifferentiated object, older children regard the government as more complex and differentiated and characterize the system more by institutional and formal rules than by personalities and personal interaction. The eighth grader is much less idealistic, has much less trust in the beneficence of government and its officials. These changes are illustrated by the item, "What goes on in the government is all for the best." Although the entire group maintains a basic trust in government, the older subjects express greater reservation.

The results of an analysis of the relationship of intelligence to the child's image of government are summarized in Figure 63. There were also some social class divergencies but the pattern was not consistent. The differences between intelligence groups were much greater and were also largest at higher grade levels. The differences between high and low IQ groups at grades seven and eight, for example, were more than two significance units in two out of the three social class groupings. In perception of the government, the children of low intelligence at grade eight were approximately equivalent to children of high intelligence at grades five and six. The impact of cognitive ability as a mediating variable is considerably greater than the effects of social class. There was also a difference between IQ groups in rating the President's infallibility (Figure 64). Brighter children were less likely to say that the President is perfect in performing his

FIGURE 63

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN BELIEF THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS "ALL FOR THE BEST", WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Is what goes on in the government all for the best?

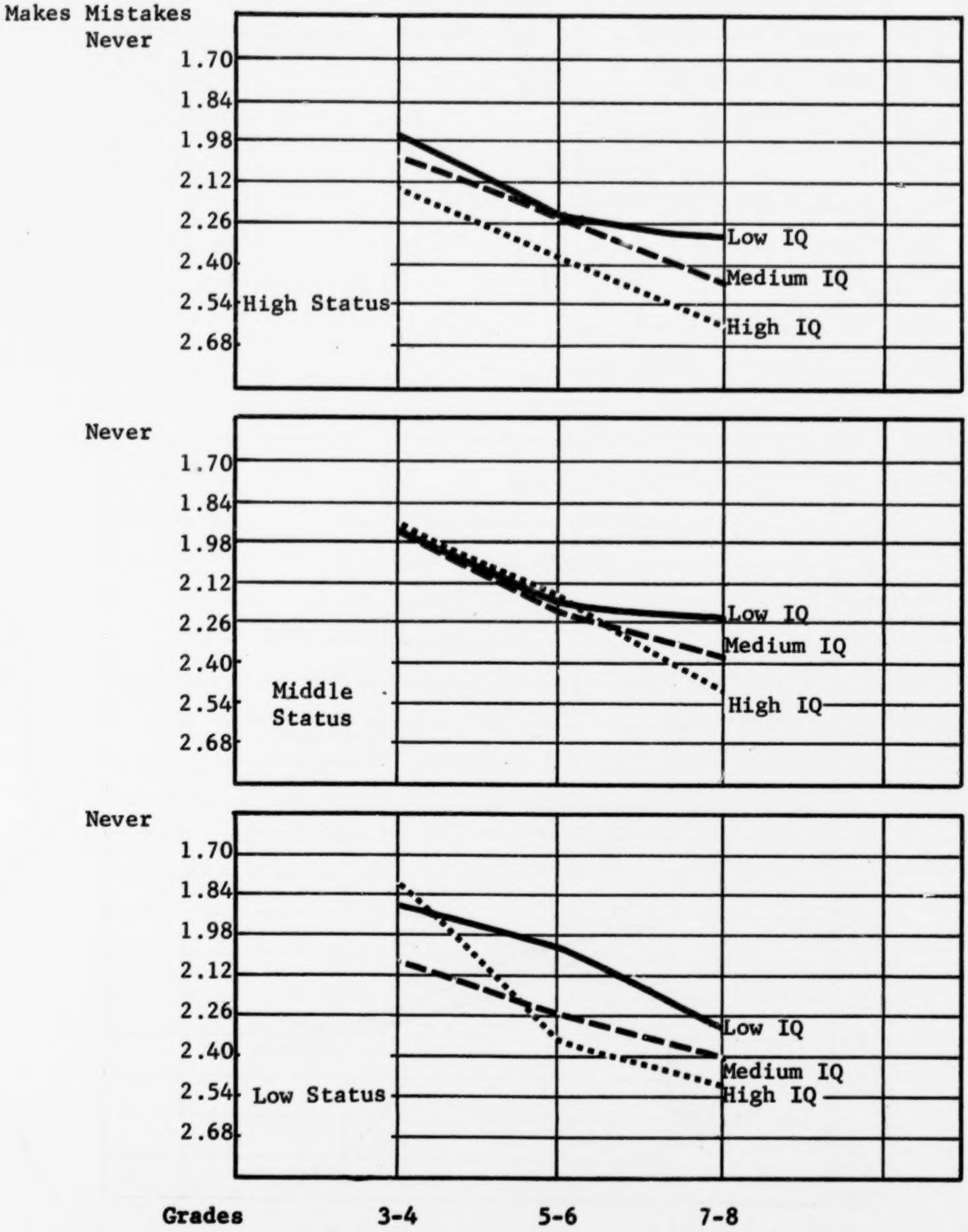
Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 -

Range of N: 61 - 527

Significance Unit: .12

FIGURE 64

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN RATING THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE PRESIDENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: The President almost never makes mistakes.

Index Scale: 1 - Almost never
6 - Almost always

Range of N: 34 - 566

Significance Unit: .14

administrative duties. This is congruent with the greater tendency of brighter children to be skeptical about "what goes on in the government."

This decline in assessment of the government and its representatives as completely reliable, good, and infallible is understood more clearly in relation to a concurrent rise in regard for the specific institutions of government. The Congress and the Supreme Court (and in some respects, the government) are judged more positively on certain characteristics by older children. For example, Chapter III documents the fact that the evaluation of the power and general competence of the government rises with age. This decline in rating of the absolute benevolence and infallibility of both figures and institutions, which parallels the rise in recognition of the government as institutional rather than personal, makes vigilance and involvement on the part of the citizen more crucial. The data presented point out the role of cognitive factors in mediating this change in view of the governmental system.

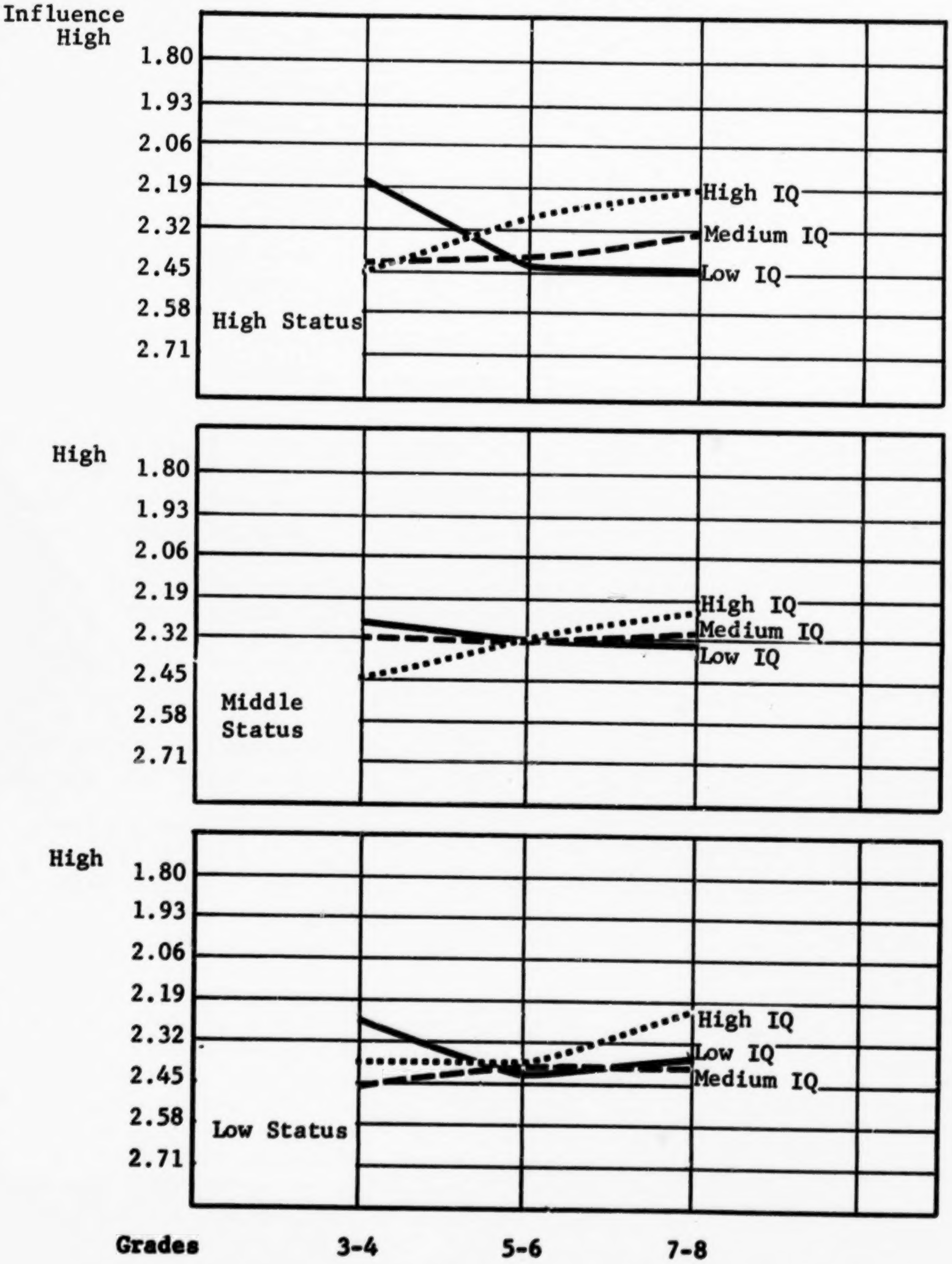
It is apparently not social class or family milieu that effect a change in the child's conception of the government but information and teaching provided by the school that encourage the child to view government with certain reservations. This decline in unquestioned faith is part of the process of political socialization and is essential to the emergence of assertive political involvement. The citizen who believes in the inevitable trustworthiness of those in charge has little cause or need to participate to insure that his own desires and wishes are being heeded. This changing image and the effect of cognitive processes in bringing it about seem to be a focal point in the emergence of a mature, politically-involved citizen.

The child's knowledge of the process by which influence may be brought to bear on legislation was indexed by ratings of figures and groups on how much influence they can exert on legislative decisions. Social class differences in perception of the legislative influence of groups and individuals were minimal; in some items lower-class students viewed all groups, particularly churches, as more influential. There was a similar tendency in children of low intelligence to rate all pressure groups as highly effective.

Data on one of these questions are shown in Figure 65. While there was a tendency at grades three-four for children of lower intelligence to rate the average person's influence on lawmaking relatively high, this trend was reversed at the seventh-eighth grade period. These findings are consistent with the importance schools place upon individual political activity. More intelligent children absorb the belief in individual political effectiveness which is taught by the school. The average person was rated by high IQ, high status children as less influential than unions, about as influential as rich people, and slightly more influential than big companies, newspapers, and churches. Children's perception of the importance of citizens' interest in the government does not vary by intelligence or social status.

FIGURE 65

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN RATING THE INFLUENCE OF THE AVERAGE CITIZEN ON LEGISLATION, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: How much does the average citizen help decide which laws are made for our country?

Index Scale: 1 - Very much
4 - Not at all

Range of N: 29 - 546

Significance Unit: .13

(b) Interaction with the system.--Coordinate with perception of the good citizen's role is the child's conception of the political system's responsiveness to attempts that adults, and particularly his own family, make to influence it. Since a feeling of efficacy of political action is a paramount goal of socialization it is important to understand the circumstances that foster these feelings.

The sense of political efficacy is higher in children of high intelligence and high social status (Figures 66 and 67). The effects of both social class and intelligence were marked and represent impacts as great as any on the indices discussed in this report. Social class differences were large, even at the third and fourth grades, and increased with age. Differences between IQ groups were even more marked than those between social class levels; the low IQ group was three or four years behind the high IQ group in the development of a sense of efficacy. The eighth-grade child of low intelligence was scarcely above the highly intelligent third or fourth grader. Moreover, differences between IQ groups increased with age. Table 60 shows the magnitude of change between grades three and four and grades seven and eight for the low status, middle status, and high status groups by level of IQ.

TABLE 60

THE RELATION OF IQ TO INCREASE IN EFFICACY
(Magnitude of Change in Mean Efficacy Score:
Grades 7-8 Minus Grades 3-4)

Intelligence	Low Status	Middle Status	High Status
High	3.3	3.6	3.9
Medium	3.6	2.6	3.1
Low	2.2	2.6	2.8

Both the rate of change and the absolute level of this kind of involvement showed great divergence among groups. As in previous times, the importance of the school as a socializing agent is underlined by the increments that are related to intelligence. This suggests that socialization toward political involvement is retarded in children whose intelligence is below average.

The child's own response to his perception of the citizen's role and the responsiveness of the system was reflected in the item, "How interested are you in current events?" This item also showed no social class differences at any age. The differences that appeared at grades seven and eight were related to the intelligence of the child (Figure 68). The greater interest reported by the high intelligence group may reflect a more general interest in events of

FIGURE 66

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THEIR SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE

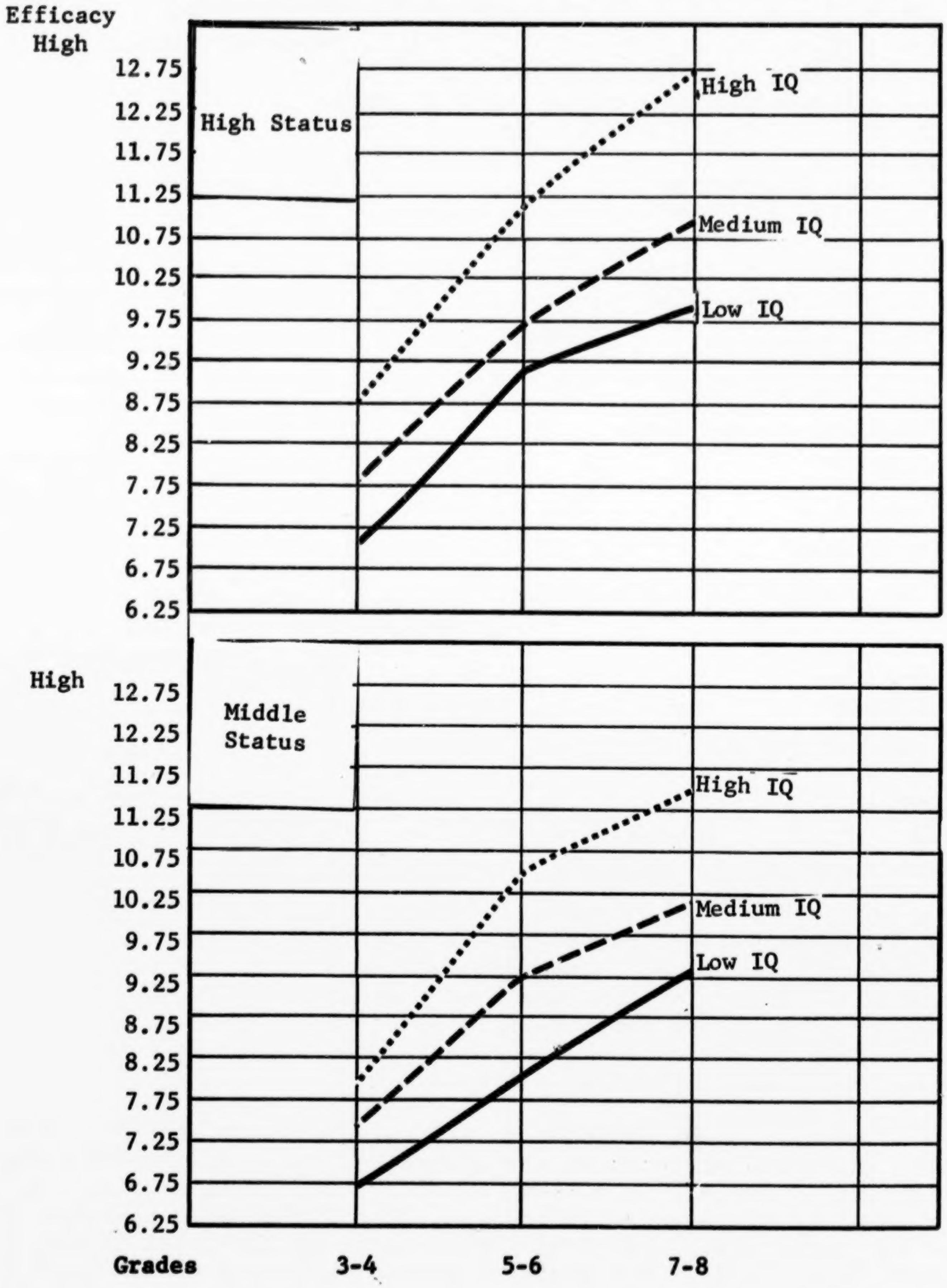
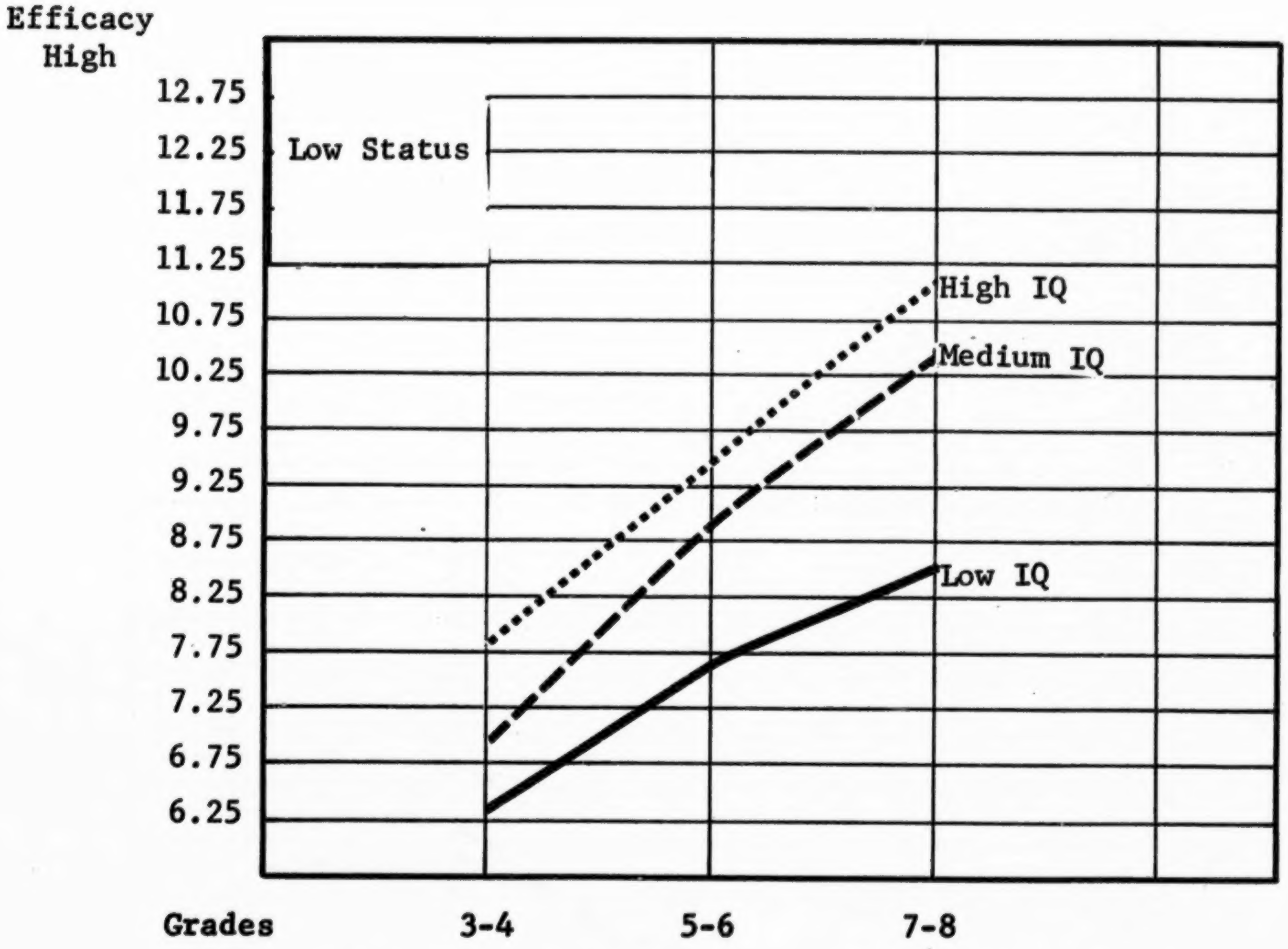


FIGURE 66--Continued



Item: Combination of five items concerning perception of government's responsiveness to citizens' attempts to influence it.

Index Scale: 1 - Low
16 - High

Range of N: 55 - 534

Significance Unit: .50

FIGURE 67

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN THEIR SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE

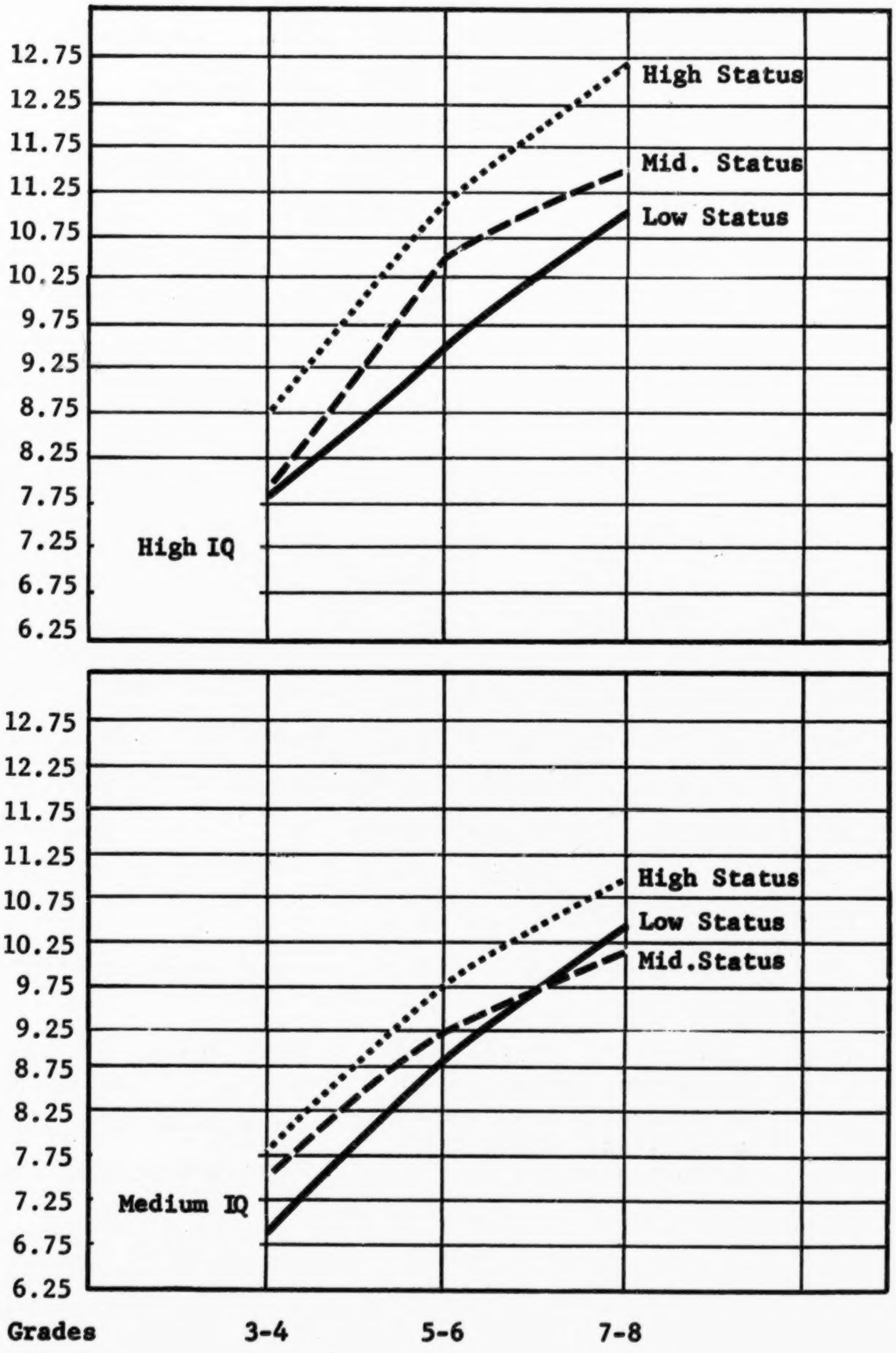
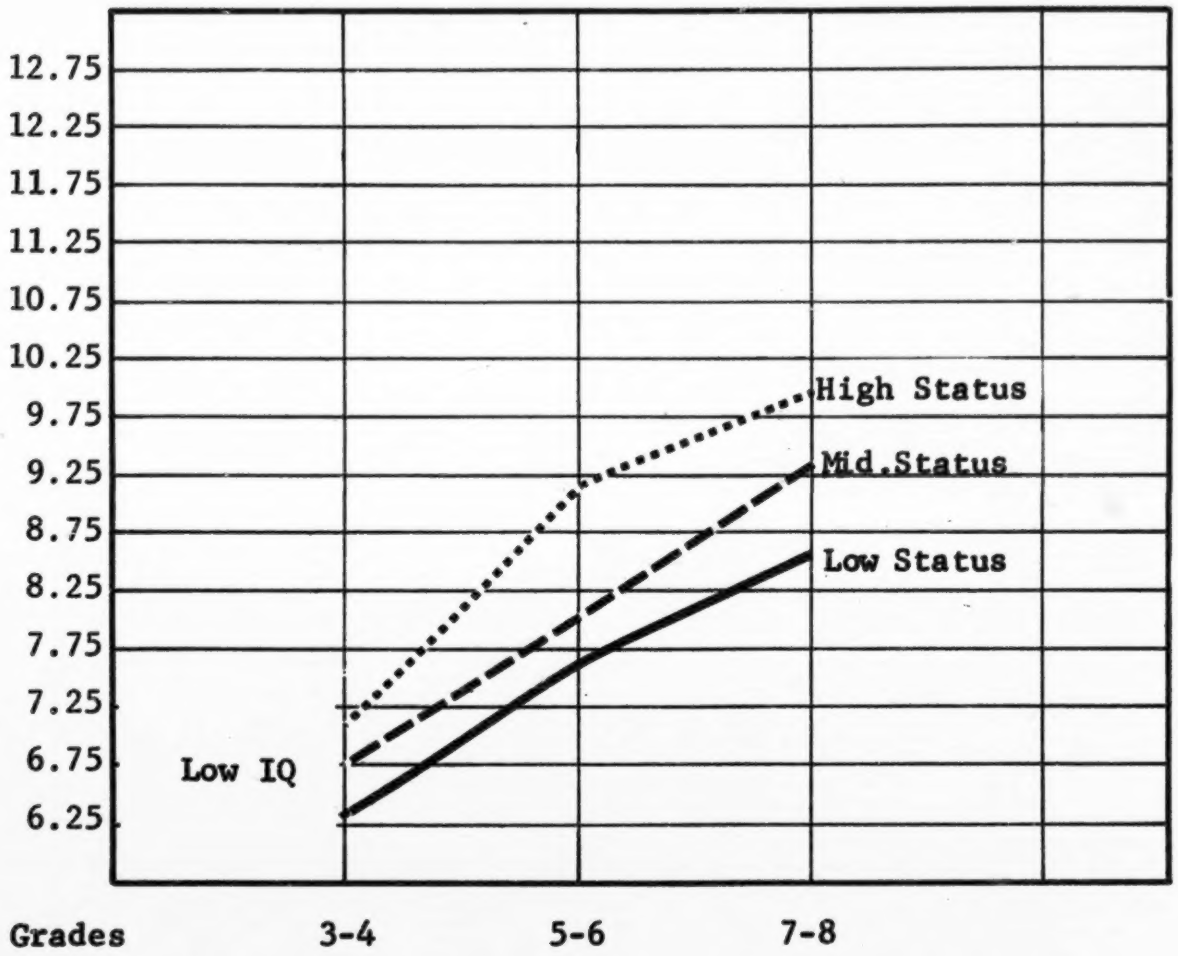


FIGURE 67--Continued



Item: Combination of five items concerning perception of government's responsiveness to citizens' attempts to influence it.

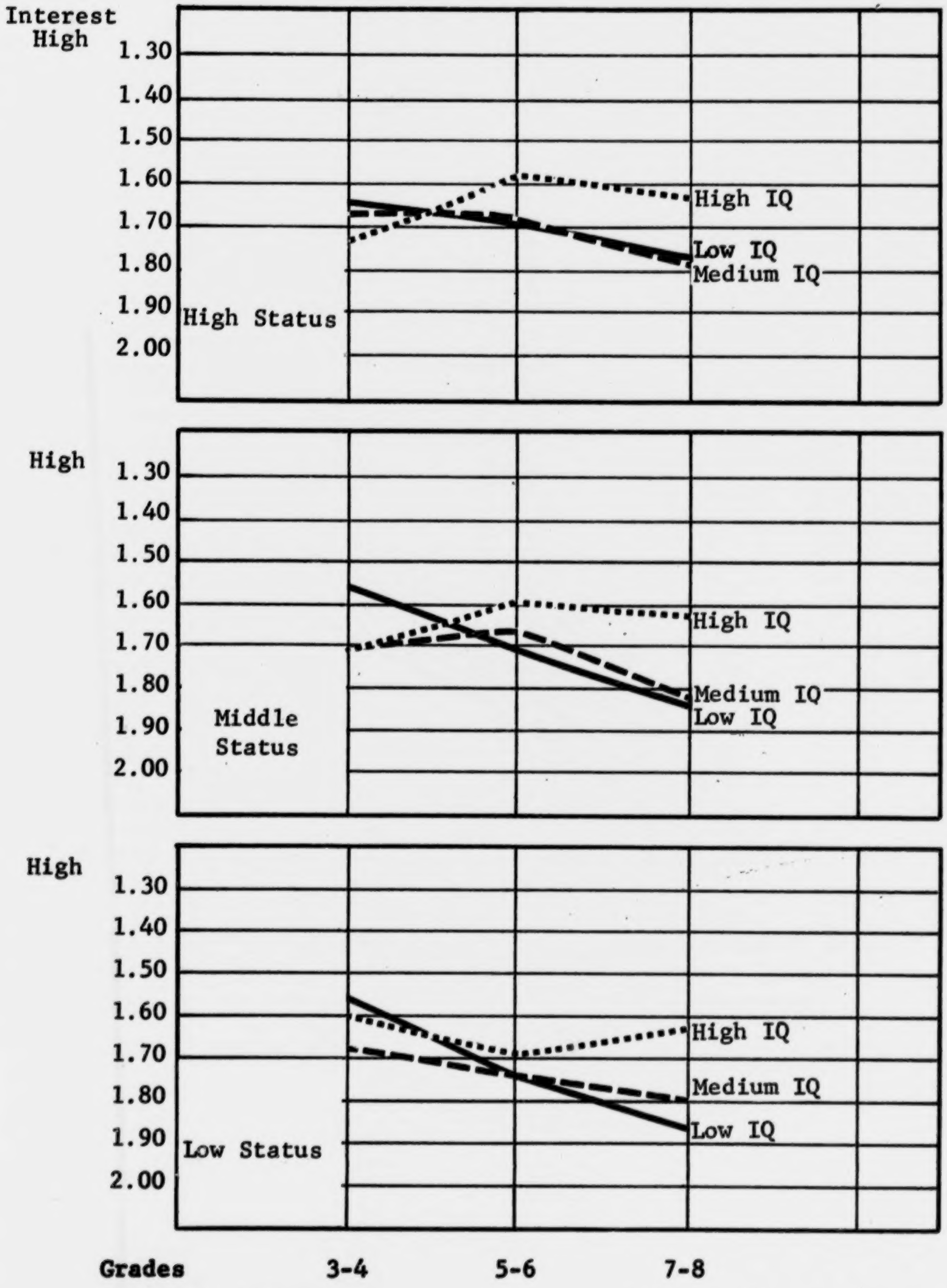
Index Scale: 1 - Low
16 - High

Range of N: 55 - 534

Significance Unit: .50

FIGURE 68

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN POLITICAL INTEREST, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: How interested are you in the government and current events?

Index Scale: 1 - High
3 - Low

Range of N: 72 - 627

Significance Unit: .10

the external world, possibly reinforced by a belief that the citizen should be interested in government and a greater understanding of current affairs as presented in the mass media. This increased comprehension may, in turn, motivate the child to follow current events regularly.

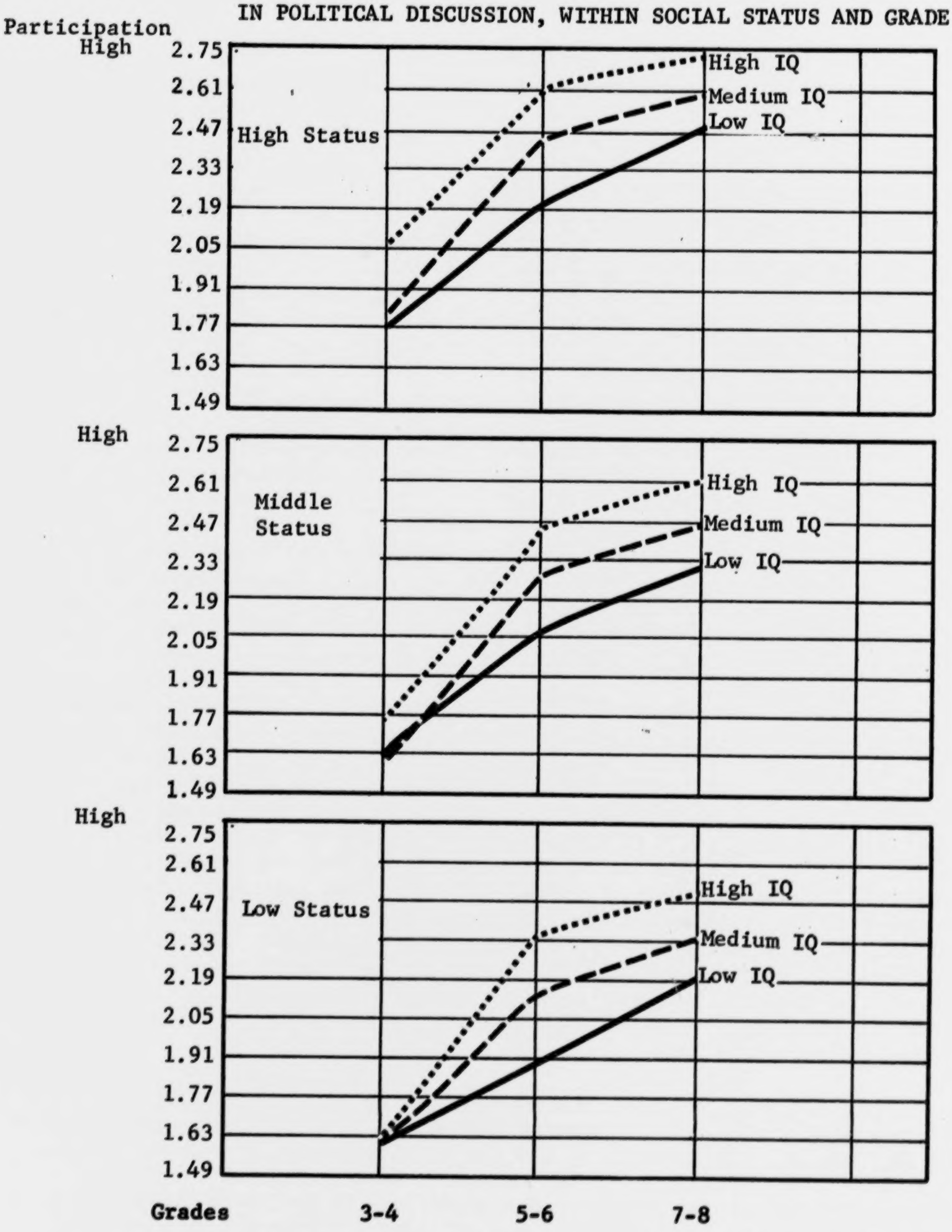
The relatively small differences by social status that appeared in the child's expression of his own interest are in sharp contrast to the level of interest in current events that he reports his family displays (see Figure 30). The social class differences increased by age and were significant at all levels, paralleling differences in interest that appear in studies of adults. While many of the questions asked of adults deal with specific events around election time or their interest in particular issues, the greater level of interest found among citizens of higher socioeconomic levels is also reflected in children's reports of the general interest of their family. Although not as great as the social class divergences, IQ differences on this item were significant, and may be indicative of the intelligent child's more alert and careful observation of the level of interest displayed by his family.

The contrast between the child's own interest and that of his family raises an interesting point about socialization of political involvement. The child is encouraged by the school to recognize the need for interest and participation in governmental affairs and democratic processes. Sharp variation among social classes in family interest indicates, however, that some of these children have much greater family support (and possibly community support) to carry out and implement involvement norms of which they are aware. At a relatively early age the child recognizes the importance of interest and active participation. If he grows up in a family which supports this interest by showing an interest itself and by participating in community affairs and activities, it is likely that this reinforcement will encourage the child to greater participation and involvement as an adult. The child whose interest is initiated by the school and mass media, but who finds himself in a family that is apathetic and non-participating, is less likely to become involved. In short, there is differential reinforcement for the child's political interest from one family and social class to another. These findings on family interest are further supported by data which show that, while there are no differences by intelligence, wide divergences appear between social classes in rating the relative importance of the teacher and one's father in teaching citizenship. The teacher is clearly the major source of this training for low-status children (see Figure 31).

Participation in political discussion and concern with political issues are more frequent among children of high intelligence and social status.--Both indices dealing with verbal involvement followed the pattern of the efficacy data discussed earlier. In participation in political discussion, which includes talking with friends, peers, and family, social class differences were large and stable across the age levels; the IQ differences increased with age (Figures 69 and 70). These social class differences proba-

FIGURE 69

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THEIR PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSION, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Combination of three items -- have you talked: with parents about candidates; with parents about country's problems; with friends about candidates?

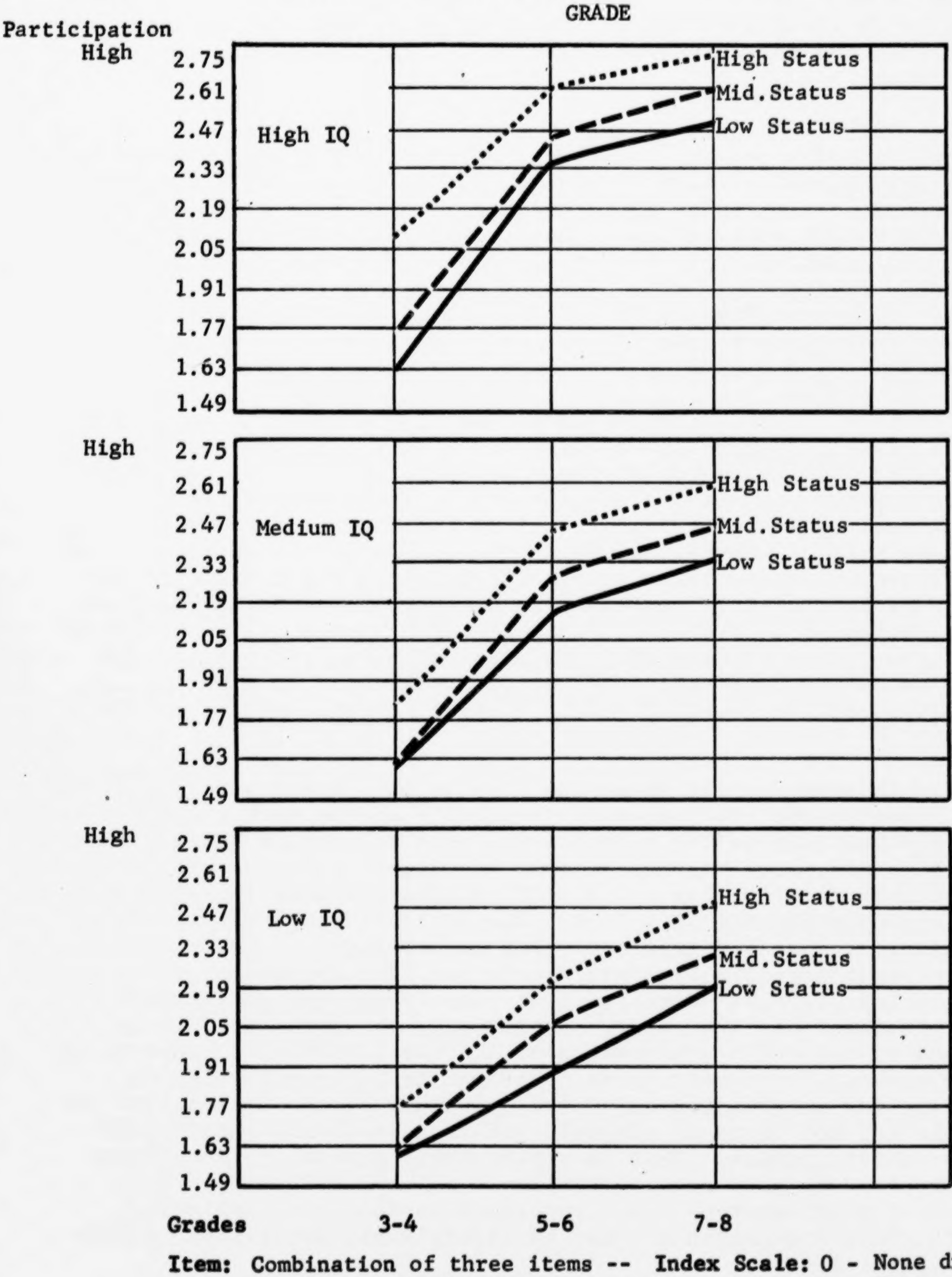
Index Scale: 0 - None discussed
3 - Three "

Range of N: 70 - 620

Significance Unit: .14

FIGURE 70

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN THEIR PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSION, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Combination of three items -- have you talked: with parents about candidates; with parents about country's problems; with friends about candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - None discussed
3 - Three "

Range of N: 70 - 620

Significance Unit: .14

bly reflect variations in level of interest of the child's associates. Consistent with the social class differences in family interest, a child who perceives his parents as uninterested in current events is not likely to discuss this topic with them. The differences by IQ level show an increasing interest and comprehension of the system and the issues involved as the child is socialized within the school.

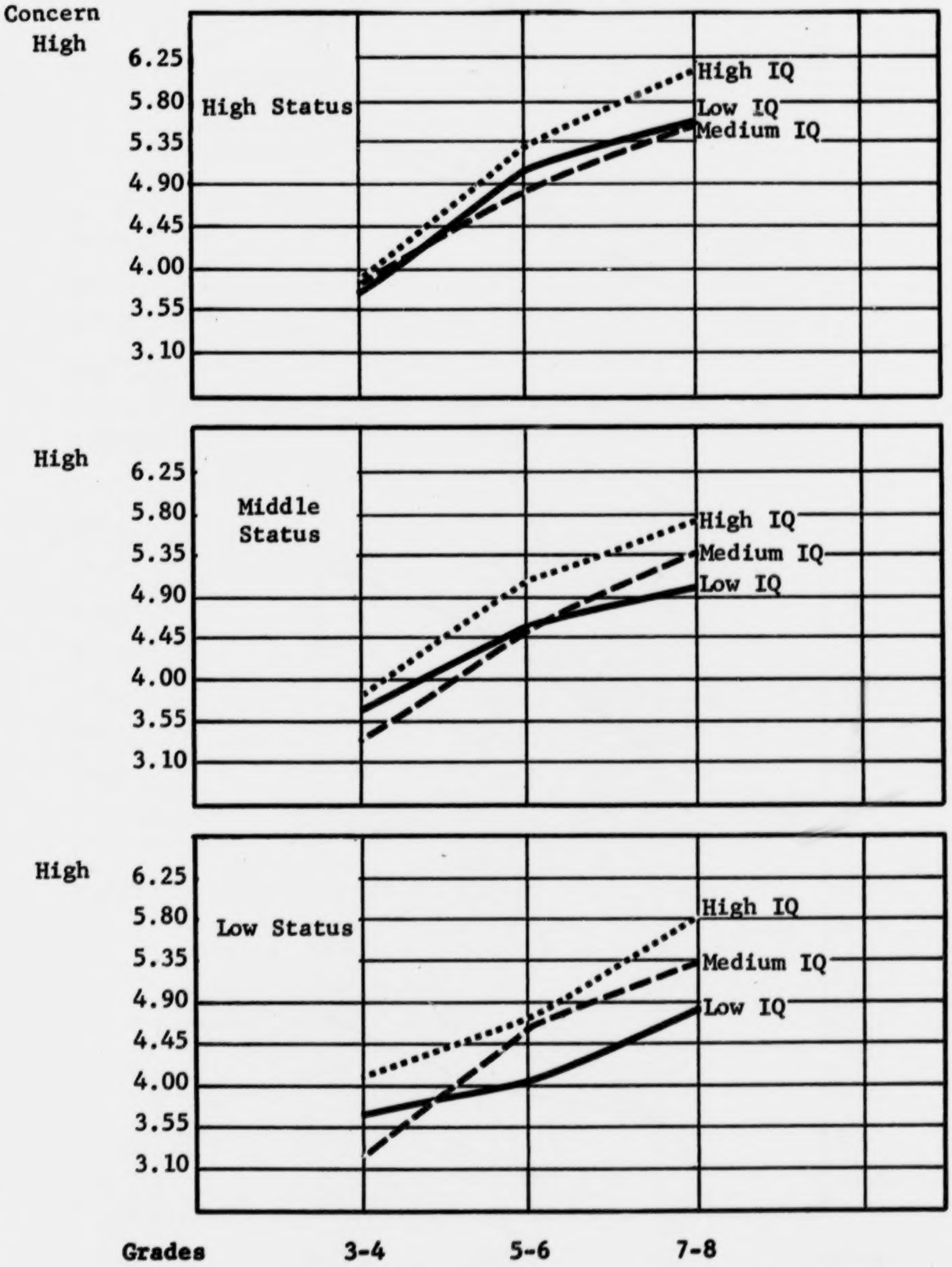
The involvement of the child with political and ideological issues, as reflected in questions dealing with his interest and defense of personal opinions, draws in part from the child's feeling that the good citizen is alert and aware of what is going on in the country, a norm that defines behavior and cuts across social classes. There was relatively little social class difference on this index. IQ differences in this type of involvement were significant and increased with age (Figures 71 and 72). Interest in specific issues, however, was clearly related to understanding of the system and to awareness of the events in local and national government.

Litt (1963), in studying a community's attempts to improve civics education, reported results on several attitude scales administered to high school students before and after the use of a civics curriculum designed to increase citizen participation. In some areas, there was evidence that socioeconomic differences in attitude were decreased; however, conceptions of the citizen's role in influencing government, sense of efficacy and political activities were particularly resistant to change. The working class students, although equivalent to students from higher status levels in their acceptance of democratic principles, perceived politics as being conducted by formal institutions working in harmony for the benefit of all and needing little control or assistance from citizens.

In summary, the data presented in this section have shown that lower status children more frequently accept authority figures as right and rely on their trustworthiness and benign intent. There is, therefore, more acquiescence to the formal structure and less tendency to question the motivations behind the behavior of government and governmental officials. The interest that children in all social classes and IQ levels display in contemporary political events is differentially supported by the adult models in different social class levels. Some families clearly support participation; other families are apparently contributing to apathy by failing to respond to the child's awareness of the ideal citizen's behavior in these areas. The school seems to be particularly effective in transmitting information about the structure of the system, but the schools are not doing an adequate job in socializing children in active participation. This is particularly crucial because lower status children have few institutional or community supports for political participation and involvement in the years following eighth grade graduation and may be incompletely socialized in this area (Rose, 1960).

FIGURE 71

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THEIR CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Combination of five items--have you discussed and taken sides on: the United Nations; foreign aid; unemployment; aid to education; taxes?

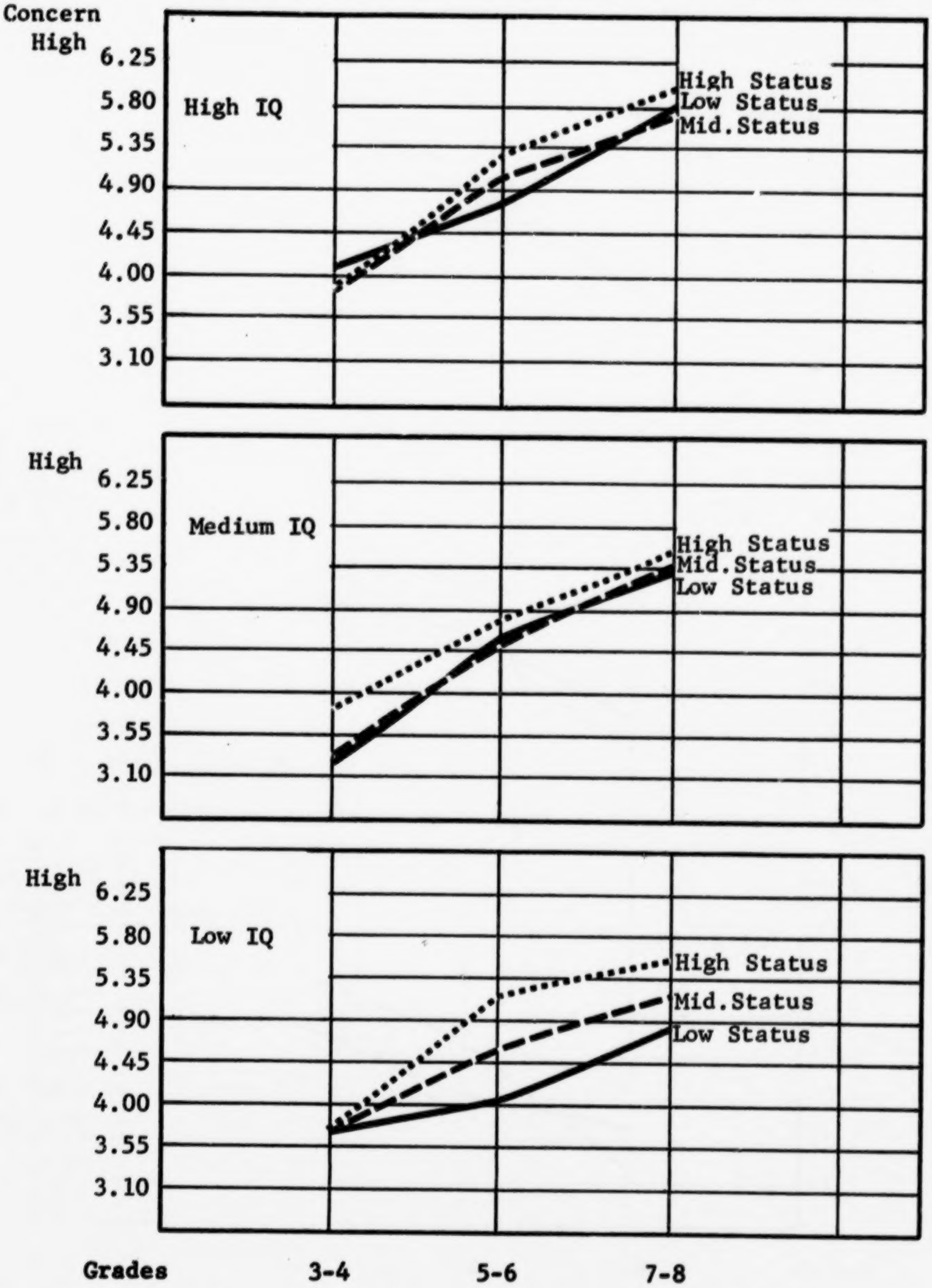
Index Scale: 0 - None
10 - Taken sides on five issues

Range of N: 25 - 541

Significance Unit: .43

FIGURE 72

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN THEIR CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Combination of five items -- have you discussed and taken sides on: the United Nations; foreign aid; unemployment; aid to education; taxes?

Index Scale: 0 - None
10 - Taken sides on five issues

Range of N: 25 - 541

Significance Unit: .45

(6) Participation in the election process

The involvement of citizens in the process of elections is, of course, a critical aspect of political participation and involvement. Although the child's age necessarily limits his potential for participating in this process, his attitudes in this area are important because they are relevant to his future participation in the party system--one of the mediating organizations through which the citizen may express his views and influence the operation of the governmental structure. We will examine, in this section, the association of social class milieu and IQ with conceptions of the election process.

(a) Conception of the system.--Voting is more salient as a symbol of government to children with high IQ. It was noted earlier that the child's view of government and the objects he selects to represent it focus increasingly upon activities, especially voting, as he grows older. Social class and IQ influences upon the child's conceptualization of voting as a symbol of our government are shown in Figures 73 and 74. The influence of IQ upon response to this item is greater than the effect of social class; those differences by social class which appeared were not consistent, while the influence of intelligence was apparent at all grade levels. This shift in response is part of a general trend toward abstract conceptualization of the system and its operations in relation to the individual. Formal teaching in the school encourages perception of the system in terms of a process and, specifically, in terms of voting.

High IQ children are more willing to accept the possibility of change in the governmental system. The importance of elections in the child's view of the system and the motivations which lead individuals to run for office are indicated in responses to an item which asked whether people who run for elective office do so to "keep things as good as they are in the country," to "be important and make money for themselves," or to "change things that are not good about the country." The images children of our group had of election candidates were not greatly influenced by social class but were moderately influenced by intelligence (Figures 75 and 76). Children of high intelligence saw candidates as desiring to change imperfection in the system; this is congruent with the attitudes of these children toward the system. In previous items, it was noted that the child of high intelligence is less likely to be convinced that what happens in government is all for the best and is more likely to show reservations about the government and its representatives. The perception that the system needs to be changed (by citizens and elected officials) indicates an orientation toward change and a concept of the ideal government as one in which changes should be made. These children are willing to accept the idea that a system as important as that of government has elements which should be changed. Perhaps their basic confidence in the processes is such that they do not see change as threatening. In contrast, children in the low intelligence group are more inclined to be oriented toward the status quo; they think of government as representing

FIGURE 73

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN CHOICE OF VOTING AS A SYMBOL OF OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE

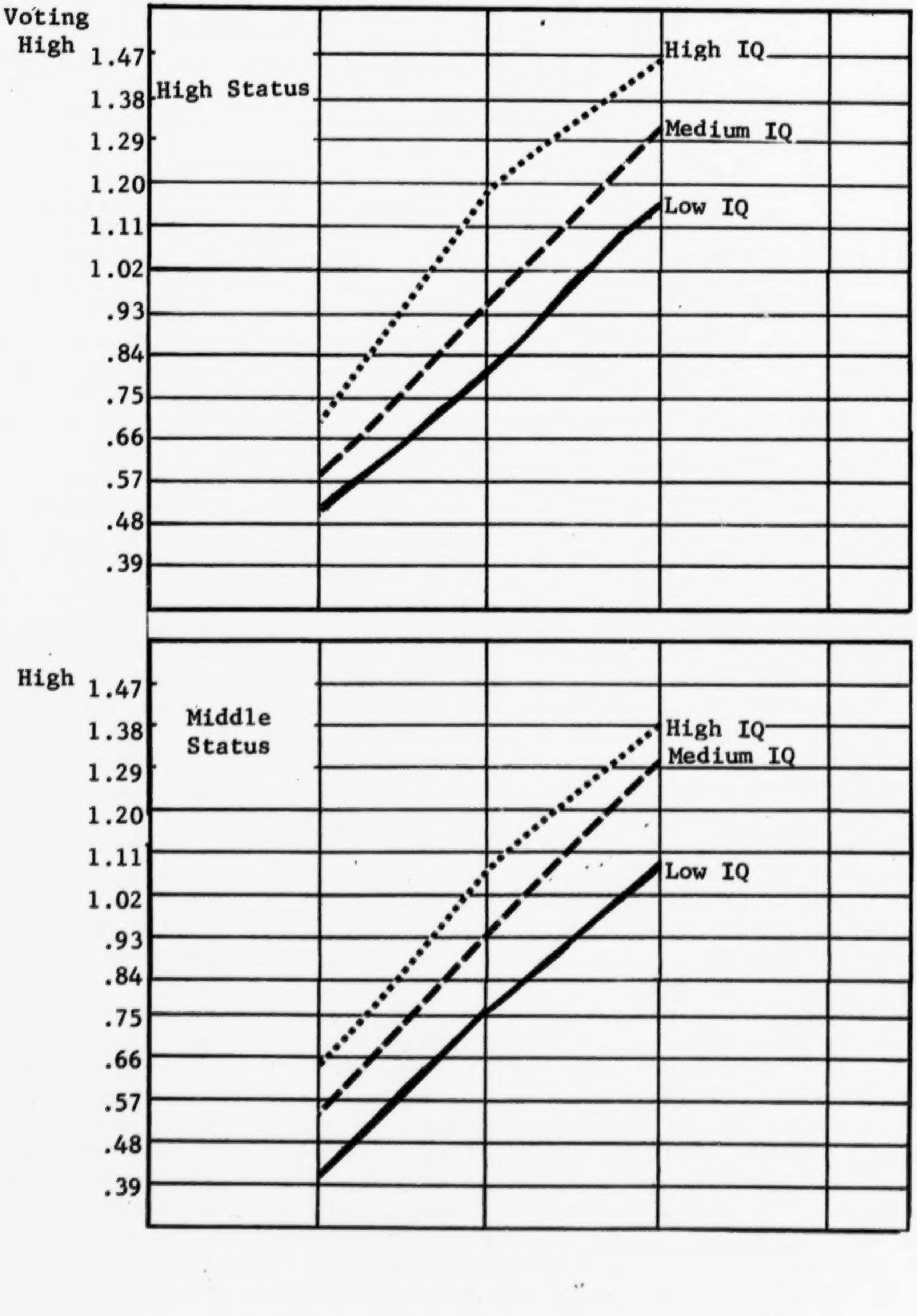
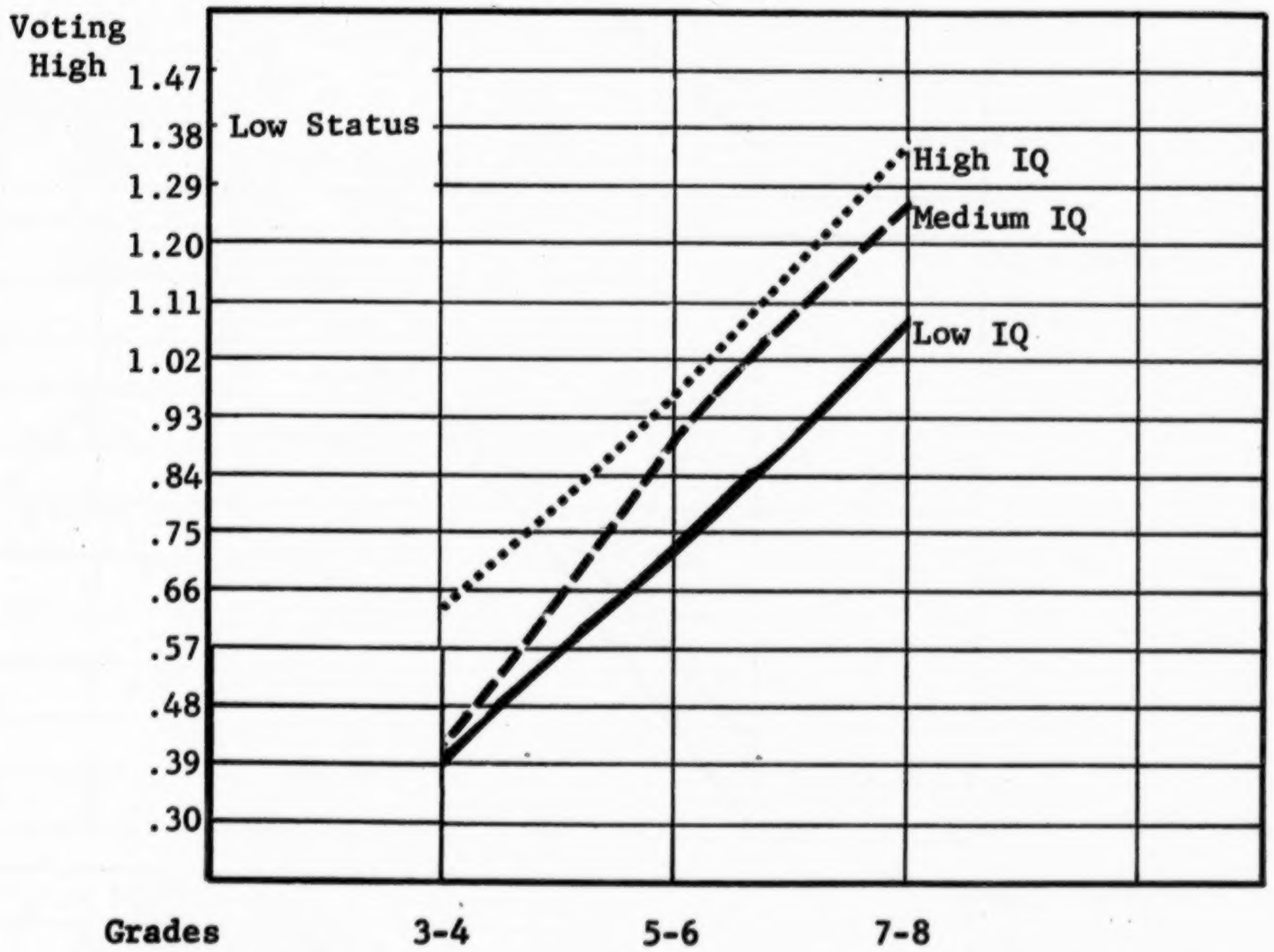


FIGURE 73--Continued



Item: Combination of two items: choice of voting as best picture of government and as source of national pride.

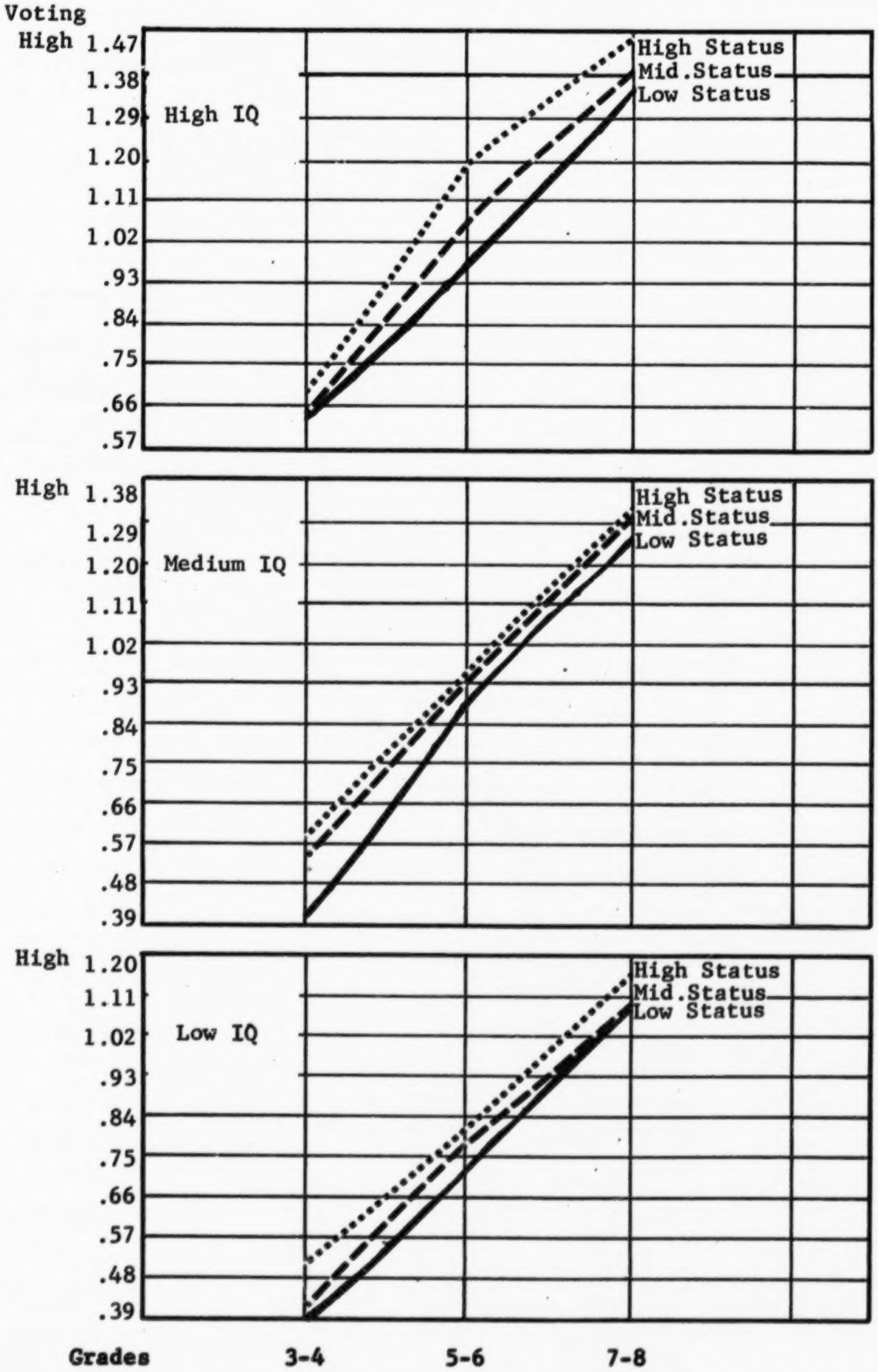
Index Scale: 0 - Neither
2 - Both

Range of N: 72 - 631

Significance Unit: .09

FIGURE 74

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN CHOICE OF VOTING AS A SYMBOL OF OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Combination of two items: choice of voting as best picture of government and as source of national pride.

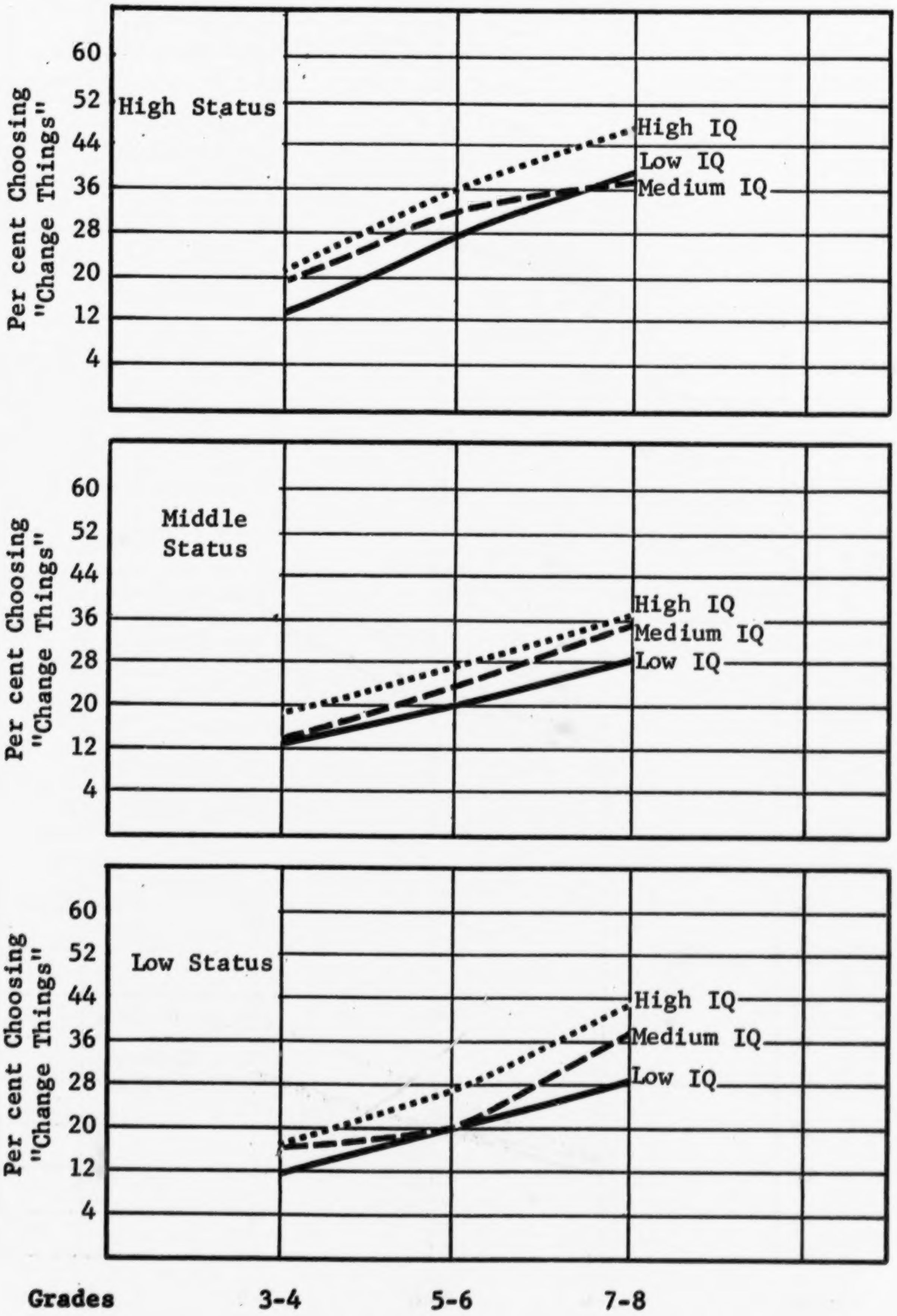
Index Scale: 0 - Neither
2 - Both

Range of N: 72 - 631

Significance Unit: .09

FIGURE 75

COMPARISON OF IQ GROUPS IN CHOICE OF GOVERNMENT REFORM AS A REASON FOR SEEKING OFFICE, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: People want to get elected to: change things; make money or be important; keep things as good as they are.

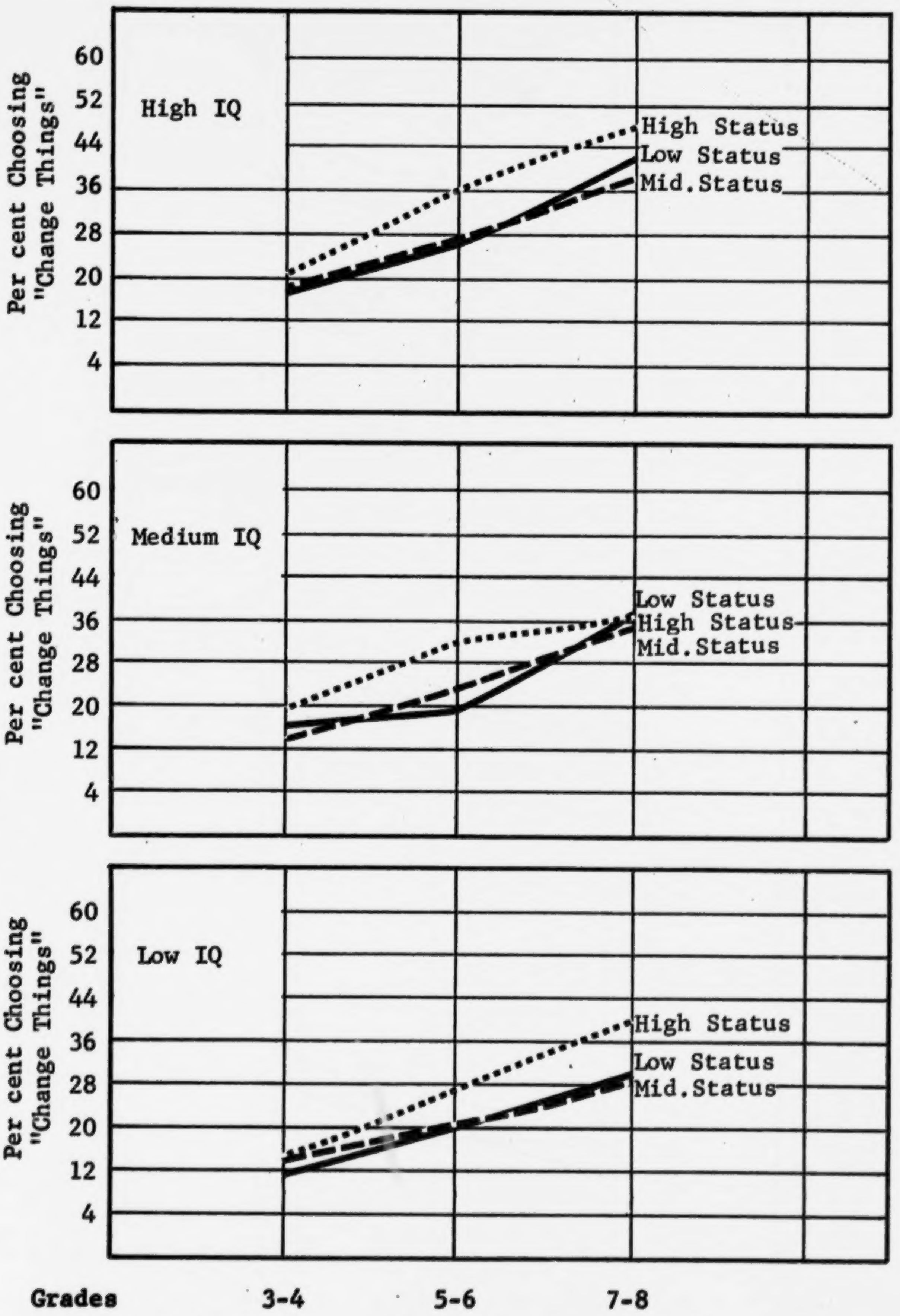
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 71 - 619

Significance Unit: 8%

FIGURE 76

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN CHOICE OF GOVERNMENT REFORM AS A REASON FOR SEEKING OFFICE, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: People wnat to get elected to: change things; make money or be important; keep things as good as they are.

Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 71 - 619

Significance Unit: 8%

benign and competent operations needing no change. Social class differences that appeared in this item were in the same direction--high status groups were inclined to see a candidate's motivation as desire for change, while the low status groups tended to perceive candidates as wanting to maintain the status quo.

A distinct part of children's ideas about how role occupants are changed is their conception of political parties, the relationships between them, and their value to the total political system. The first important element is the perception of "How much difference is there between the Democrats and the Republicans?" The choices ranged on a five-point scale from "a very big difference" to "no difference." There were no distinctions by social class or intelligence in children's image of differences between the two parties (Appendix G).

As will be discussed more fully later in this section, the socialization into affiliation with party begins to be differentiated by social class at the fifth and sixth grades and is quite apparent by the seventh and eighth grades. Although at grades seven and eight children begin to choose party affiliation along social class lines (Democrats predominating among the working class, etc.), they do not begin to regard their party as essentially different from the other major party.

These findings of minimal social class variation in perception of the amount of difference between parties are modified by the children's perception of the Republicans' and Democrats' stands on specific issues and events. An index drawn from the series of items including "Who does most to help people who are out of work?", "Who does most to keep us out of war?", etc., showed some social class differences (Figure 77) which appeared most clearly in the tendency of the low status group to attribute more positive activities to Democrats than did the other two groups at grades seven and eight--the time when socialization into party affiliation has become most salient for the child. These findings parallel the social class differences in evaluation of Democrats and Republicans found in studies of adults, although they are not so great.

Partisan conflict is a prominent factor in the conceptualization of political parties and their relationship to the system. Children's view of the importance of partisan conflict was assessed in answers to the question: "If the Democrats and Republicans disagreed on important things, would it be good or bad for the country?" Social class differences were not consistent on this item; children of high intelligence at grades seven and eight more often said it would not be bad for the country if there were disagreement, but this was not consistent enough to be regarded as a trend (Appendix G).[5]

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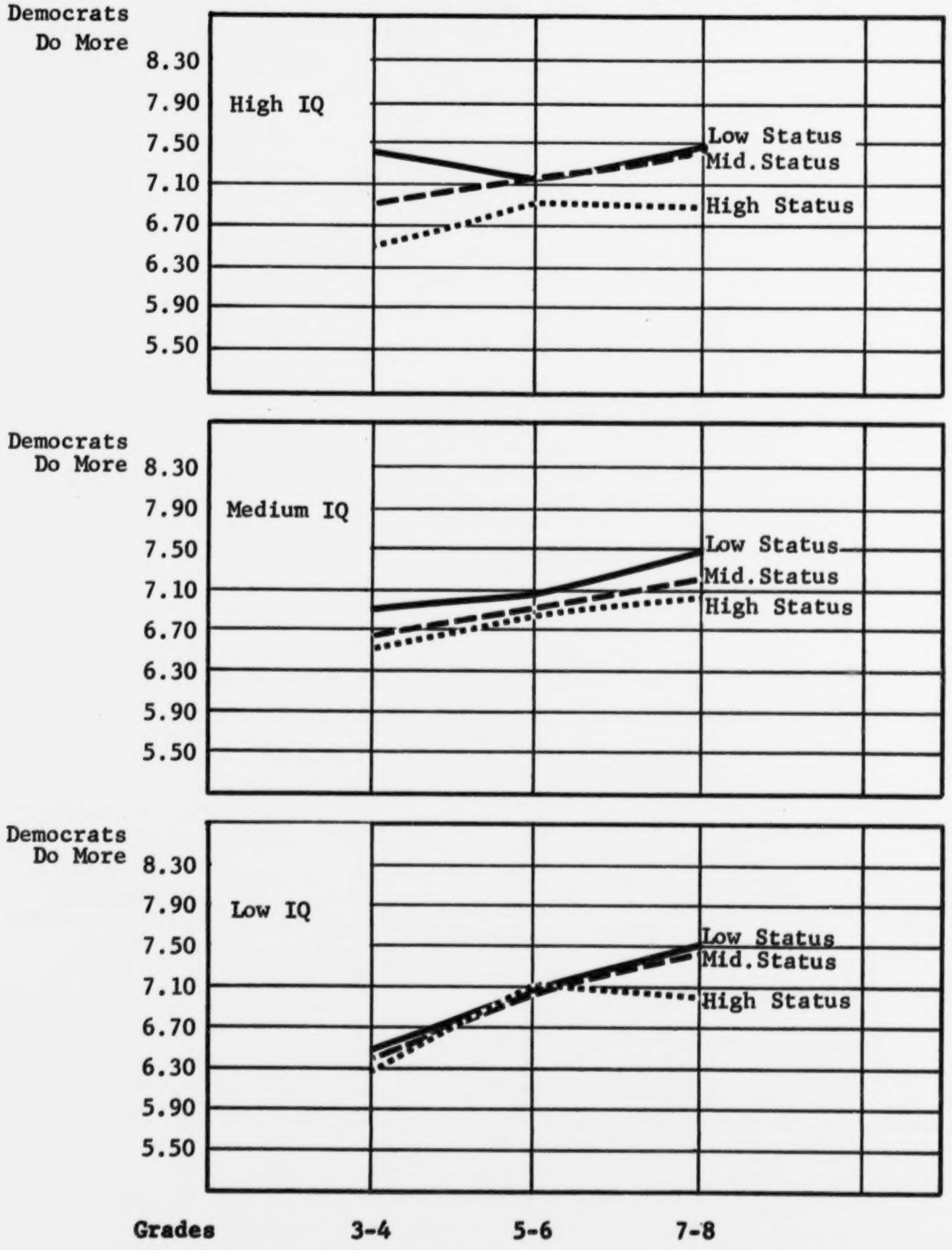
[5] It is possible that an item which more fully explicated the nature of the disagreement, asking about public discussion and debate between parties, would have received a somewhat more positive response and would have differentiated between high and low IQ groups.

FIGURE 77

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN THEIR APPRAISAL OF THE RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS TO THE NATIONAL WELFARE, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Combination of six items -- which party does more: for rich people; to keep us out of war; to help unemployed; to protect rights; to help your family; for the U.S.? (Choice of Republicans, Democrats, or both same).

Index Scale: 1 - Republicans
7 - Both same
13 - Democrats

Range of N: 60 - 473

Significance Unit: .40

There is an increasing tendency with age for children to feel that disagreement has positive functions. This tendency, however, is far below that of adults (as evidenced by teacher responses), which indicates that on this point socialization within the school is ineffective. Data on curricula suggest that very little stress is placed on political parties until late in the elementary school. One conclusion from these data is that although the amount of difference perceived between political parties and beliefs about the effects of their disagreement do not vary by social class or intelligence, the attribution of more beneficial actions and political policies to the party of one's choice does vary by social class, corresponding to known social class differences in political party allegiance in adults.

(b) Perception of the role of the citizen.--Perception of the citizen's duty to vote is not related to social class, but a larger proportion of children of high intelligence believe that the good citizen is one who votes. The child's view of the relationship between the citizen and the political system is relatively uninfluenced by social class. Children of the three social status levels in our study showed no difference in their responses to the item dealing with voting as a mark of the good citizen, nor did any social class differences appear in their attitudes concerning whether adults should belong to a political party, should vote with their party, or whether children should eventually affiliate with the same party as their parents. The norms of party voting activity, affiliation, and party loyalty seem not to be socialized differently in the various social class groups. If socialization of norms about citizen participation in elections and political party membership were accomplished primarily through experiences in the home and community, significant social class differences should emerge. It is likely that the school is primarily responsible for transmitting to the child a definition of the norms of citizen behavior in this aspect of the system.

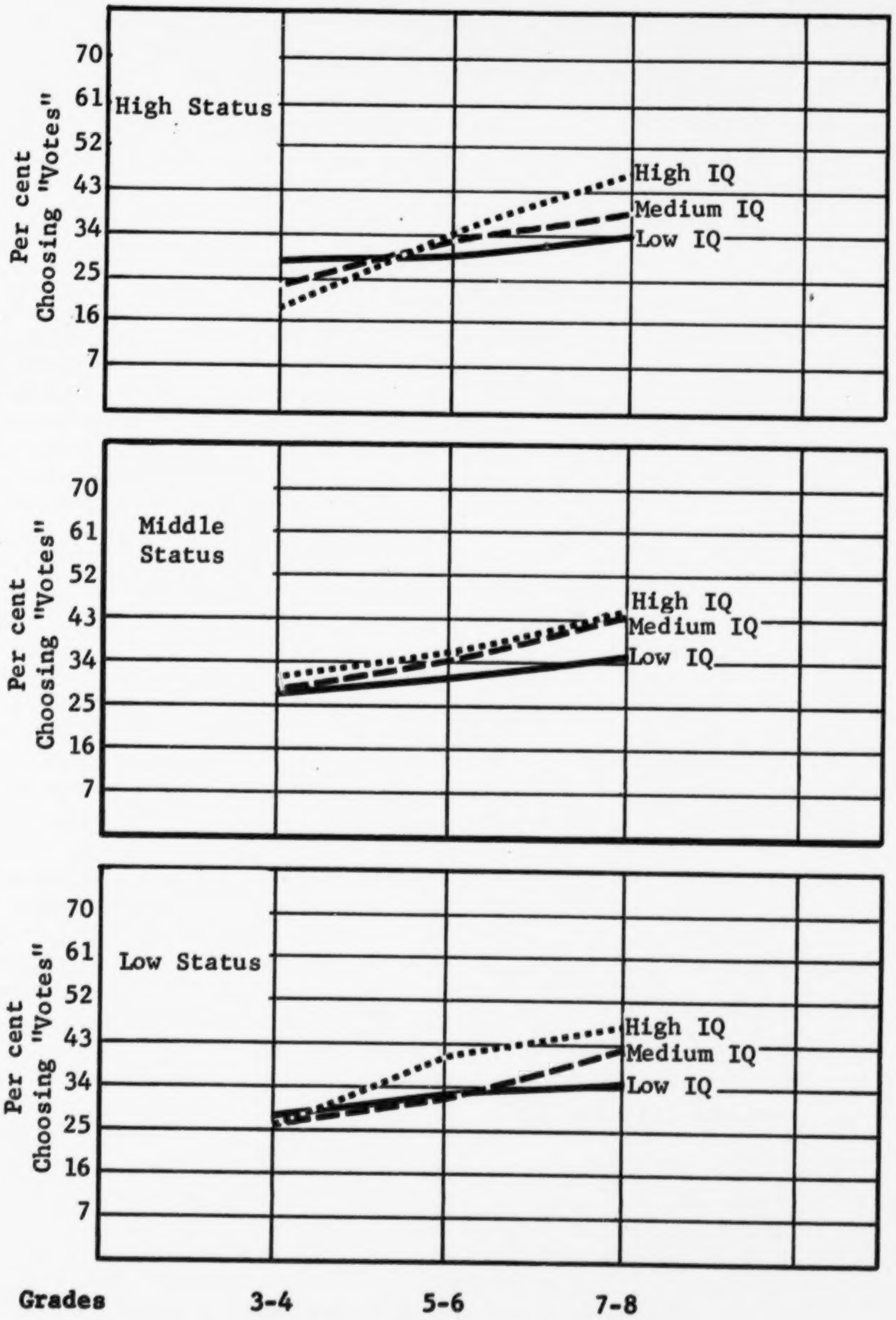
Children of higher intelligence, more often than those in lower groups, defined the good citizen as one who votes; this is especially true of seventh and eighth graders (Figure 78). Also, these more gifted youngsters defined the relationship of a citizen to his political party differently since they rejected the idea that "one should vote along party lines" (Figure 79), a tendency particularly evident at the seventh and eighth grades. Similarly, children of high intelligence placed less importance upon adult membership in political parties (Figure 80).

The lack of social class influence and the greater relevance of intelligence in this part of the socializing process indicate that the school is the principal force in teaching that a spirit of independence from party affiliation is part of good citizenship. This is consistent with the responses of our teacher group which showed a marked tendency to prefer independence from party affiliation.

(c) Interaction with the system.--The data presented show

FIGURE 78

COMPARISON OF IQ GROUPS IN CHOICE OF VOTING AS THE CITIZEN'S MOST IMPORTANT OBLIGATION, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Which is the best adult citizen? one who votes and gets others to vote. (Seven other alternatives; child selected two).

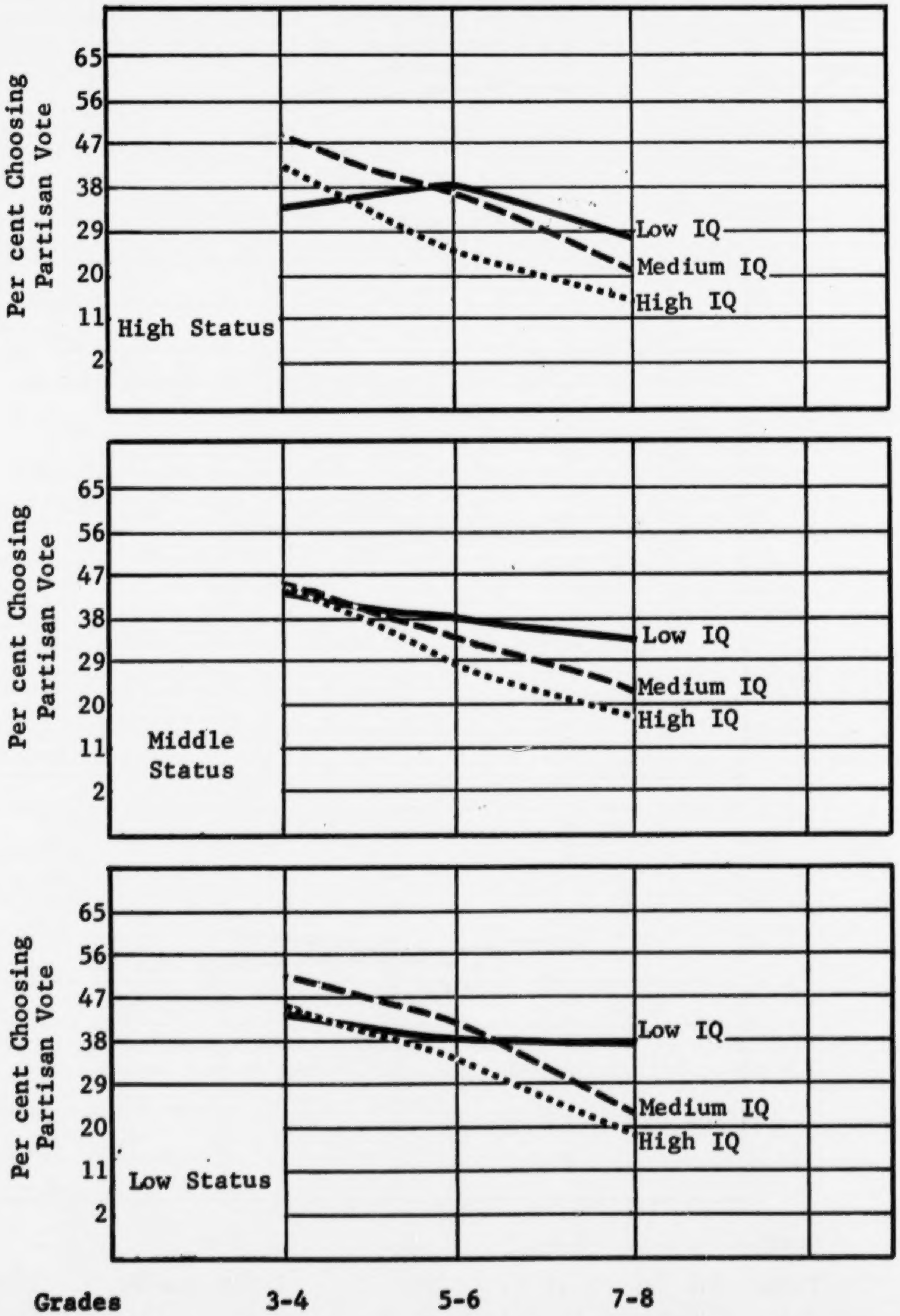
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 34 - 563

Significance Unit: 9%

FIGURE 79

COMPARISON OF IQ GROUPS IN CHOICE OF PARTISANSHIP AS A BASIS FOR CANDIDATE PREFERENCE, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Should the citizen vote only for candidates sponsored by his political party, or should he vote for the candidate of his choice?

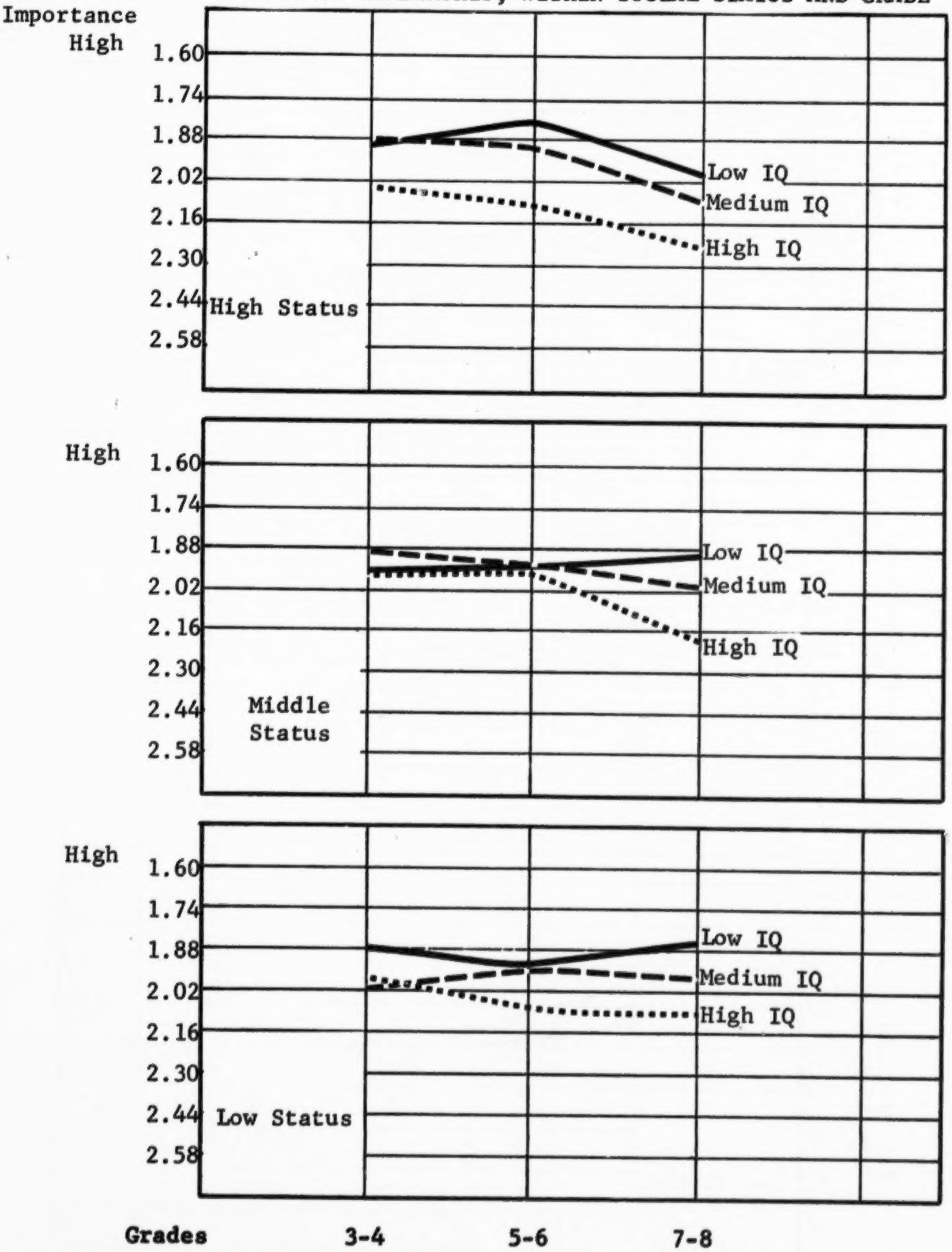
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 55 - 530

Significance Unit: 9%

FIGURE 80

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN RATING THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: How important is it for grown-ups to belong to a political party?

Index Scale: 1 - Very import.
4 - Not import.

Range of N: 59 - 511

Significance Unit: .14

that it is the school, mediated through the child's cognitive processes, that has the greatest influence upon his image of elections, the voting process, and the citizen's relation to this process through political parties. We turn now to items that deal more specifically with para-adult participation. These questions concern those adult activities which are directly political--inquiries about party affiliation and active interest in elections and candidates.

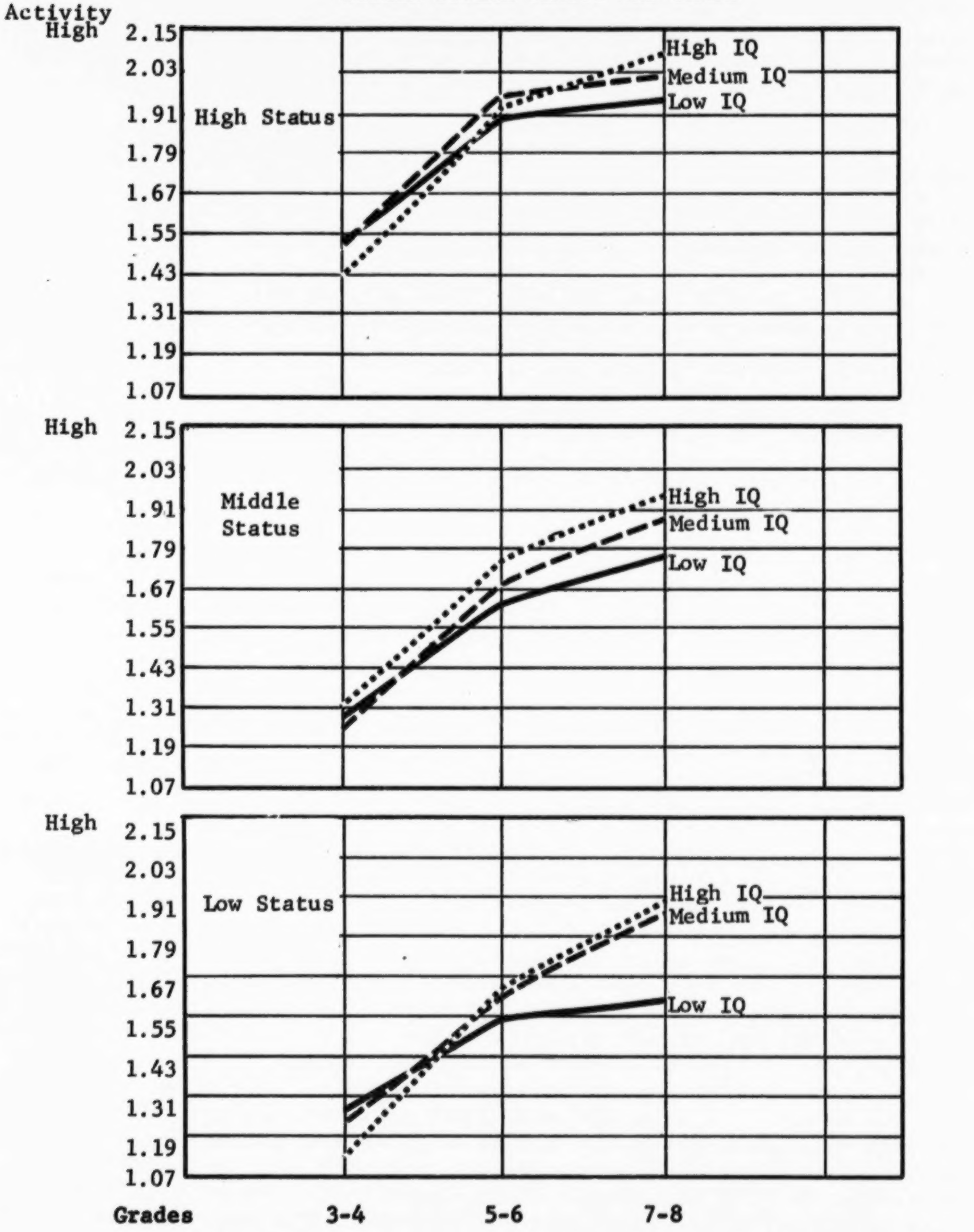
Political activity is higher in children of high intelligence and social status. While the data in the previous section showed little differentiation by social class in the internalization of norms, political activities quite clearly show differential socialization by social status groups (Figures 81 and 82). Differences between social class levels that appeared in the third and fourth grades were greater than those by intelligence which existed only at the higher grade levels. Family and community apparently support and encourage active participation in the election process. This is consistent with the social class distinctions in family interest previously noted; participation in the election process is probably also reinforced by the school. It is significant that high status groups are more active politically despite the absence of social class differences in acceptance of citizenship norms associated with affiliation and voting with a party.

In partisanship behavior, defined as commitment to a political party and a sense of obligation to vote with it, eighth graders' views differed significantly from those of teachers. Figures 83, 84, 85, and 86 show the effect of social class and intelligence upon socialization into partisanship behavior. There is a pronounced relationship between the report that one does not know what the parties are or does not know which party he would choose and both intelligence and social class (Figures 83 and 84). Parties are not meaningful organizations for expressions of political involvement for children of low intelligence.

Both intelligence and social status are important mediating variables in socializing attitudes of partisan independence.--The propensity of children to report that they would vote as Independents rather than as Democrats or Republicans is reported in Figure 85. The readiness to avoid identifying with a single party increased with age and was more characteristic of high status children than of those in working class levels. Children of high intelligence particularly seventh and eighth graders, preferred not to commit themselves to a party. Differences between the two extreme groups (high IQ-high status, low IQ-low status) were dramatic. The proportion of low IQ, low status children who exhibited political independence by the seventh or eighth grade was not as high as the proportion of high IQ, high status third and fourth graders with the same orientations. Moreover, in this low status group, gravitation towards independence from political affiliation did not increase with age, indicating that socialization by the school towards independence is achieved only among the higher IQ children. Thus, intelligence mediates school experiences, cutting across social class levels to accelerate

FIGURE 81

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Combination of three items -- have you: worn election button; read about candidates; helped candidates?

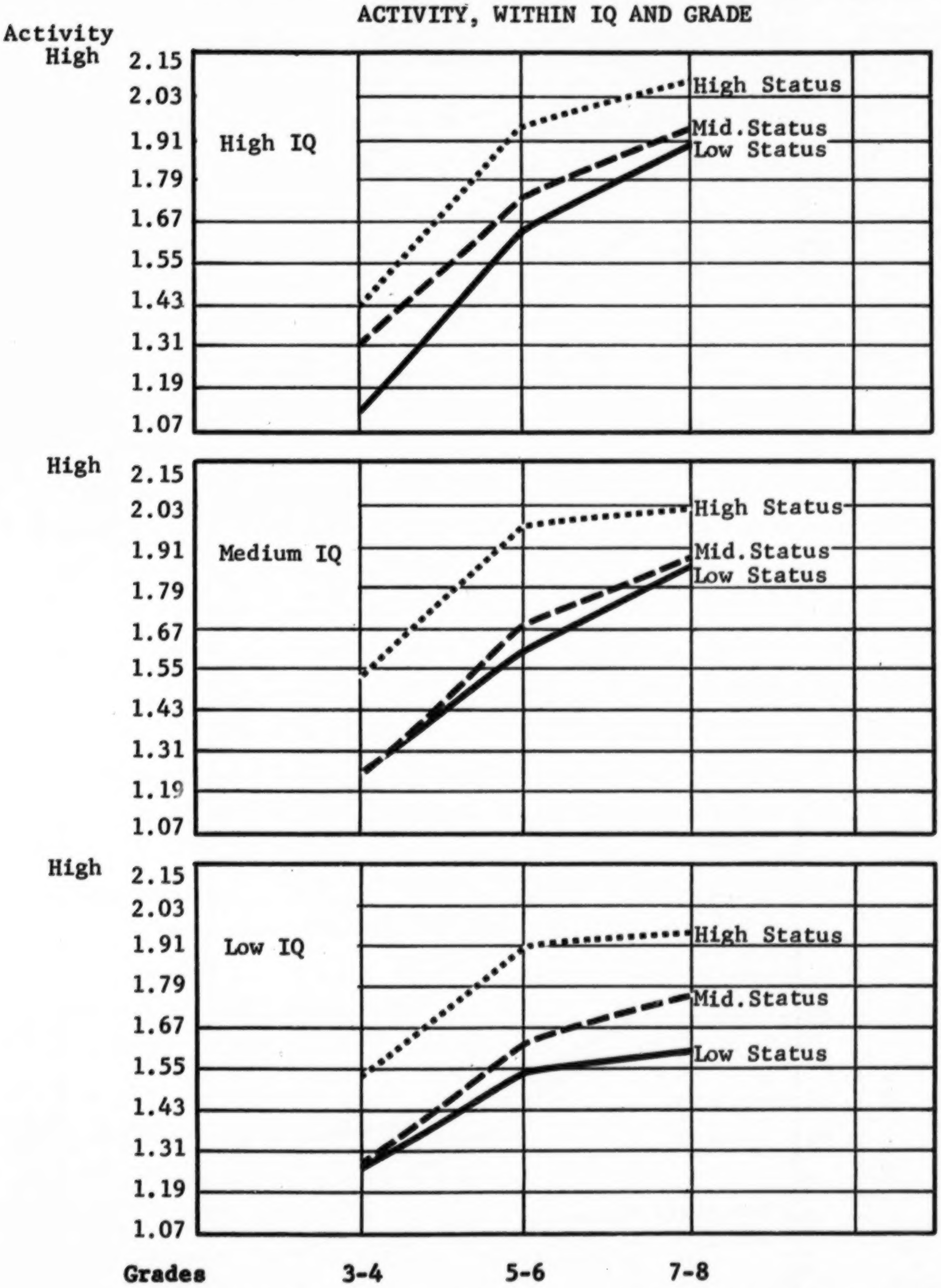
Index Scale: 0 - No activity
3 - Three acts.

Range of N: 69 - 620

Significance Unit: .12

FIGURE 82

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Combination of three items -- have you: worn election button; read about candidates; helped candidates?

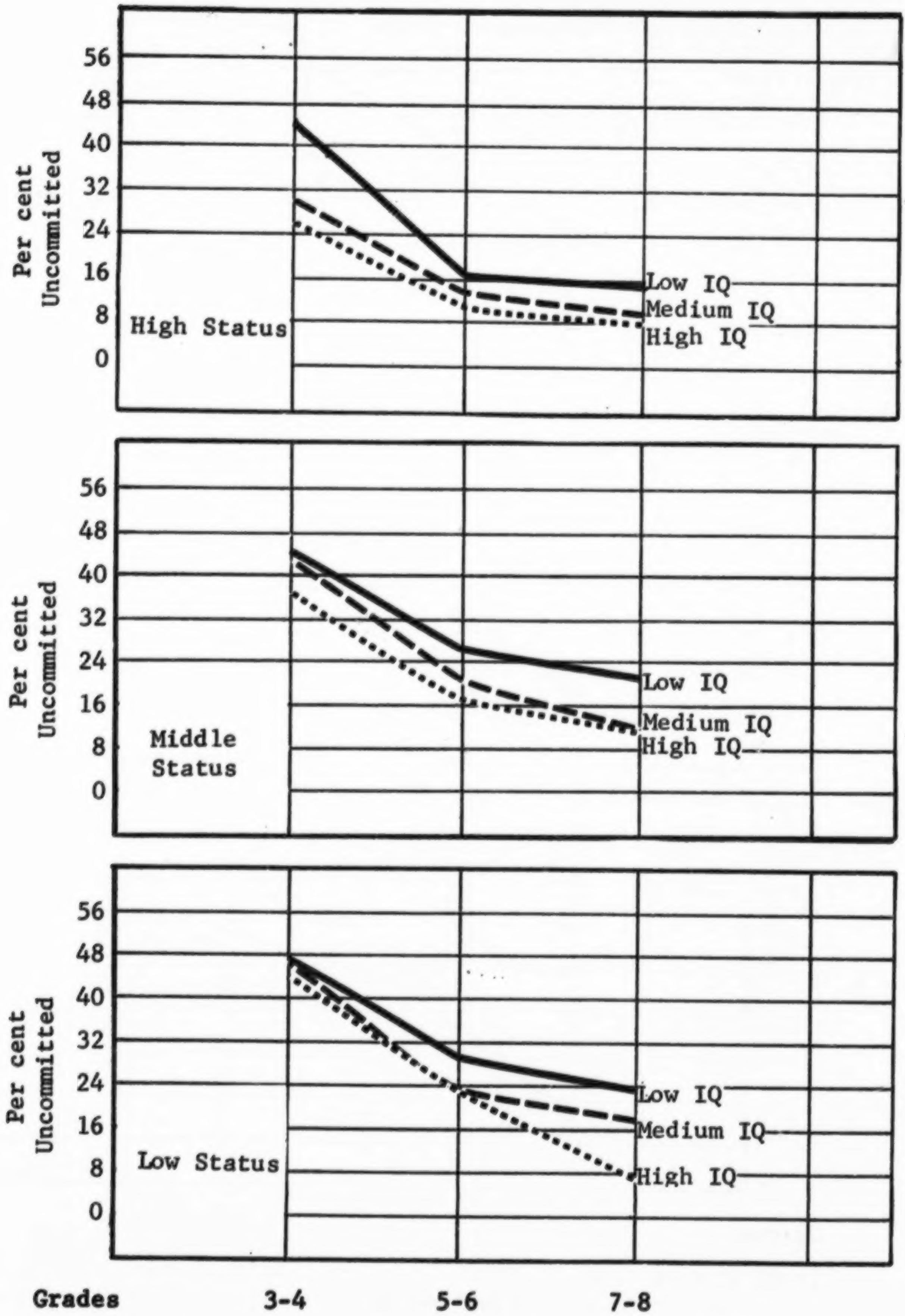
Index Scale: 0 - No activity
3 - Three acts.

Range of N: 69 - 620

Significance Unit: .12

FIGURE 83

COMPARISON OF IQ GROUPS IN REPORTING EITHER THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHICH PARTY TO CHOOSE OR THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT PARTIES ARE, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

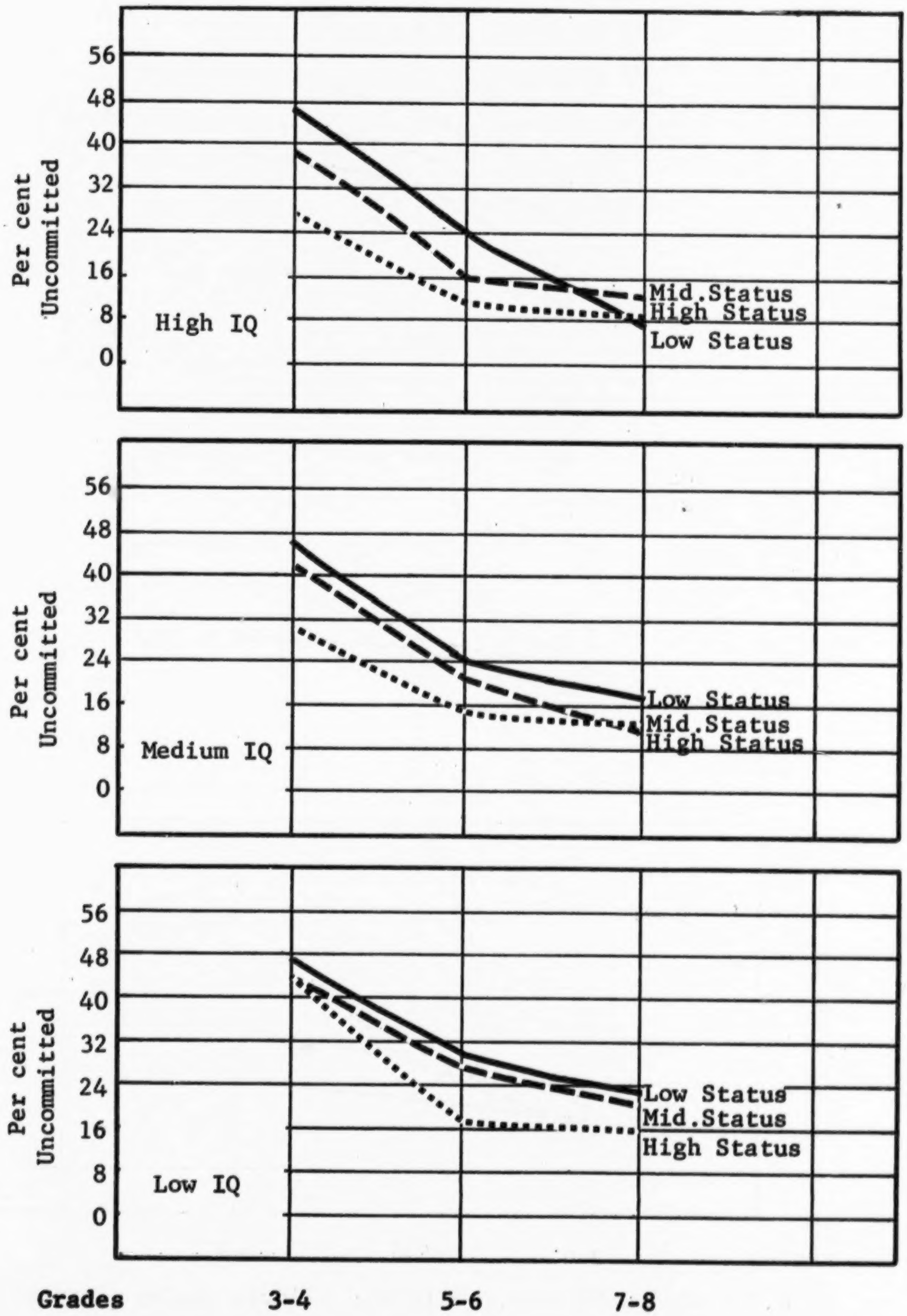
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 81 - 628

Significance Unit: 8%

FIGURE 84

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN REPORTING EITHER THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHICH PARTY TO CHOOSE OR THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT PARTIES ARE, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

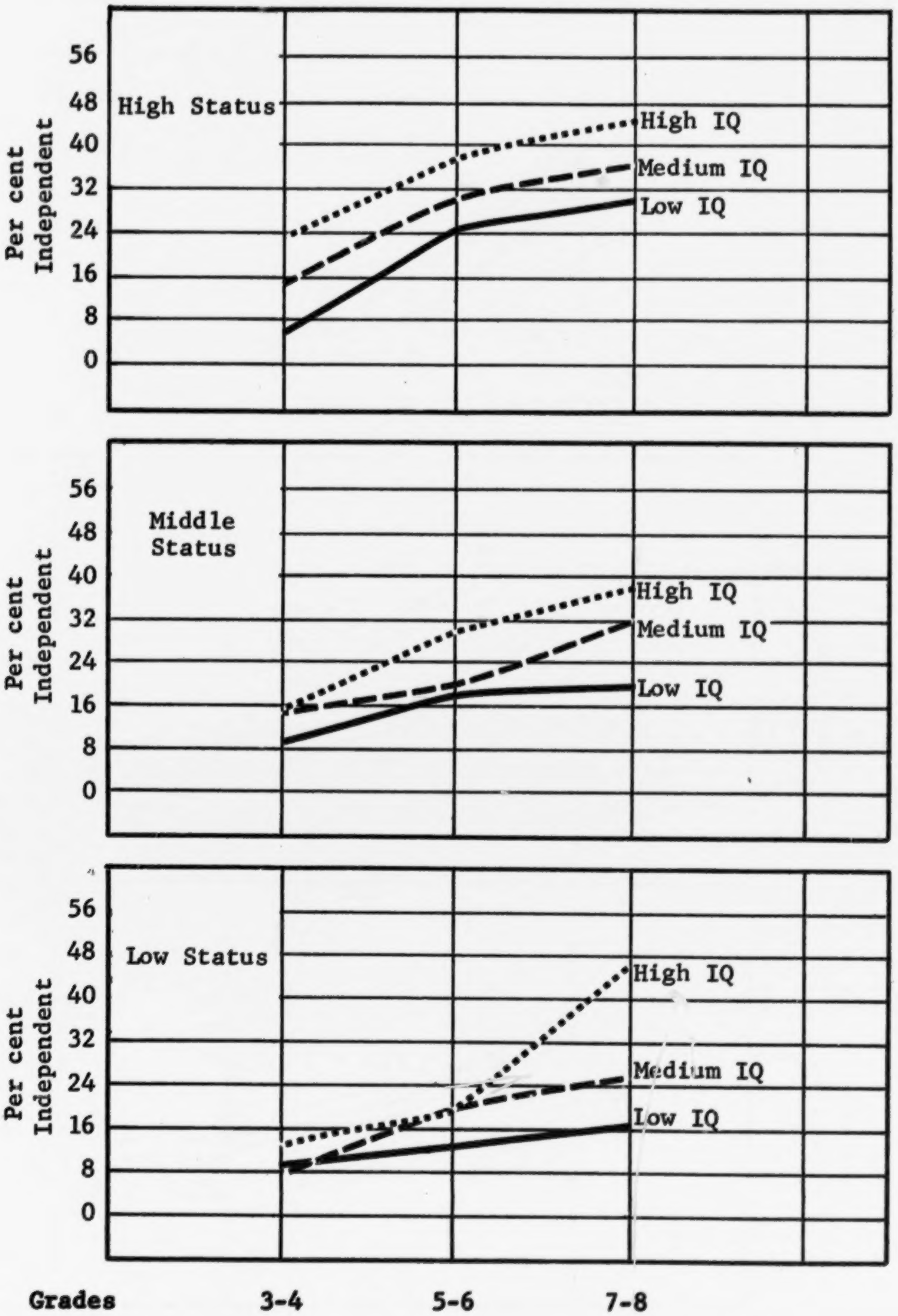
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 81 - 628

Significance Unit: 8%

FIGURE 85

COMPARISON OF IQ GROUPS IN REPORTING INDEPENDENCE FROM PARTY COMMITMENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

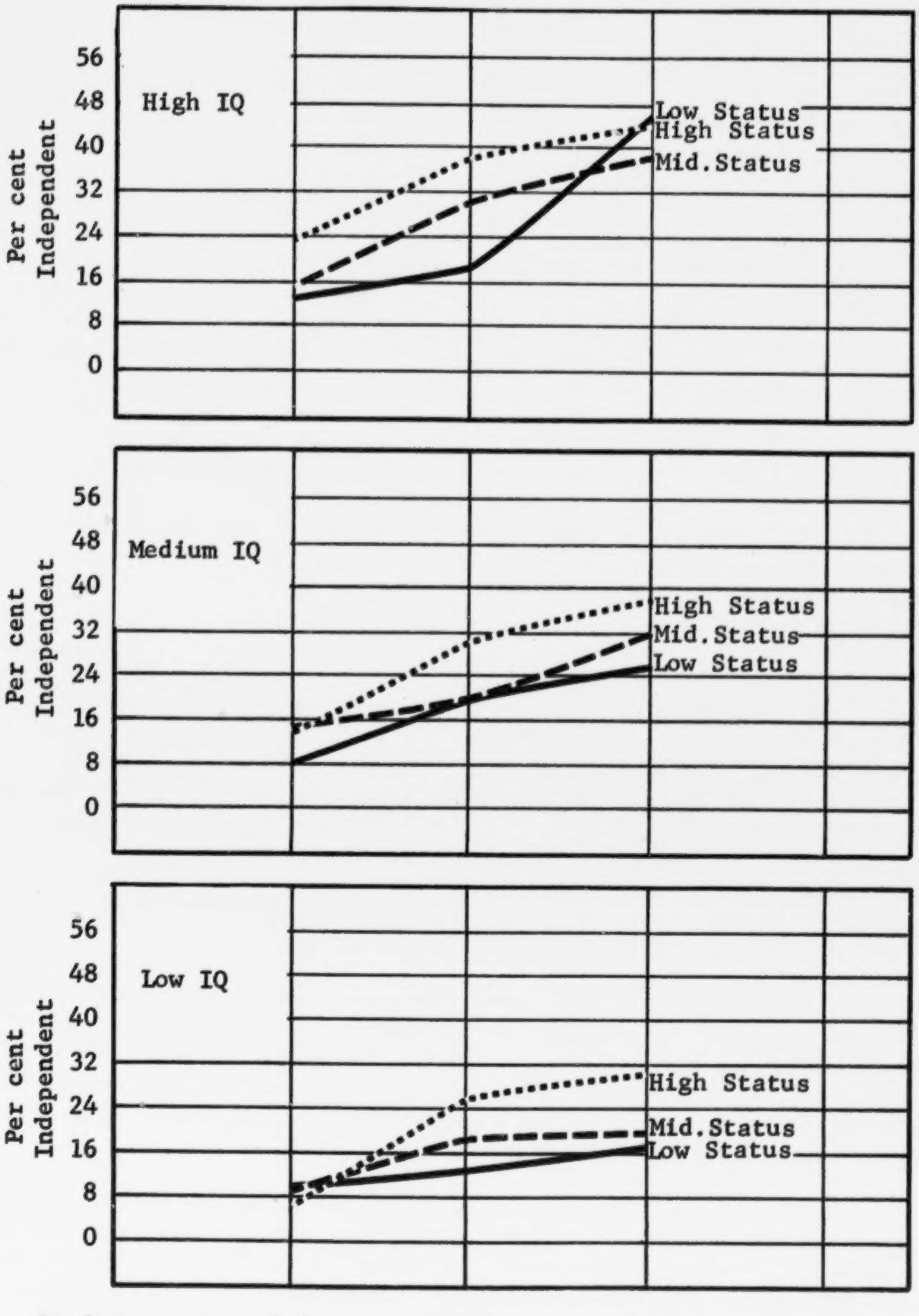
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 81 - 628

Significance Unit: 8%

FIGURE 86

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN INDEPENDENCE FROM PARTY COMMITMENT, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 81 - 628

Significance Unit: 8%

acquisition of attitudes devaluing partisan activity.

The intensity of emotional reaction following the 1960 election, as it is recalled by these children, did not vary either by social class or intelligence (Appendix G). The type of involvement implied in this item (emotional concern with the outcome of the contest) may be important in the initial impression of the system and its operations, and the participation of the child in the competitive excitement of a national contest. This kind of involvement seems to be evenly distributed across intelligence and social class backgrounds. Like some of the norms of political behavior, such as the importance of voting and political interest, it is an experience widely shared and not socialized differentially in subgroups.

Choice of party is not related to social status until after grade five. The particular choice of party (Democrat or Republican) in older children shows a pattern that has been found consistently with adults--the working class child's association with the Democratic party. It is interesting to note (Figure 87) that at grades three and four there was no social class difference in the proportion of children who declared themselves as Democrats. The differentiation began at grades five and six and was well established by the seventh and eighth grades. The period between the ages of ten and twelve seems to be the point at which partisan commitment begins to be meaningful.

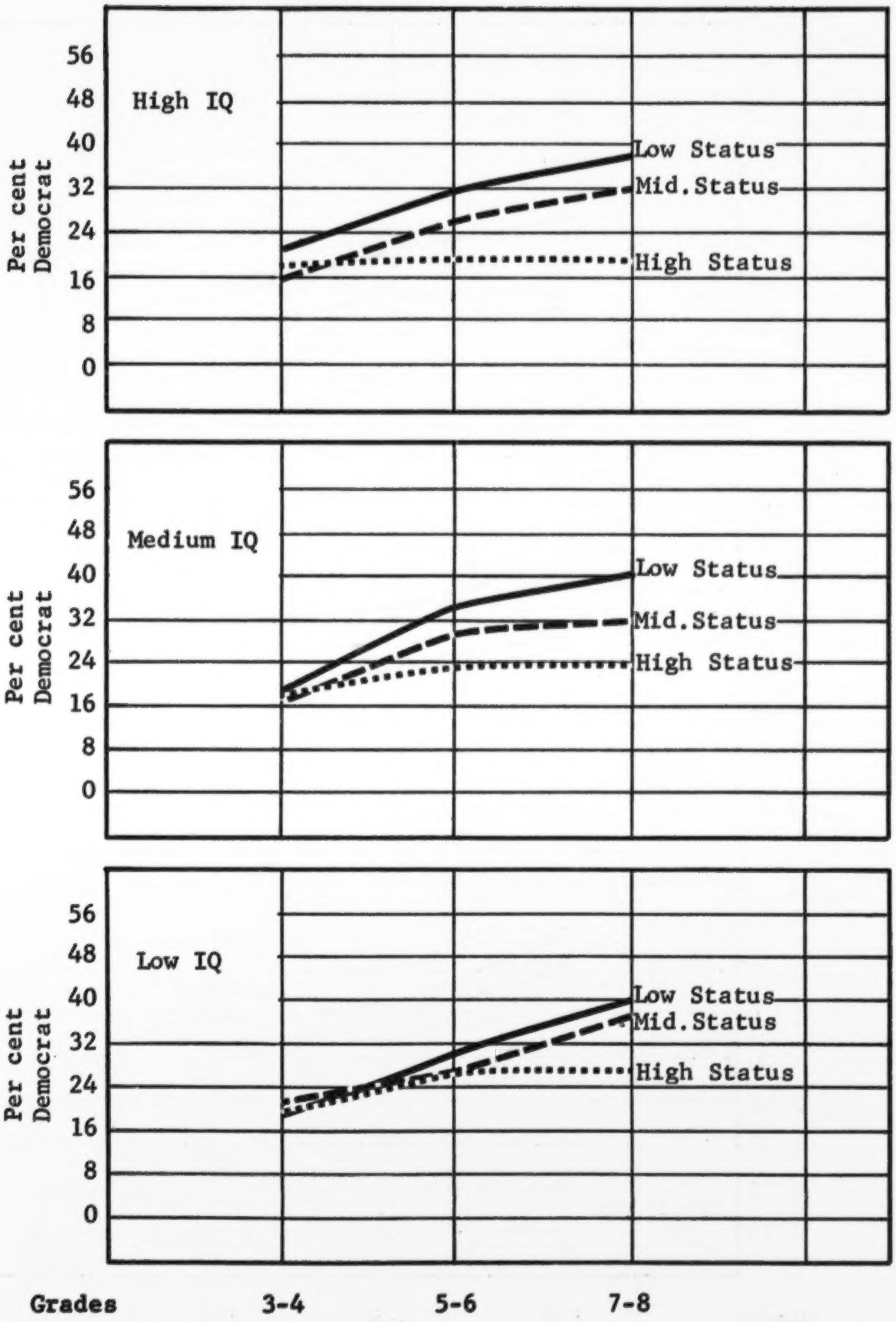
Reactions following an election are very strongly related to social status and seem also to be related to intelligence (Figures 88 and 89). The association with social class is probably influenced by the differential distribution of Republicans and Democrats by social class, and in the election of 1960 these differences were augmented by the influence of religious affiliation which is also unevenly distributed by class (see Chapter IV). This pattern in the data does not necessarily indicate commitment to a party; it is a response which concentrates on the figures with whom a child identifies in the election contest.

The relation of intelligence to the differences in emotional response is not so easily interpreted. Although the less intelligent children showed more positive responses than the more intelligent, these differences were not as marked as those between social status levels. Perhaps more intelligent children's tendency toward political independence was a factor here.

Political campaigns provide a sense of the dramatic intensity surrounding political life; observing other citizens participating in a national event may orient children toward this aspect of the political process. It was noted that there are few differences by social class in the intensity of affect toward an election, but the data in Figures 90 and 91 indicate both social class and IQ differences in the children's opinion of what they learn from elections. These were in the expected direction, with high IQ children more frequently saying that they learned much from having observed the election. This

FIGURE 87

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN REPORTING DEMOCRATIC PARTY COMMITMENT, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

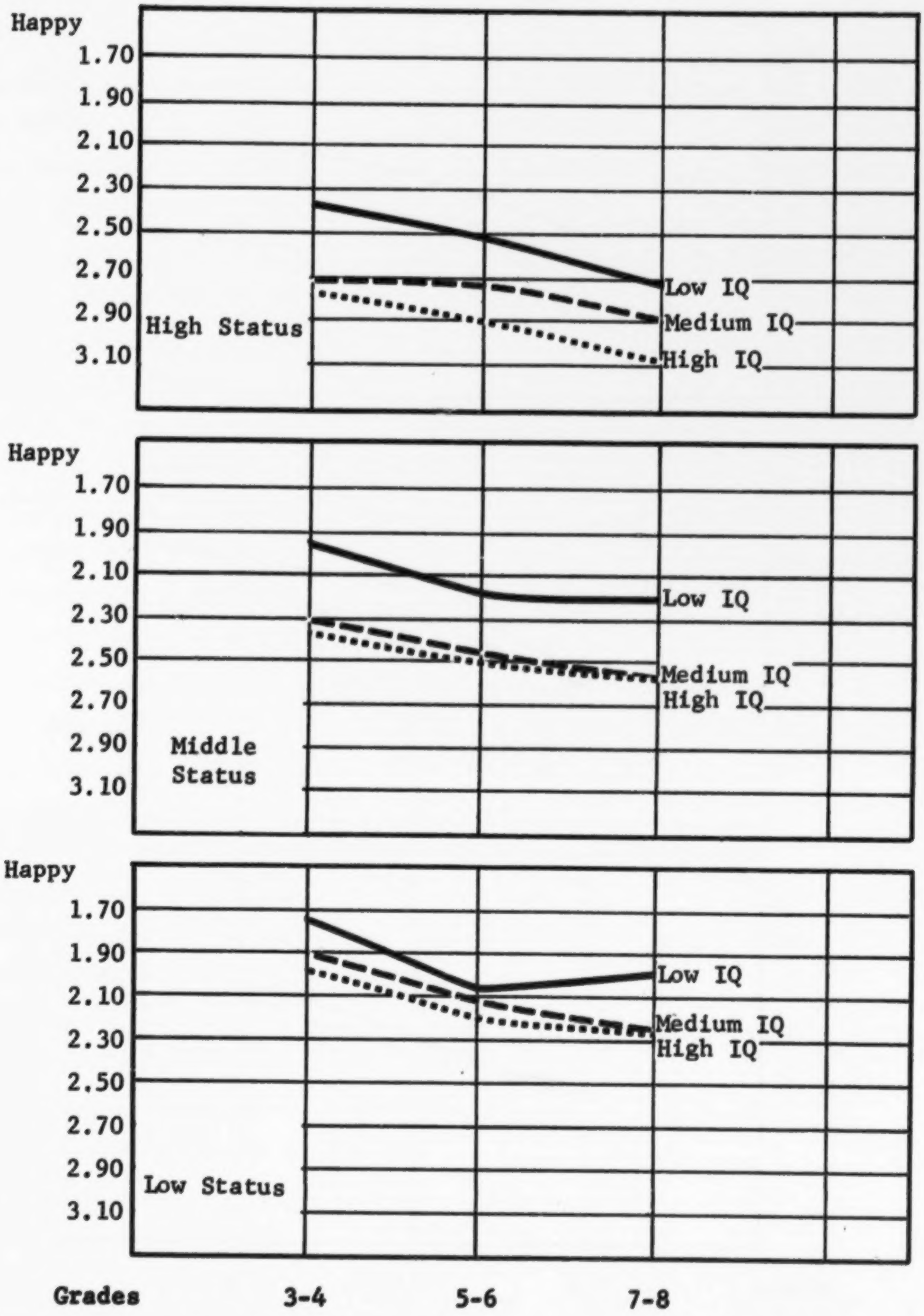
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 81 - 628

Significance Unit: 8%

FIGURE 88

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THEIR EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO KENNEDY'S ELECTION, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Did you feel happy or sad when Kennedy was elected?

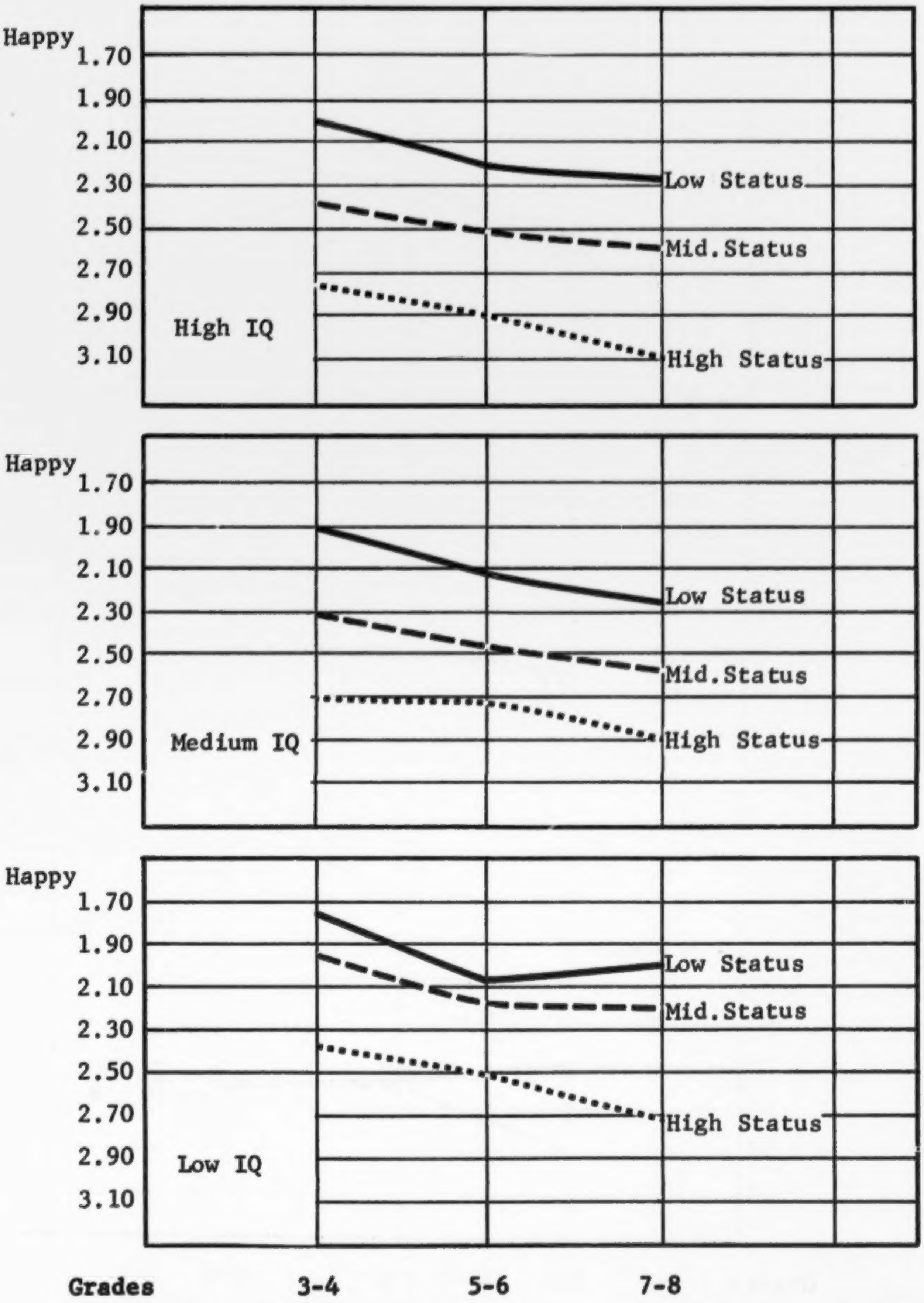
Index Scale: 1 - Very happy
5 - Very sad

Range of N: 66 - 597

Significance Unit: .20

FIGURE 89

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN THEIR EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO KENNEDY'S ELECTION, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: Did you feel happy or sad when Kennedy was elected?

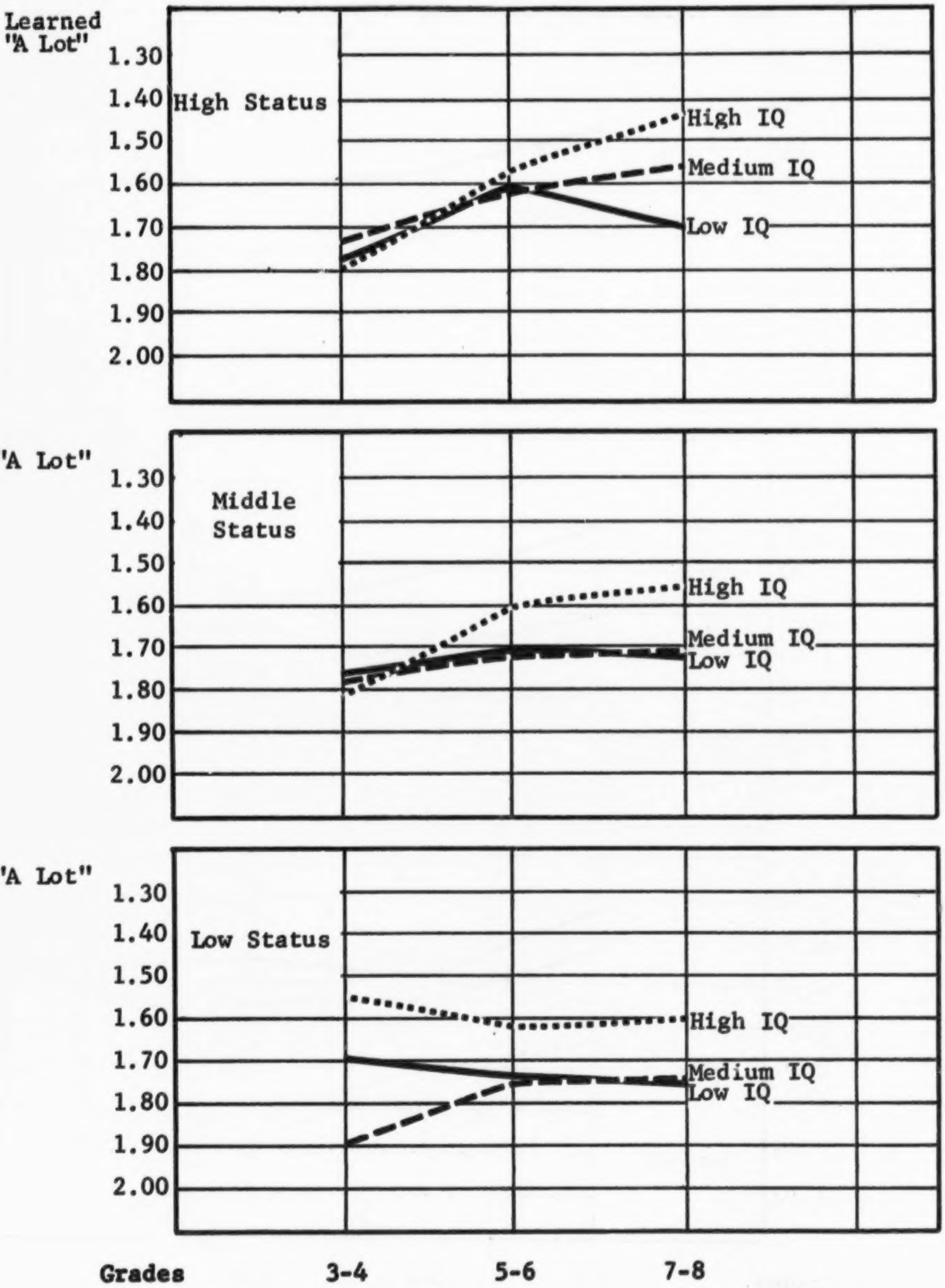
Index Scale: 1 - Very happy
5 - Very sad

Range of N: 66 - 597

Significance Unit: .20

FIGURE 90

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF IQ GROUPS IN THEIR USE OF ELECTIONS AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL INFORMATION, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: How much did you learn from the last election?

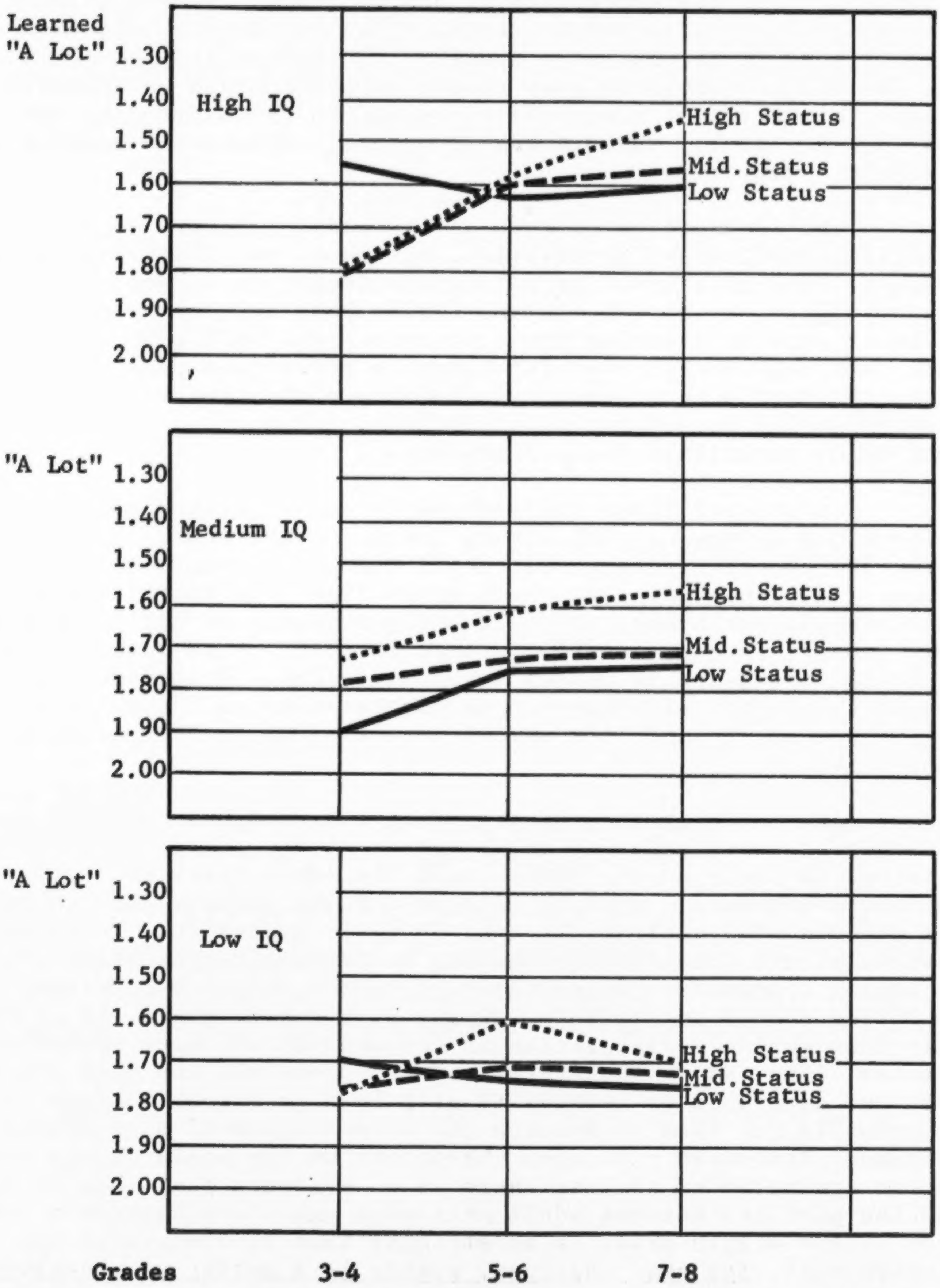
Index Scale: 1 - A lot
3 - Very little

Range of N: 33 - 562

Significance Unit: .10

FIGURE 91

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF SOCIAL STATUS GROUPS IN THEIR USE OF ELECTIONS AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL INFORMATION, WITHIN IQ AND GRADE



Item: How much did you learn from the last election?

Index Scale: 1 - A lot
3 - Very little

Range of N: 33 - 562

Significance Unit: .10

difference increased somewhat with age, being most obvious at the seventh and eighth grade levels.

(d) Summary.--The basic attachment to the nation and the government, and the acceptance of compliance to law and authority are relatively unaffected by social class and by the mediation of intelligence in the learning process. These are also areas in which the family and community play strong supporting and socializing roles. Since social class effects would be transmitted in the context of the family, these areas apparently represent consensus in the total community.

The acquisition of more active and initiatory aspects of political involvement (activities, efficacy, participation in discussion, interest, etc.) is strongly affected by IQ and, to a lesser degree, by social status. The school apparently plays the dominant role in teaching these attitudes and skills of participation, and children of high intelligence grasp them more quickly. Also, the family and community of high status areas tend to provide models for and to support high political interest and active involvement which accentuate these differences.

In general these differences by social status parallel the differences between social status levels in the adult society. Party preference, for example, shows the usual relationship with social class, beginning at about grade five. In this feature of involvement, as in most where IQ and social status differences appear, the discrepancy between groups increases with age, reaching its greatest divergence in grades seven and eight. This suggests that the socialization of consensus is completed at an early grade, leaving more complete and less agreed upon aspects to later elementary school years.

The tendency for children from low status homes, and for children of relatively low intelligence at all status levels, to be retarded in their socialization into the participant and active involvement presents a serious problem for the society and confronts the schools with a difficult task in civic education. These children at eighth grade are graduating incompletely socialized into the political community. Since the high school data indicate that there is little change in attitudes during high school years, it is likely that this gap in socialization is not made up at later educational levels. Also, since these children are those who are most likely to drop out of school or have difficulty in high school courses, the opportunity for them to acquire the orientations of more active involvement decreases with age. These may be the children who will become apathetic as adults; there is no evidence that this is so, but the parallel between adult attitudes and the attitudes of children at the eighth grade is so striking that we are led to the conclusion that, for many children, apathy is a matter of incomplete or inadequate socialization in those areas of behavior most profoundly affected by the elementary schools.

2. Sex Role

a) Introduction

Differences between males and females in political behavior and attitudes reflect sex roles learned in other social contexts. Initially, sex role emerges from experience with family members, particularly the child's relationships with mother and father. Girls form different relationships with authority than do boys and develop different expectations. Their perceptions of roles and role performance in the political system are influenced by these factors.

Sex differences have frequently been reported in research on adult political participation. Women inflate the "no opinion" and "no information" response categories in public opinion surveys (Cantril & Strunk, 1951); they are more interested in candidates than in issues (Campbell *et al*., 1954) and evaluate political objects on a lower level of conceptualization than do men (Campbell *et al*., 1960). Women feel less competent and efficacious in their political activity than men (Campbell *et al*., 1960) and are less interested in political matters and elections (Berelson *et al*., 1954); they vote less frequently than men (a difference which is more pronounced at lower educational levels) and tend to take advice from their husbands in making voting decisions (Campbell *et al*., 1954).

The cultural influence of women's traditional role is frequently cited to explain these findings. Berelson *et al*. (1954), for example, commented that "women are newcomers to the political scene," and Lane (1959) concluded:

> The culture emphasizes moral, dependent, less competent images of women which reduce their partisanship and sense of political effectiveness and define a less active political role for them [p. 215].

The age at which sex differences in political participation and involvement arise has been explored by Hyman (1959) and Greenstein (1965). Hyman reports in a review of political socialization literature that adolescent girls show less interest in political matters than boys; boys are better informed about current news and more often choose their ego ideals from among political leaders than do girls. Greenstein (1961), studying fourth through eighth grade children, found that boys scored higher on a test of political information, were more interested in national than regional news, and when asked to name a news story, were more likely than girls to cite a political item. Awareness that males are more knowledgeable about politics develops during childhood; Greenstein reported that both boys and girls said they would ask father rather than mother for advice about voting.

If degree of political interest, information, and media exposure differs between the sexes as early as middle childhood and adolescence, the source of this heterogeneity requires explanation. The focus of studies of adult and adolescent sex differences has been on adult modes of political activity such as voting, interest in political news, and feelings of efficacy. These studies have not dealt with variations in attachment, compliance, or conceptions of law and relationships to authority.

There are several possible sources of sex-typing in political behavior. Political socialization, like other learning, is influenced by the sex role and other basic personality characteristics of the individual. Sex role differences lead to different role expectations in other social systems. Role expectations, even at the preschool level, are quite different for the two sexes. Among two- to four-year-olds, for example, boys are expected to be more aggressive and dominant than girls. Not all socialization occurring in childhood is directed towards adult sex roles. The sex-role learning which does occur at this period, however, mediates much of the child's later interaction with other social systems.

Lynn (1962), attempting to clarify the sources of these sex differences, suggested that they arise both from the nature of the sex role to which the child is directly socialized and from the process of socialization. In his formulation, girls learn the feminine sex role primarily by directly imitating their mothers; boys, however, must model many men, since fathers work away from home and are less available for imitation. Since women also direct the development of masculine sex role, the boy learns a stereotyped rather than specific male role. To learn the masculine sex role requires the ability to abstract principles of masculinity from several different models. Lynn (1962) derived predictions about sex difference which concur with the findings of other investigators: girls have a greater need for affiliation or social response from others, they are more influenced by the standards of others, and are less dependent upon internalized moral standards; girls are less concerned with problem solving and with forming abstract principles. Lynn did not discuss the negative sanctions or socializing pressures which differ for boys and girls.

Bronfenbrenner (1961) discussed the balance of affection and control as displayed by parents and the effects of this upon responsibility and aspiration level in children. His conclusion was that,

> While an affectional context is important for the socialization of boys, it must evidently be accompanied by and be compatible with a strong component of parent discipline, . . . the girls having received greater affection are more sensitive to its withdrawal, with the result that a little discipline goes a long way and strong authority is constricting rather than constructive [p. 92].

His findings supported his position more clearly for negative than for positive sanctions.

Kohlberg's (1963) recent evaluation of theory and research on sex differences in conscience is also relevant. He cited Terman and Tyler's (1946) conclusion that girls are more conforming to rules and authority than boys: they have lower delinquency rates, experience fewer school and home problems, and are rated higher on moral traits. Kohlberg found no evidence, however, of differences in the degree of adherence to internalized moral standards. Kohlberg attributed these results to "naturally-sociologically" determined perceptions of sex role:

> Girls are expected to be, and expect themselves to be, more obedient, more fearful, more affectionate, and more dependent. . . . These differences are similar to the differences in children's perceptions of mother and father. These differences in self perceptions of role would be expected to lead to greater compliance to authority in girls, regardless of general degree of internalization of rules [p. 312].

He did find, however, that boys are oriented more toward impersonal justice in their development of conscience than are girls. This, he believes, is related to the fact that adult male roles involve legitimate rule-enforcing aggression and more role-oriented norms, while the housewife-mother role primarily involves person-oriented norms, and these are roles with which the child identifies. Johnson (1963) conceptualizes sex-role learning as an incorporation of social roles learned from interaction with parents, not as identification with traits or qualities of the parents. The child's sex may also influence the expectations others have for his political activities. To the degree that parents and teachers subscribe to the cultural stereotype that political activity is more appropriate for men, different norms and expectations will be presented to boys and girls.

In summary, sex differences in political involvement result from a complex set of influences. There may be a tendency for parents and teachers to induct boys into more active political roles because they subscribe to the norm that politics is a man's world. Boys may perceive that their fathers are more politically active than their mothers and thus incorporate this as part of the male image with which they identify. A more important aspect of preadult socialization is that role expectations, patterns of needs, and behavior that differ for boys and girls mediate political socialization.

b) Data

Though many of the sex differences are not large, they are remarkably consistent. Boys (or girls) are higher at every grade level, and the lines on the graph show very few reversals.

(1) The acquisition of attitudes

Girls acquire attitudes less rapidly than boys. Boys are about a year ahead in attitude growth, but sex difference diminishes with age (Figure 92).

Girls earn higher school grades and score higher on reading achievement tests than boys (Anderson, 1957; Hughes, 1953; Stroud & Lindquist, 1942); apparently girls' greater interest and achievement in school does not extend to the acquisition of political attitudes. Greenstein (1961) asserted that boys have greater interest in political affairs; this would explain the sex difference but would not predict the lack of differentiation between boys and girls evident at the seventh and eighth grade levels. Although differences in the Don't Know Index are absent at these later grades, there is evidence that adult women hold fewer opinions than men (Cantril & Strunk, 1951; Remmers & Radler, 1957). This implies that the school socializes both boys and girls to equal levels of attitude. As adults, however, group and institutional supports for female political participation may no longer be sufficient to maintain this attitude level.

(2) Attachment to the nation

There are no differences between girls and boys in symbolization of the country (determined by asking which picture best represents America) and no sex differences in attachment to America as the best country in the world. These attitudes are so widely held in the population that subgroups are not differentiated.

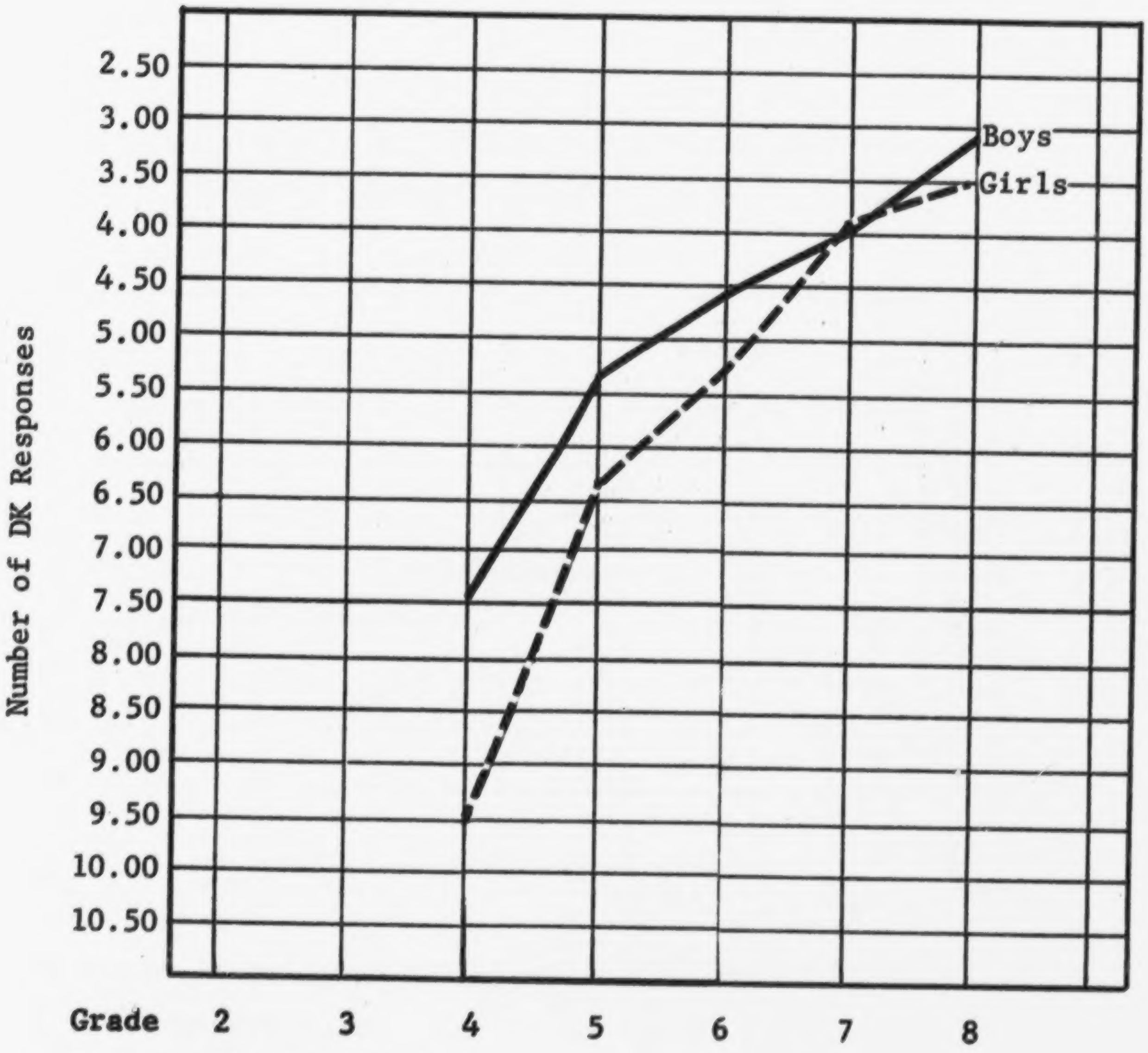
Boys have a somewhat different view of international morality than do girls (Figure 93), answering that it is acceptable for the government to lie in order to protect the American people. Girls are more likely to apply personal morality to political actions, feeling that all lies are wrong, while boys judge governmental actions in terms of political expediency.

(3) Attachment to figures and institutions of government

(a) Conception of the system.--Girls symbolize government as a personal figure rather than as an institution. The discussion of previous research on sex role suggests that girls are more involved with persons and less able to handle abstractions than boys. This is supported by these data (Figure 94). Significant sex differences in the personalization of government appeared in every grade except the second; a differentiation between the sexes increased with age. This conceptualization is important because it indicates that girls approach the government with a different set of expectations, similar to those they have learned in family relationships.

FIGURE 92

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 questions

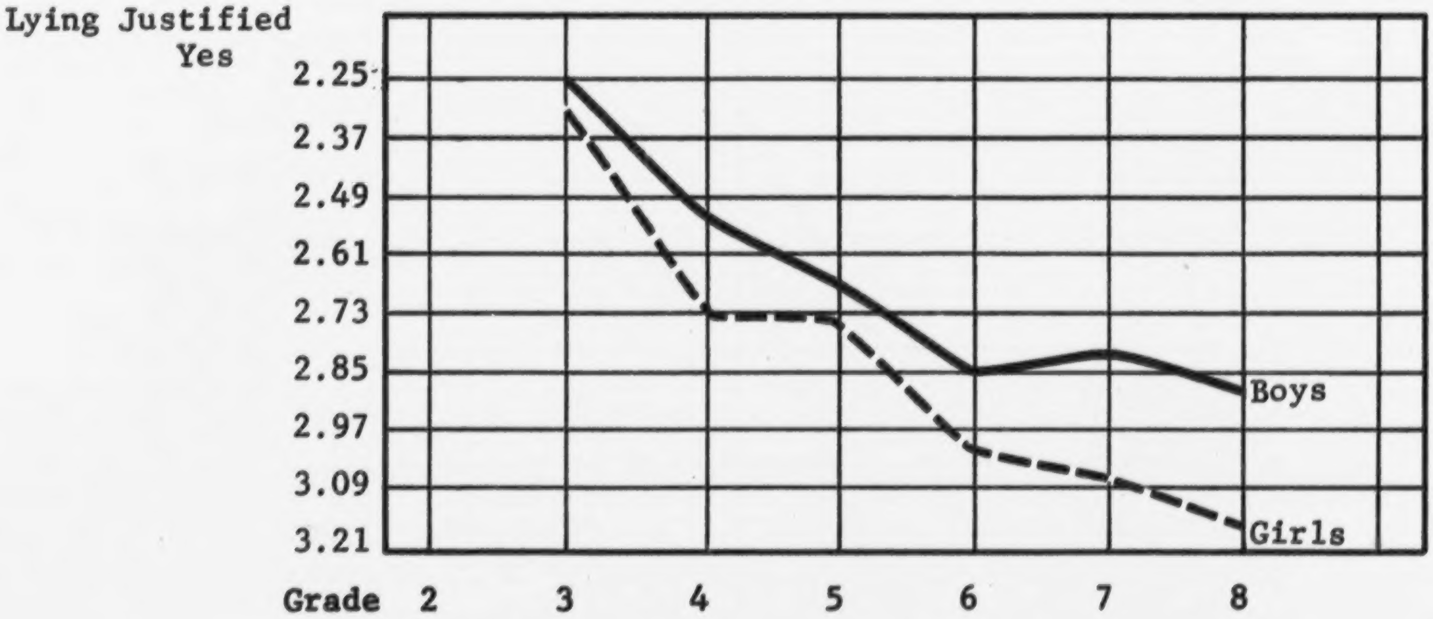
Index Scale: 0 - No DK
32 - High DK

Range of N: 711 - 849

Significance Unit: .51

FIGURE 93

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN JUSTIFYING EXPEDIENCY TO PROTECT NATIONAL INTEREST, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Is it all right for the government to lie to protect America?

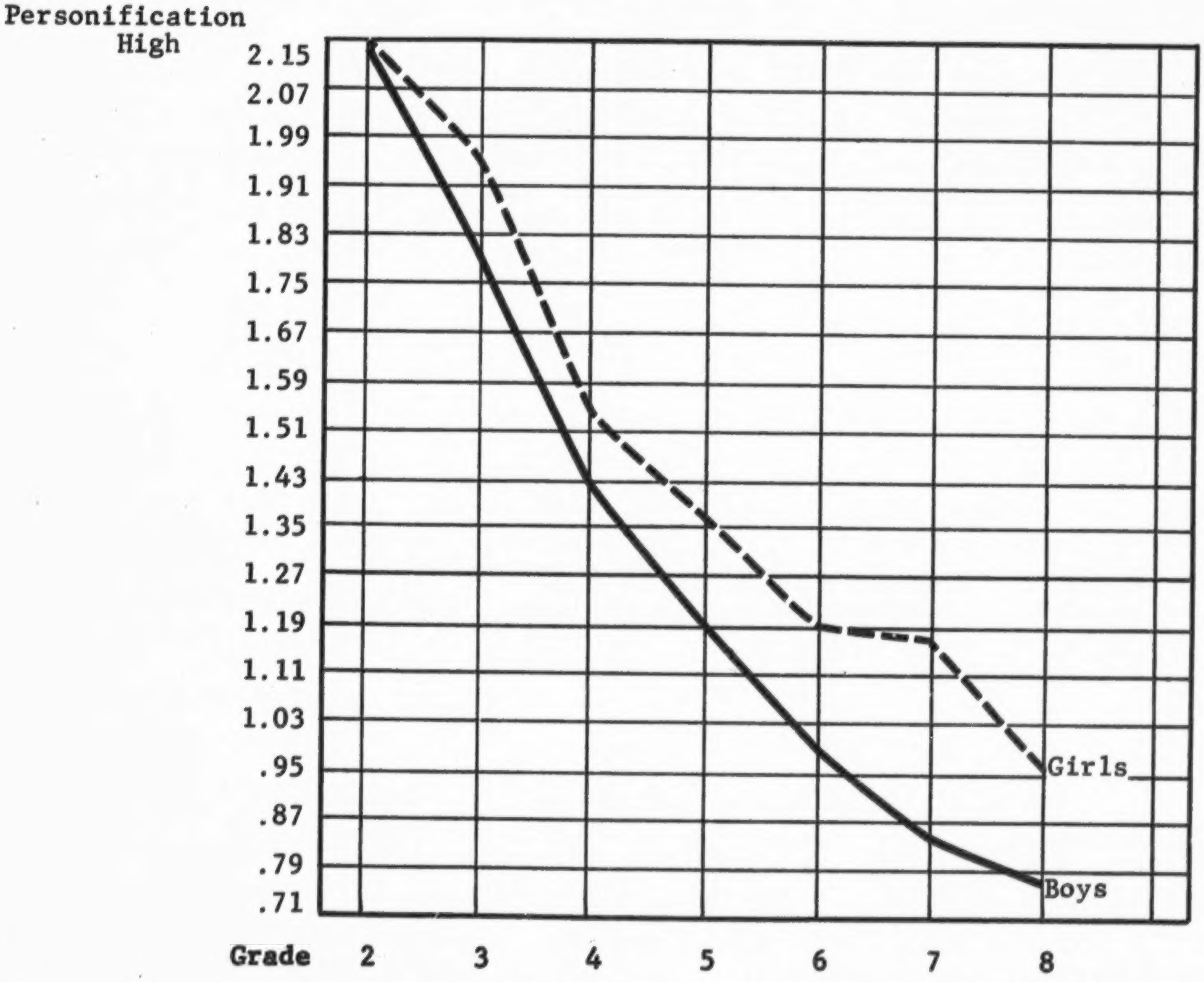
Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 - Strong disagree

Range of N: 682 - 807

Significance Unit: .12

FIGURE 94

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THEIR TENDENCY TO PERSONIFY THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Combination of four items: choice of President or of Washington as picture of government; President as source of national pride; President runs country.

Index Scale: 0 - None
4 - All four

Range of N: 799 - 911

Significance Unit: .08

(b) Interaction with the system.--Girls are more attached to personal figures of the system than are boys. Since girls conceptualize the government in personal terms, their relationship to it is likely to reflect this perception. The item, "the President is my favorite" shows the greater attachment of girls clearly at the later grades (Figure 95),[6] a tendency also apparent in the item measuring the child's "liking" for the President. These findings are similar to those of Beloff and Beloff (1961), that female college students attributed higher positive valence to Eisenhower than did males. Girls also perceived these figures as more personally concerned with them. The President was seen as more nurturant, more likely to want to help them and more responsive if they wrote to him, a difference which increased with age (Figure 96).

In summary, girls emphasize the protective quality of personal figures and are attached to them, while boys stress protection by more impersonal and institutionalized structures. There are dissimilarities in the quality of boys' and girls' attachment to the system. In spite of a relatively low level of interest in political matters and issues, the girls are more attached to figures of government and see them in more favorable terms than do boys. The picture is quite different in the impersonal institutionalized aspects of government and the nurturant qualities attributed to them. Boys rated the Supreme Court higher in willingness to help through the middle grades (Figure 97). When compared with boys, girls rated the President and policeman higher on a number of specific aspects of role performance (Table 61). These differences were more pronounced at the later grade levels. In most items, favorable judgments decreased for boys, while they remained constant for girls. There was some tendency for boys to assess the Supreme Court as more infallible; this is consistent with the differential value of personal and impersonal authority discussed earlier.

(4) Compliance and response to law

(a) Conception of the system and the role of the citizen.--Girls were more likely to feel that "all laws are fair." This difference began at the sixth grade and remained at the same magnitude through the rest of the grades (Figure 98).

Girls more frequently than boys reported that the most important duty of the adult citizen is to obey laws (Figure 99). This is consistent with studies showing that girls are more obedient in early childhood at home and in school. The stress that teachers place on obedience and conformity to school rules and laws is more effective for girls, and they may also learn the norms of citizenship behavior more quickly than boys. This is an exception to the general pattern of more rapid acquisition of attitudes by boys, as noted in previous sections.

(b) Interaction with the system.--Girls see legal authorities as more responsive than do boys. A major part of the child's compli-

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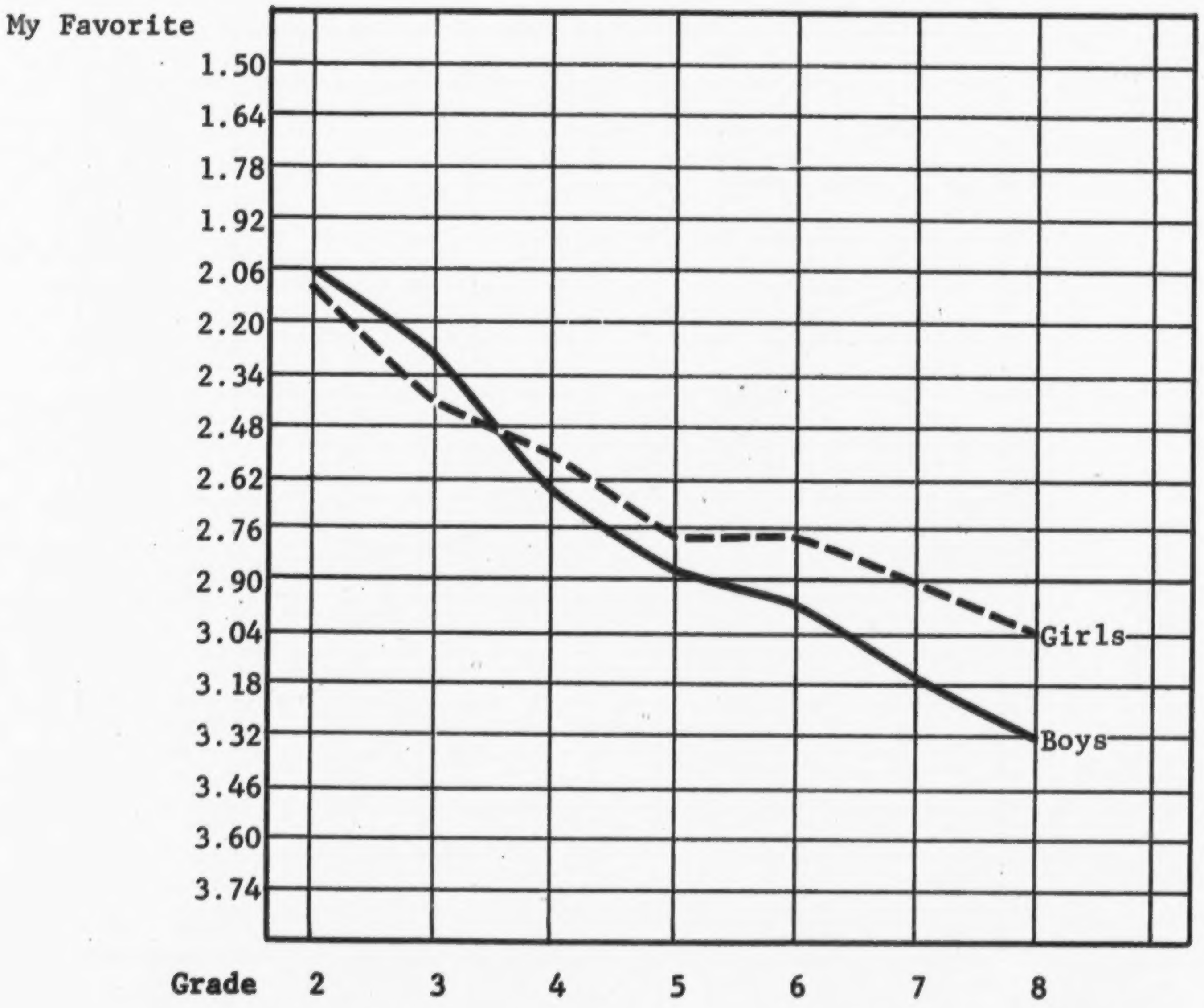
[6] Although the positive view of nurturance declines rapidly with age for the President (but not for the policeman), the sex differences for these figures are similar.

FIGURE 95

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE PRESIDENT, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The President is my favorite of all

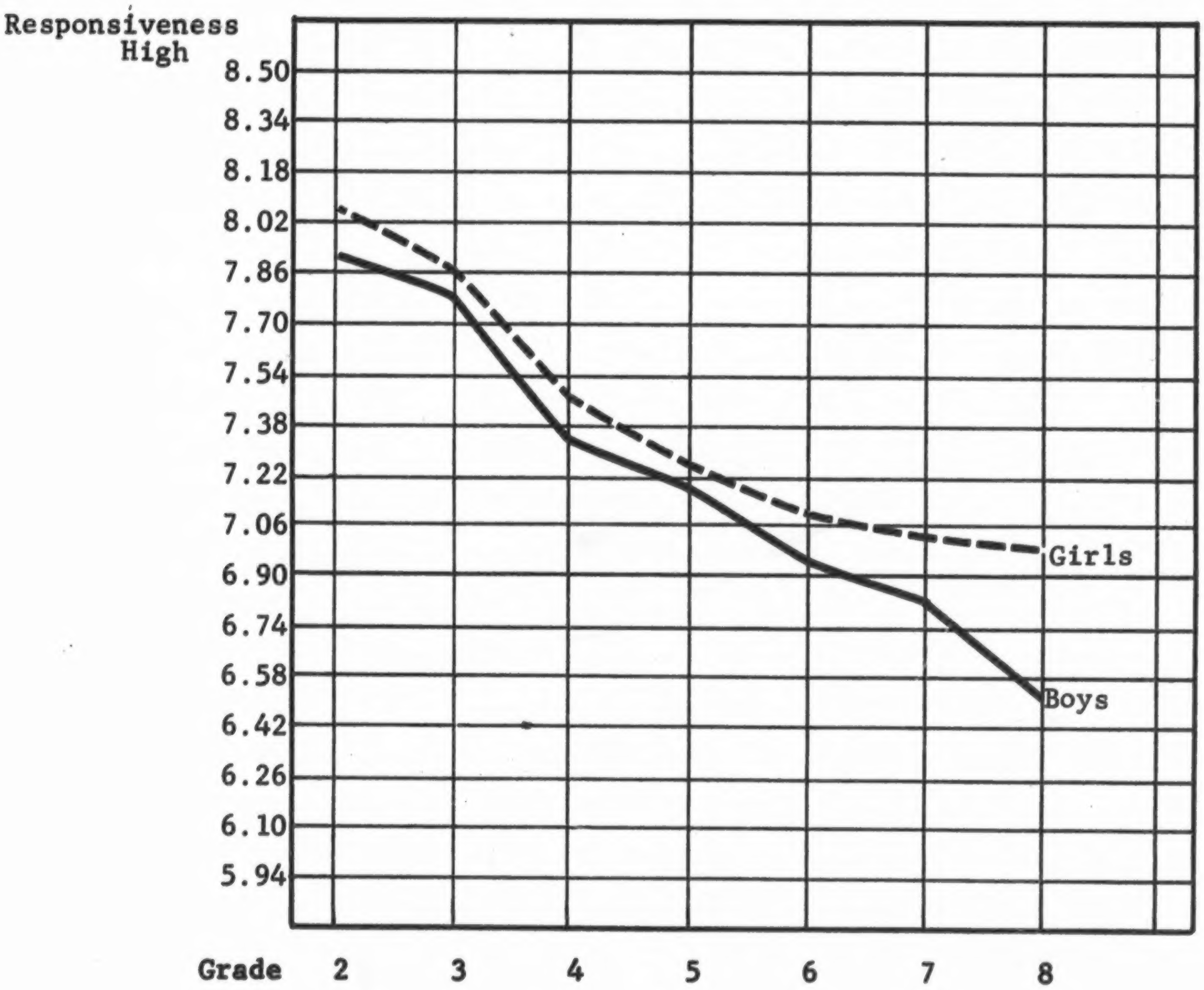
Index Scale: 1 - Favorite of all
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 787 - 901

Significance Unit: .14

FIGURE 96

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RATING THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSIVENESS TO INDIVIDUALS, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Combination of two items: the President would always want to help me if I needed it; the President would care a lot if I wrote to him.

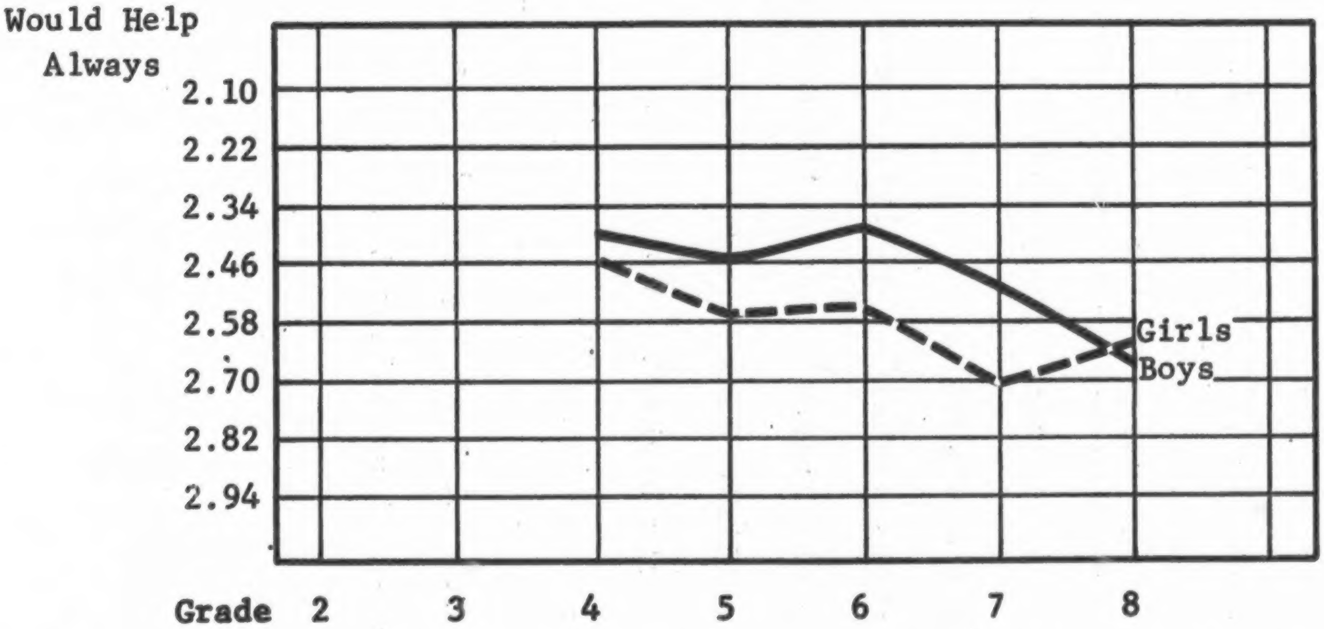
Index Scale: 2 - Low
9 - High

Range of N: 782 - 900

Significance Unit: .16

FIGURE 97

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RATING THE SUPREME COURT'S RESPONSIVENESS TO INDIVIDUALS, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The Supreme Court would always want to help me if I needed it.

Index Scale: 1 - Always
6 - Never

Range of N: 622 - 861

Significance Unit: .12

TABLE 61

SUMMARY OF SEX DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTION OF FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS[a]

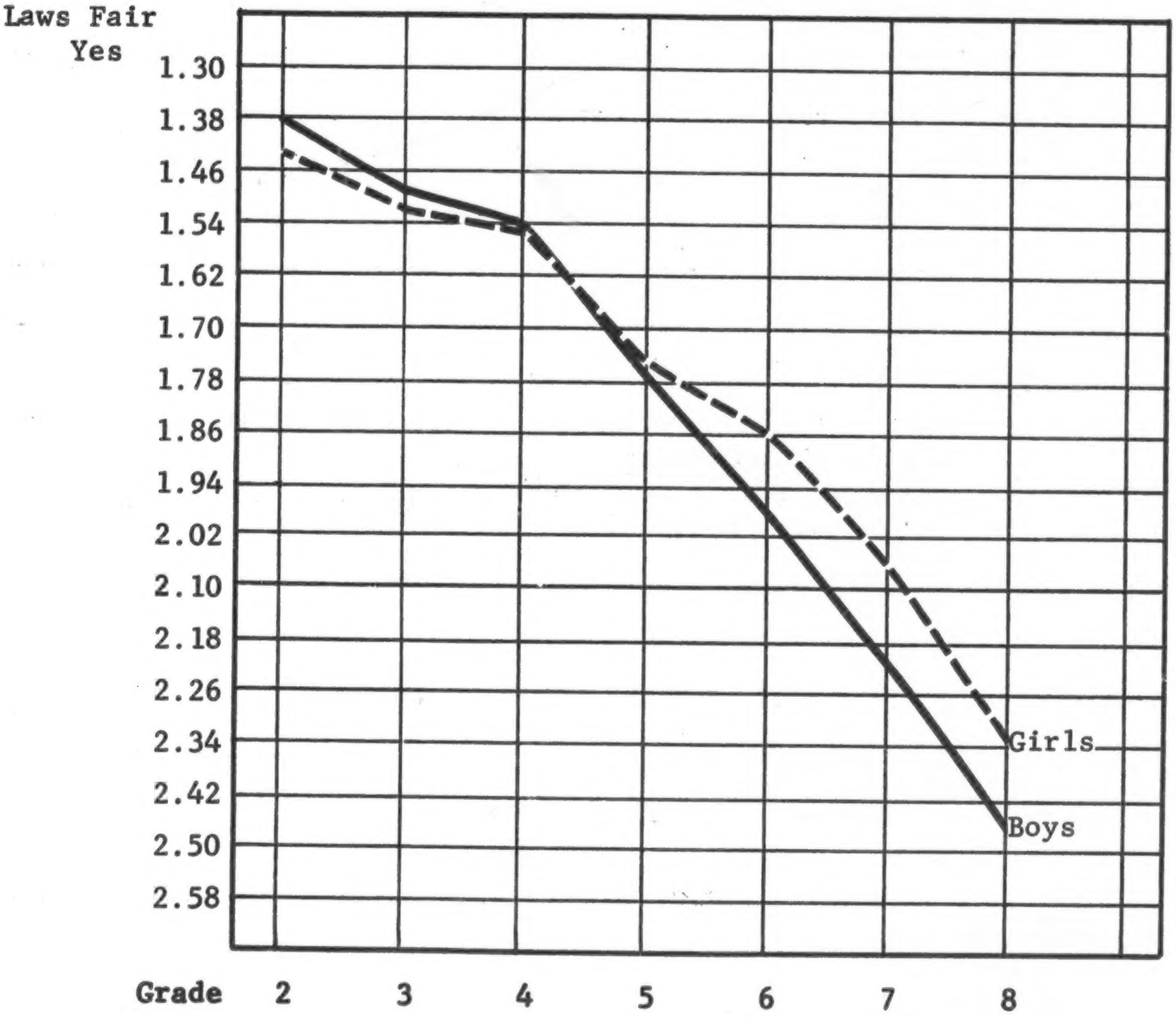
Item	President	Policeman	Supreme Court	Government	Senator
Never makes mistakes	no difference	girls higher[b]	boys higher	no difference	no difference
Keeps promises	no difference	girls higher			
Knows a lot	girls higher	girls higher[b]	no difference	no difference	no difference
Makes decisions	girls higher[b]	girls higher[b]	no difference	girls higher	girls higher
Never gives up	girls higher	no difference			
Is a leader	no difference	girls higher[b]			
Works hard	girls higher[b]	girls higher[b]			

[a] Differences include items 1 unit apart at 2 grade levels out of grades 4–8.

[b] A particularly large difference: 2 units apart at 2 grade levels, or 1 unit apart at 4 grade levels, or equivalent.

FIGURE 98

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THEIR BELIEF THAT LAWS ARE FAIR, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Are all laws fair?

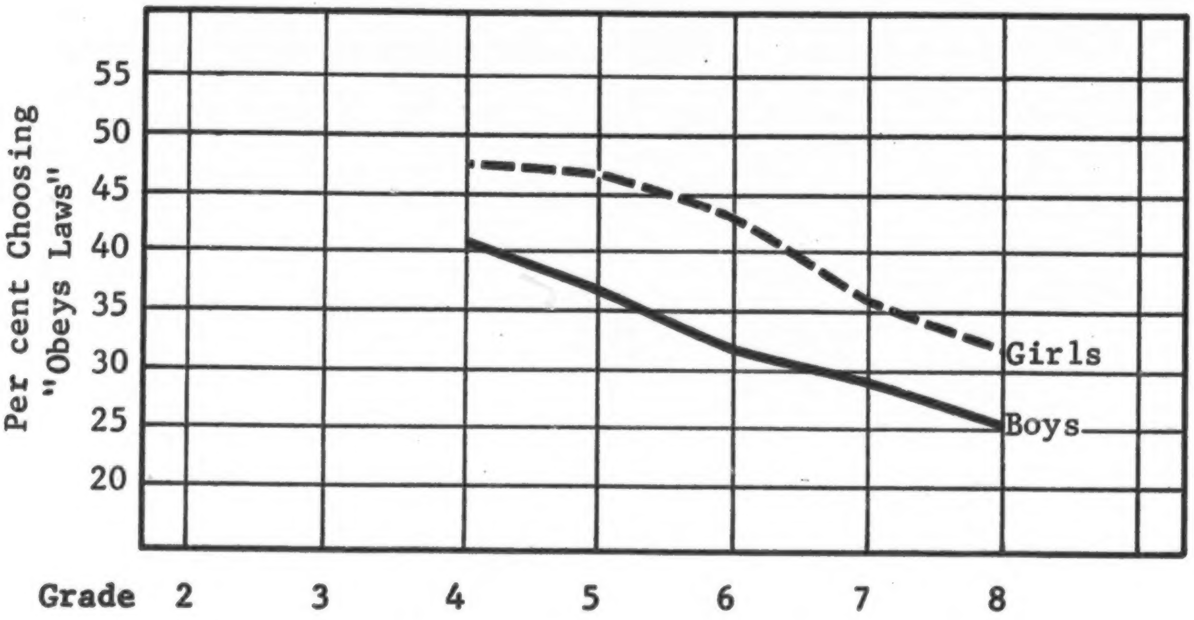
Index Scale: 1 - Strong agree
4 - Strong disagree

Range of N: 703 - 851

Significance Unit: .08

FIGURE 99

COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN CHOICE OF "OBEY LAWS" AS THE CITIZEN'S MOST IMPORTANT OBLIGATION, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Which is the best adult citizen? One who obeys laws. (Seven other alternatives; child selected two).

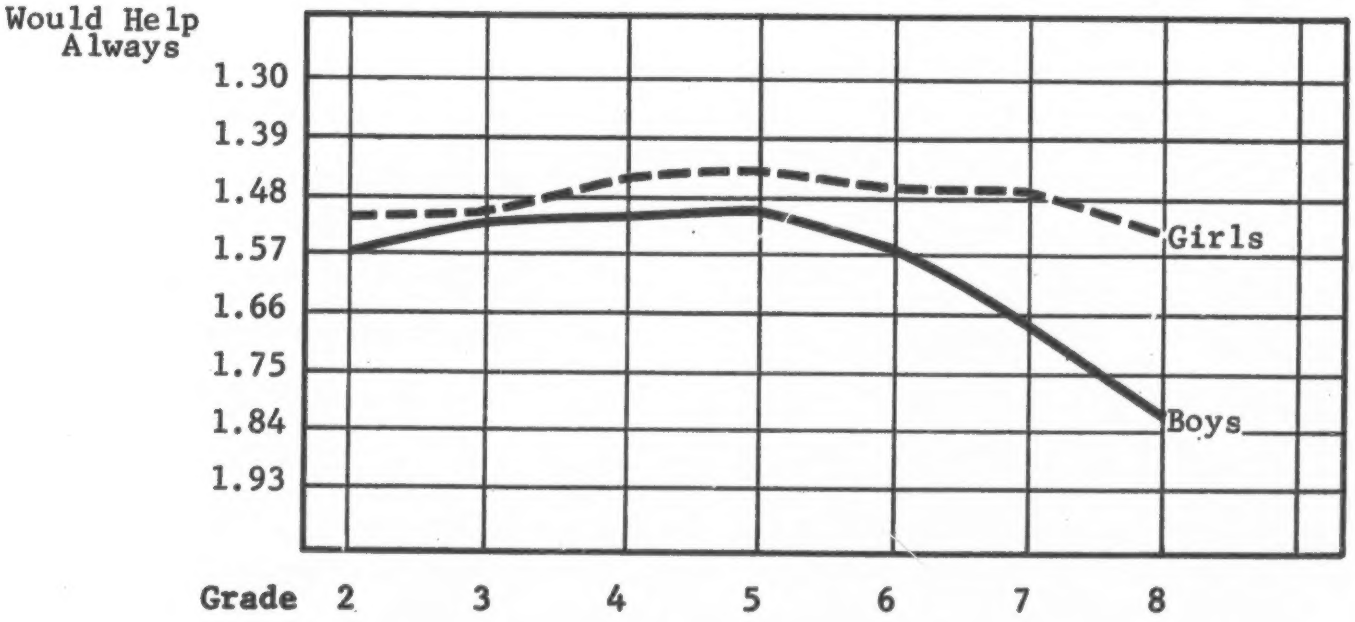
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 789 - 902

Significance Unit: 5%

FIGURE 100

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RATING THE POLICEMAN'S RESPONSIVENESS TO INDIVIDUALS, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The policeman would always want to help me if I needed it.

Index Scale: 1 - Always
6 - Never

Range of N: 786 - 905

Significance Unit: .09

ance is based upon his perception that the system has power to enforce laws. From this perspective, the child's relationship to the policeman as a representative of the system of laws is an important point of socialization. Girls are more likely to perceive that the policeman is responsive to their needs and would want to help them (Figure 100). Girls also rated the policeman higher in role-performing competence (Table 61). Consistent with their perception of greater protection from the policeman, girls were also more likely to be personally attached to the policeman and to say that he was their favorite (Figure 101). At the older grade levels, boys were more likely to tell the policeman he is wrong if they felt they had been unjustly treated. This is also consistent with the unquestioning compliance that is part of the feminine sex role.

Sex differences in perception of the power of individuals and institutions are large and consistent. Girls saw all personal figures (President, policeman, Senator, and father) as more powerful and as more able to punish others and to "make other people do what they want" (Figures 102 and 103). This differentiation was more pronounced at the later grade levels. Boys, in line with their conception of the government in institutional terms, saw the Supreme Court as more powerful (Figure 104).

(5) Discussion of sex differences in attachment and compliance

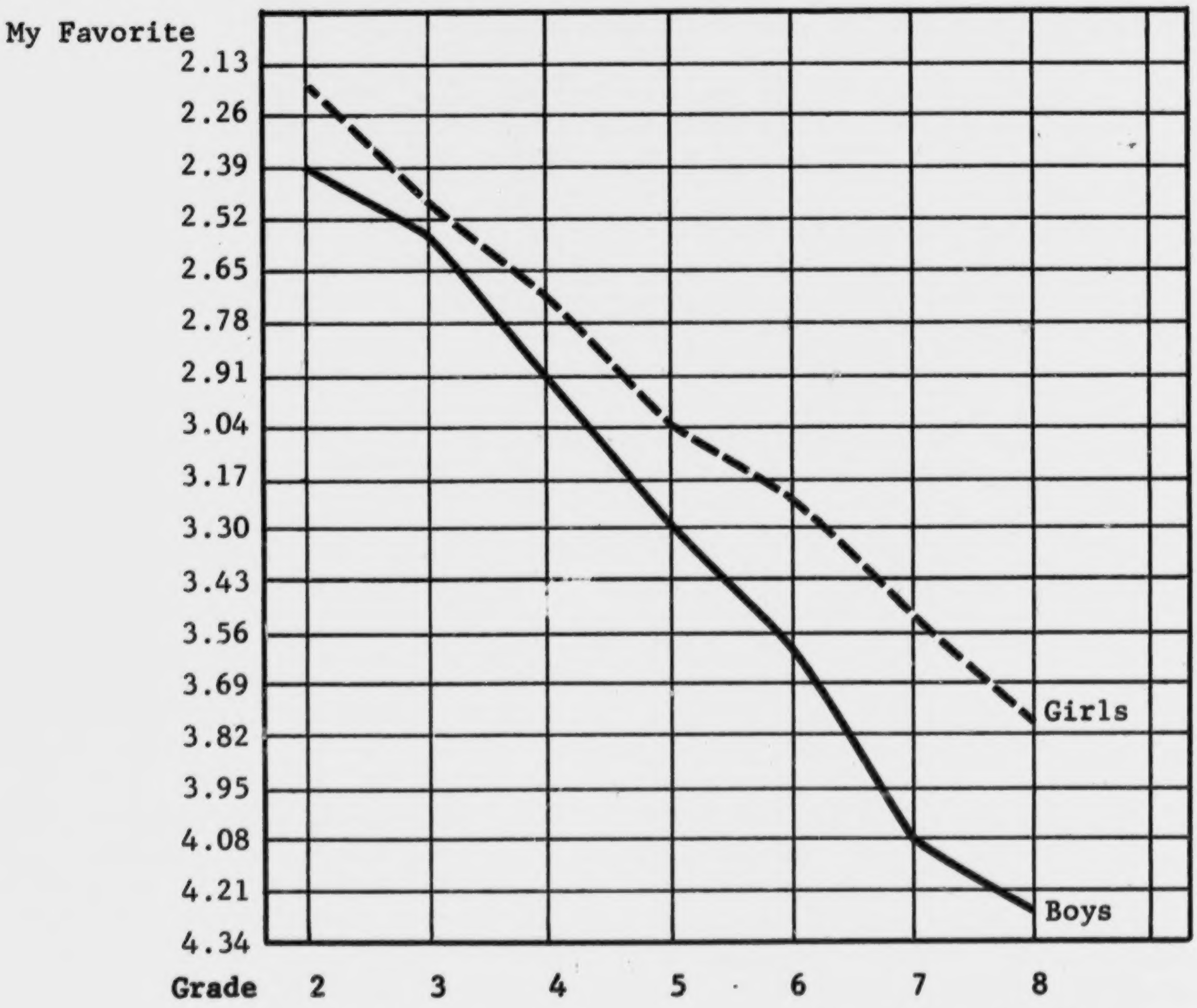
The clearest findings are that girls see the government in more personalized terms: they perceive the personal figures in the government as more nurturant, feel more attached to them, attribute more power to them, and see them as fulfilling their roles more adequately. Boys, however, see the Supreme Court, an impersonal object, as more powerful and helpful. These differences were particularly evident at the later grades.

Greater interest in persons has been suggested as part of the feminine sex role; Goodenough (1957) indicated that greater personal concern is characteristic of girls. Lynn (1962) suggested that the identification process directs girls toward persons (the mother) rather than toward an impersonal conception of her role. Parsons'(1955) discussion of polarization of masculine and feminine roles suggested that women and girls are oriented toward expressive roles while men and boys are oriented to the impersonal and instrumental occupational roles within the social system. This may be analogous to the orientation of girls to the personal-expressive aspects of the political system, and that of boys to the impersonal-instrumental facets.

Sex differences were particularly pronounced for ratings of the policeman, with girls rating him consistently higher, particularly on role qualities. This suggests that girls compensate for feelings of powerlessness in response to the policeman by seeing him as a benevolent, helpful, competent figure. We know that young

FIGURE 101

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE POLICEMAN, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The policeman is my favorite of all.

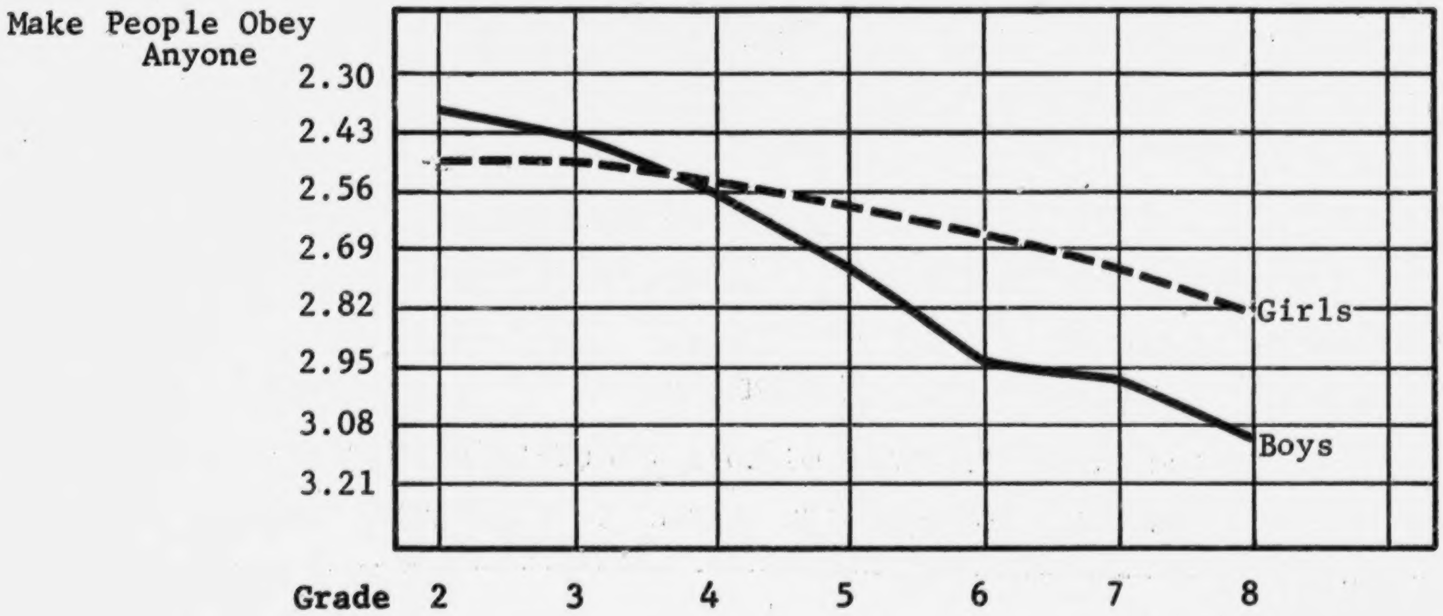
Index Scale: 1 - Favorite
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 781 - 897

Significance Unit: .13

FIGURE 102

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RATING THE COERCIVE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The President can make anyone do what he wants.

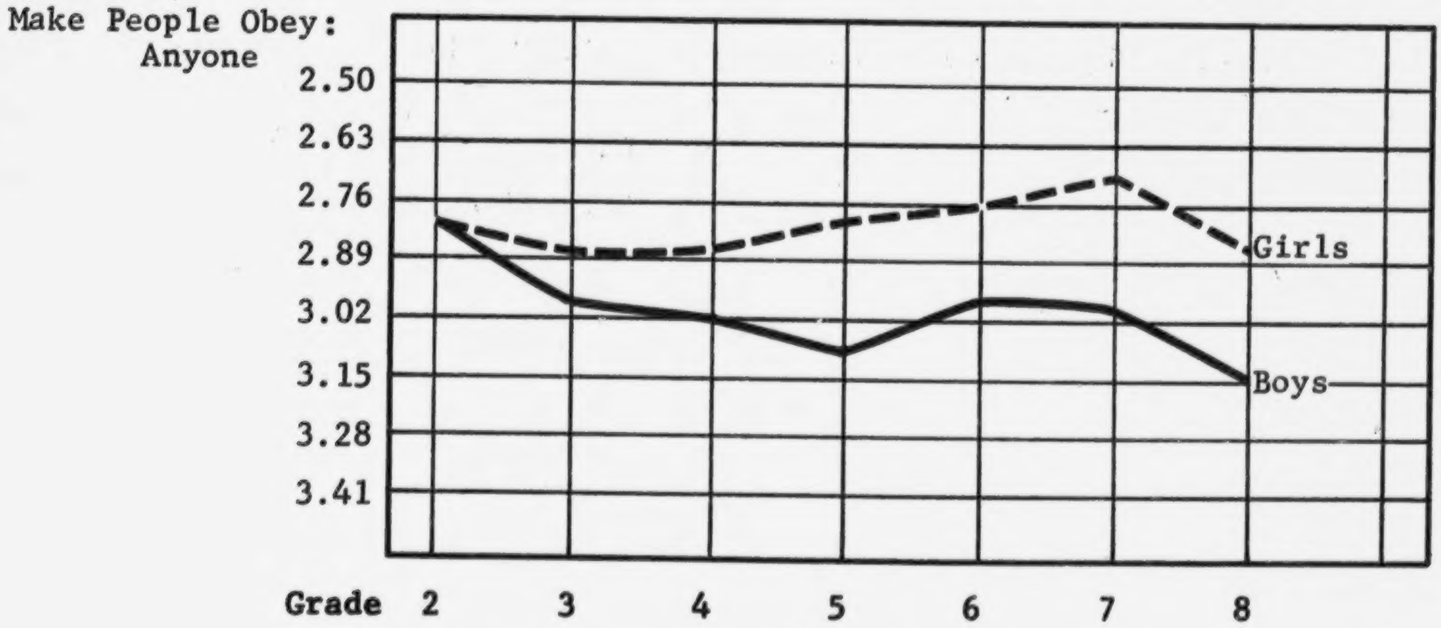
Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - Almost no one

Range of N: 787 - 903

Significance Unit: .13

FIGURE 103

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RATING THE COERCIVE POWER OF THE POLICEMAN, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The policeman can make anyone do what he wants.

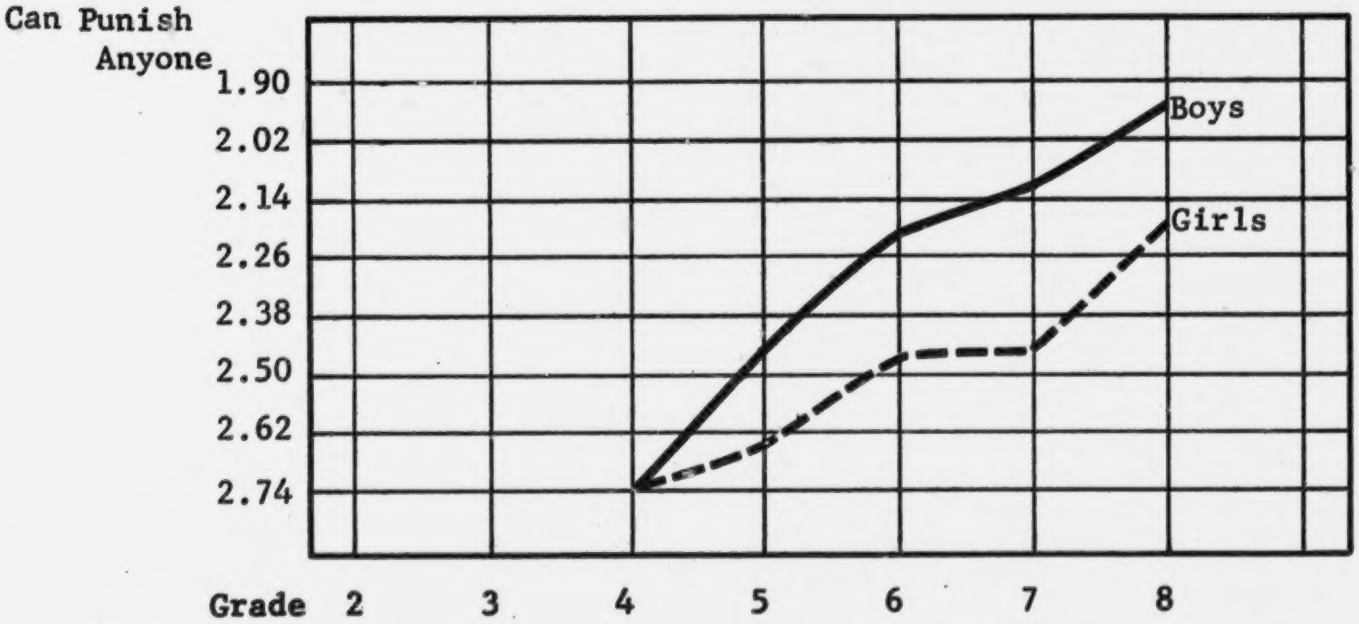
Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - Almost no one

Range of N: 786 - 889

Significance Unit: .13

FIGURE 104

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RATING THE PUNITIVE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT, WITHIN GRADE



Item: The Supreme Court can punish anyone.

Index Scale: 1 - Anyone
6 - No one

Range of N: 615 - 862

Significance Unit: .12

children tend to feel vulnerable and powerless when they consider their own power in relation to authority and that girls feel particularly anxious, helpless, powerless, and insecure. Bronfenbrenner (1961) maintained that girls are particularly sensitive to punitive influence. Previous data (Torney, Hess, & Easton, 1962) indicated that children's idealized image of the President, particularly among lower class girls, may be a response to these feelings of vulnerability. The idealized perception of the President may be motivated by need to see benevolence in a powerful figure.

In these data, most of the sex differences increased with age. Frequently, boys showed pronounced age trends, while girls changed very little from grade two to eight. Older girls are more like younger children in their responses to these figures. Dependency is characteristic of young children and of girls at all ages. Need structures, particularly those involving dependency, may be important in the differential orientations of boys and girls to the political system.

These sex differences are also consistent when viewed within the framework of reciprocal role relationships. Girls define the system as one in which all the laws are just. Reciprocally, they define the citizen's role as obedience to these laws. Girls see personal figures in the government as particularly powerful; in return, they are more reluctant to challenge a personal authority (the policeman).

(6) Influencing government policy

In the areas discussed previously, there is little information in the political sociology literature on sex differences in adults. This section considers political activities in which the child cannot yet engage but for which he can prepare himself. These include attempts to influence the governmental system other than voting (writing to Congressmen, participating in political activity other than that during elections, supporting groups which lobby for certain laws). Although less research has been directed toward this area than toward behavior surrounding elections, discrepancies between men and women have been reported in both interest and efficacy.

In interpreting sex differences in attempts to influence governmental policy, it is important to consider two prerequisites for political activity. The first is knowledge of the procedures by which influence may reasonably be attempted--particularly knowledge of the responsiveness of elected representatives and the most effective channels of influence. The second prerequisite is competence in presenting one's opinion to governmental figures, an action which demands an assertive approach to the political system. The socialization of passive compliance in females may also have an effect on political activity.

(a) Conception of the system and of the role of the citizen.--

A conceptualization of the system as one in which the citizen's right and duty is to make his opinion felt is shared by boys and girls in our group. The definition of democracy as a system in which "the people rule" and "if most of the people agree, the rest should go along," showed no sex differences. Motivation for assertive participation in government requires an acknowledgment of the need for change and perception of a system in which things do not always turn out for the best interests of the citizen. There are no variations between the percentages of girls and boys who agreed that "what goes on in the government is all for the best." Although it was noted in previous sections that girls attributed more ideal qualities to personal figures, they did not see government and its actions more positively.

A major dimension of the understanding of political process includes beliefs about the influence which the average citizen and pressure groups have on legislation. Development of this attitude was measured by ratings of eight persons and pressure groups on "how much they help decide what laws are made for the country." The three individuals listed were the President, the policeman, and the average person; all were rated higher by girls--a difference that was much more pronounced at the later grade levels (Figure 105). There was some tendency for girls to make a higher assessment of the influence of rich people and labor unions in determining laws. This may be another expression of the tendency of girls to personalize governmental processes. There was no variation by sex in ratings of newspapers, big companies, or churches.

A major percursor of adult participation is an interest in current events and political issues. Girls, more than boys, saw the good citizen as interested in these matters. These variations were large and began at grade four (Figure 106). Girls apparently learn this norm of citizen behavior earlier than boys.

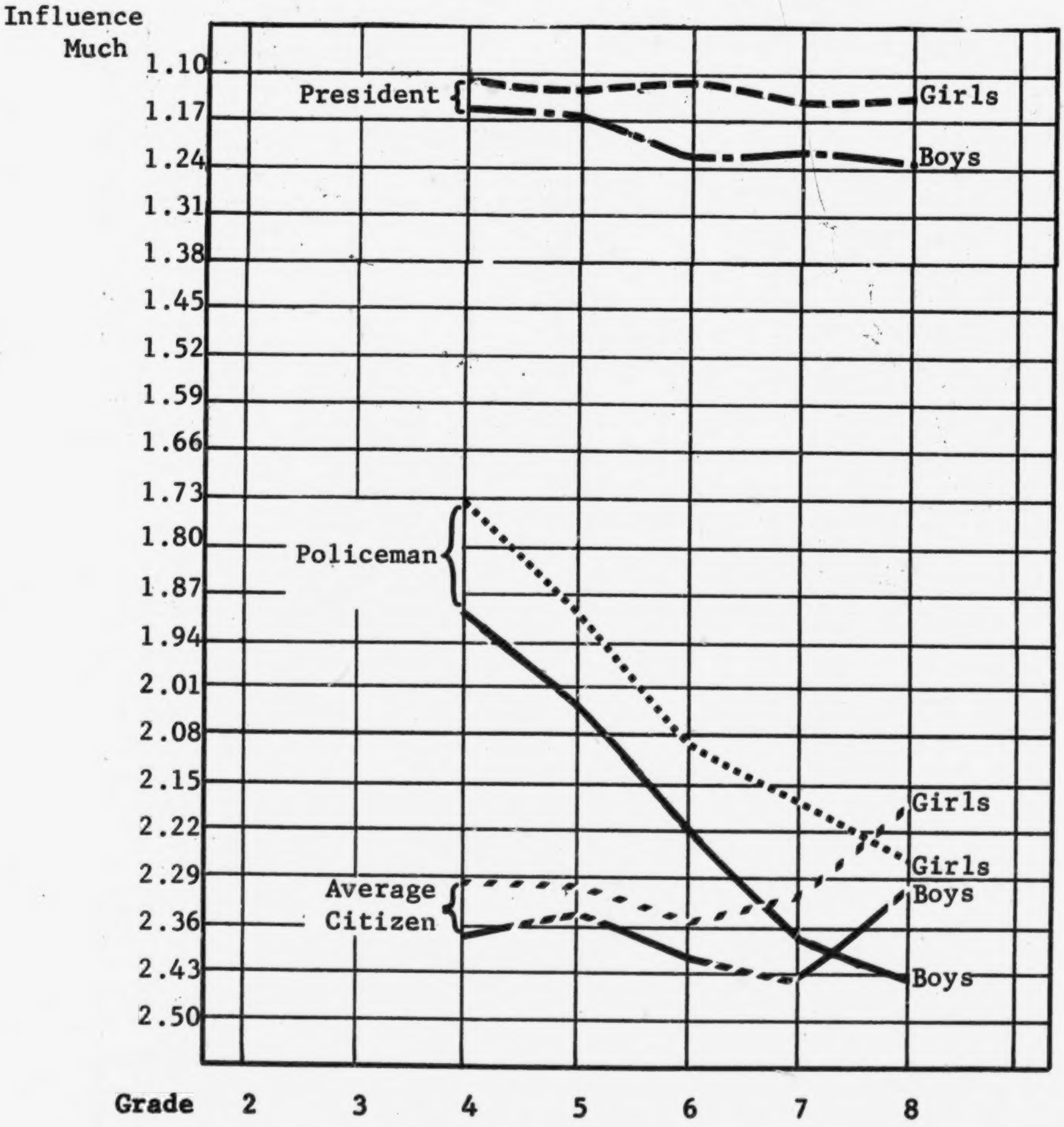
(b) Interaction with the system.--The individual's interchange with the system, particularly his perception of the effectiveness of political action, is measured by the Index of Efficacy. Although adult surveys show that males feel more efficacious, data showed no sex differences on this index. After men enter the occupational role system, the institutional supports for political action may be much greater for them, but in elementary school this is not an important influence.

Boys, however, are more interested in political matters than are girls in grades four through seven (Figure 107). This is an example of a discrepancy between girls' perceptions of norms and their behavior; a larger proportion of girls than of boys chose interest in the government as the citizen's most important obligation, but girls in fact expressed less political interest than boys.

Two indices measured the child's tendency to discuss political and governmental issues with other persons and to support one side of an argument. Responses indicated that girls engage in

FIGURE 105

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN RATING THE INFLUENCE OF THE POLICEMAN, THE PRESIDENT AND THE AVERAGE CITIZEN ON LEGISLATION, WITHIN GRADE



Item: How much does.....help decide which laws are made for our country?

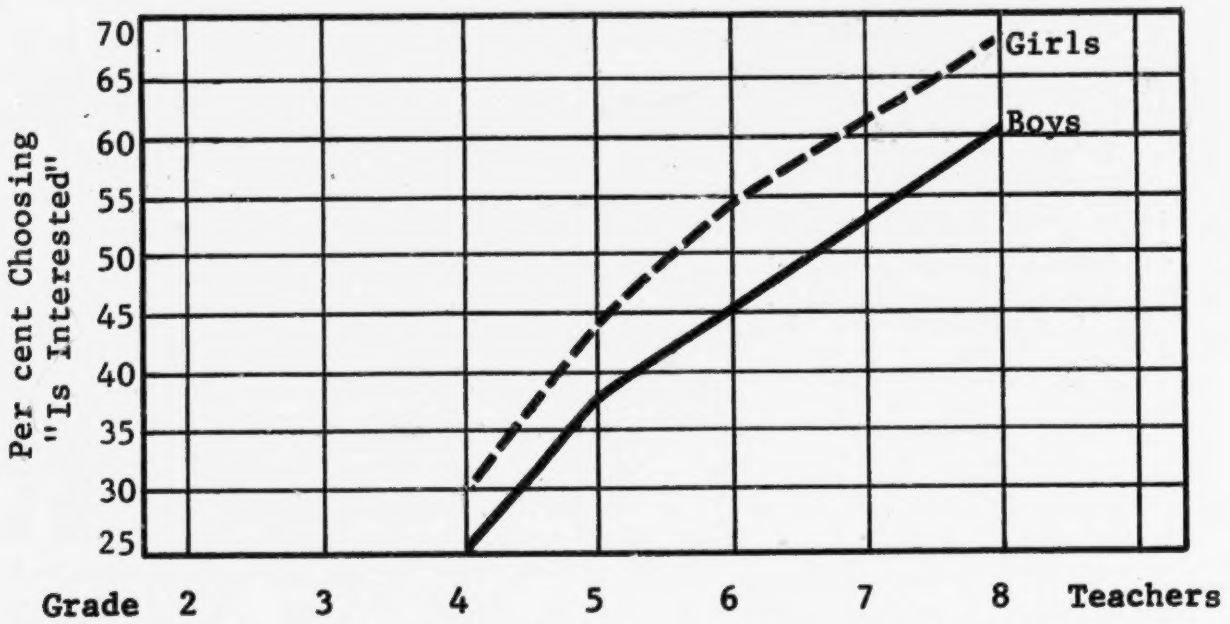
Index Scale: 1 - Very much
4 - Not at all

Range of N: 663 - 887

Significance Unit: .07

FIGURE 106

COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN CHOICE OF "INTEREST IN THE WAY OUR COUNTRY IS RUN" AS THE CITIZEN'S MOST IMPORTANT OBLIGATION, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Who is the best adult citizen? One who is interested in the way our country is run. (Seven other alternatives; child selected two).

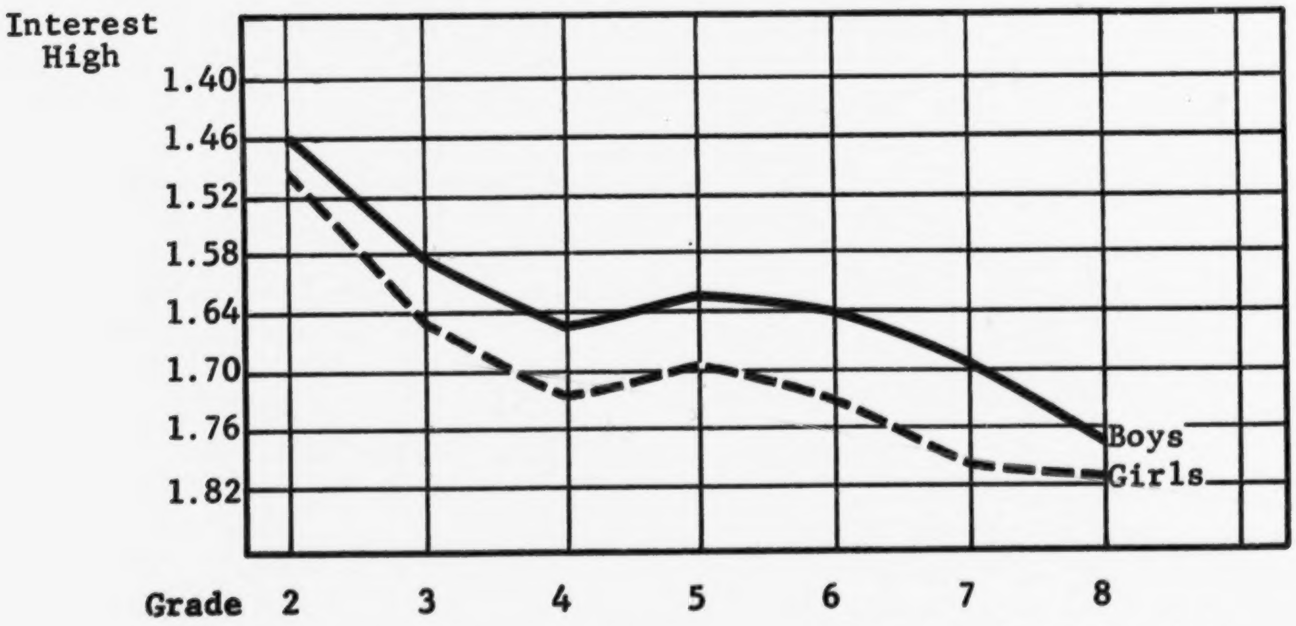
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 789 - 902

Significance Unit: 5%

FIGURE 107

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN POLITICAL INTEREST, WITHIN GRADE



Item: How interested in the government and current events are you?

Index Scale: 1 - High
3 - Low

Range of N: 703 - 903

Significance Unit: .06

general political discussions with friends and family as frequently as boys do. There was, however, a consistent trend for boys to say they had discussed and taken sides on specific issues such as unemployment, foreign aid, etc. (Figure 108). Girls were not surpassed by boys in the frequency of discussions of a general nature with friends and family, but boys were more likely to engage in discussions of a specific or controversial nature. This is a further example of the particularly political nature of boys' involvement, in contrast to the more social orientation of girls' involvement.

(c) Summary.--One of the first prerequisites for political activity is to perceive the system as responsive to the individual and group pressures upon it, and to realize the importance of citizen interest. Girls were not different from boys in their knowledge of the process and norms of the system. Girls and boys did not differ in perceiving the government to be all for the best or in their feelings of efficacy. Girls accepted somewhat earlier the norms that citizens should be interested in the government.

The second prerequisite for active political involvement is the possession of appropriate feelings about one's self which encourage active participation. Boys were consistently superior on two indices of political interest (Interest in Government and Concern with Political Issues). This is a further indication of the more political nature of boys' involvement in contrast to the social concern of girls.

(7) Participation in the process of elections

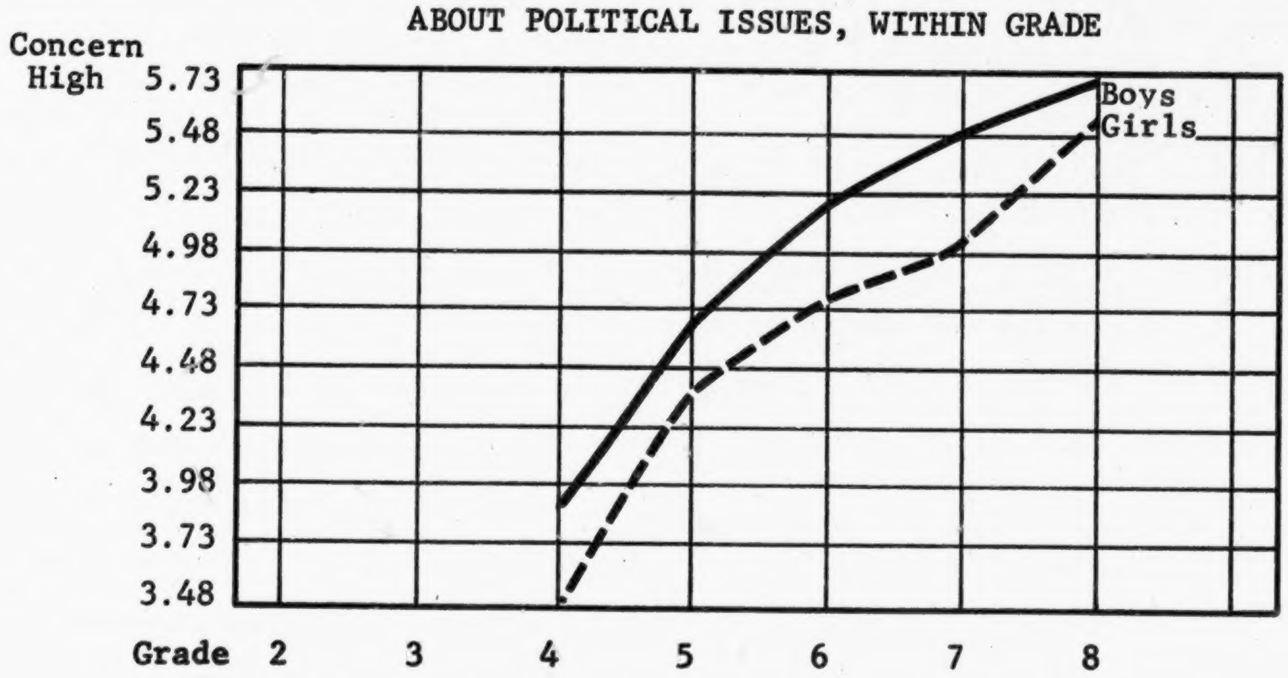
Active participation in the election process shows pronounced variation between men and women. Because voting is open only to adults, sex differences in pre-adults must be sought in attitudes and conceptions which encourage the citizen to vote after he reaches maturity. This section deals with the perception of two aspects of the election process: the activities surrounding voting and those involving partisan preference.

(a) Conception of the system and of the role of the citizen.--There were no sex differences in identifying voting as a mark of democracy. Likewise, there were no differences in selection of voting as a symbol of government. Apparently, boys and girls become equally sensitive to the role of elections in the political processes of this country.

One characteristic of the perception of the electoral system did show divergencies between males and females. When asked what the motivation of candidates is for seeking election, more females said, "They want to keep things as good as they are in our country" (Figure 109). This is consistent with their tendency to see government as a protective system. The difference increased with age. Older boys were less likely to choose this alternative while girls' responses

FIGURE 108

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THEIR CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Combination of five items — have you discussed and taken sides on: the United Nations, foreign aid, unemployment, aid to education, taxes?

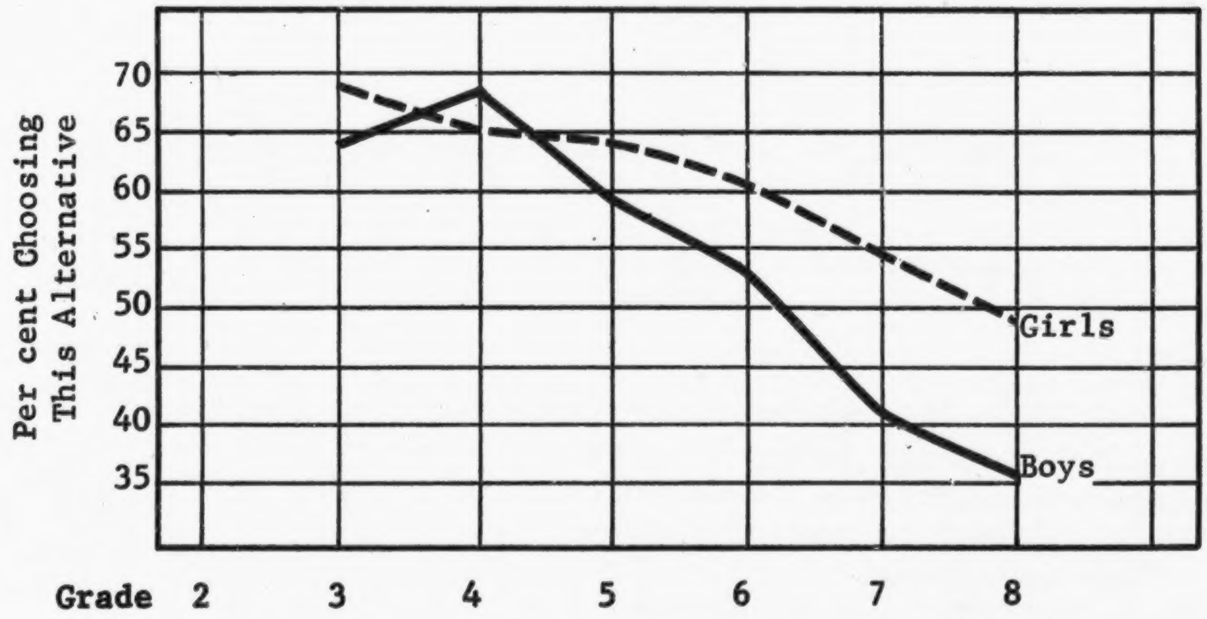
Index Scale: 0 - None
10 - Taken sides on five issues

Range of N: 701 - 853

Significance Unit: .25

FIGURE 109

COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN CHOICE OF "KEEP THINGS AS GOOD AS THEY ARE" AS THE REASON CANDIDATES SEEK OFFICE, WITHIN GRADE



Item: People want to get elected to: change things; make money or be important; keep things as good as they are.

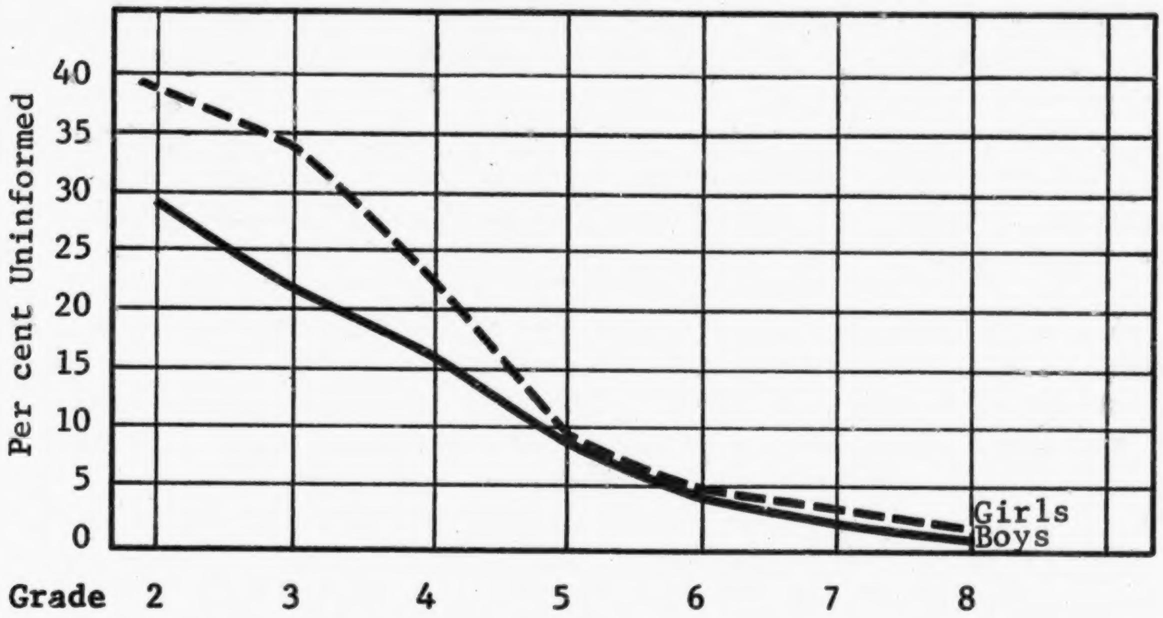
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 786 - 898

Significance Unit: 5%

FIGURE 110

COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN REPORTING THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT PARTIES ARE, WITHIN GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

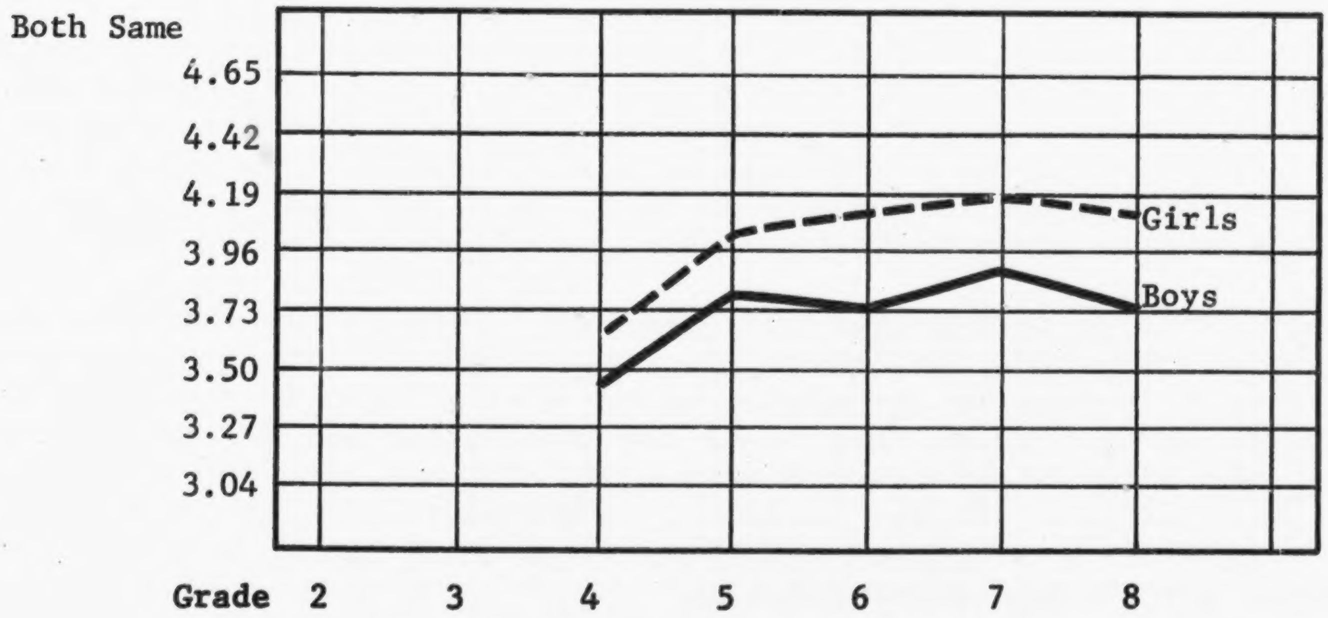
Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 794 - 906

Significance Unit: 5%

FIGURE 111

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THEIR BELIEF THAT DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS CONTRIBUTE EQUALLY TO THE NATIONAL WELFARE, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Combination of six items--which party does more: for rich people; to keep us out of war; to help unemployed; to protect rights; to help your family; for the U.S.? (Choice of Republicans, Democrats, or both same).

Index Scale: 0 - None "Both same"
6 - Six "Both same"

Range of N: 452 - 771

Significance Unit: .23

remained stable across the age span, a trend that resembles the curves for items concerning the President's protectiveness. More boys than girls chose the alternative: "They want to make a lot of money or be important." This choice may result from boys' viewing politics as an occupation like others, with motivations like those which are important in choosing any job.

Political parties are more salient for boys than for girls. Boys' perceptions show a greater tolerance for differences between parties on issues and attribute more positive functions to differences of opinion. The awareness that political parties exist is a recognition of conflict and divergence on political issues, a recognition that different groups of people would manage the country and solve its problems in different ways. Boys claimed to know about parties at an earlier age (Figure 110). Boys, to a greater extent than girls, identified parties with issues. This appears on responses to which party "does most for the country?" (Figure 111). Girls more frequently said that both parties have the same stand or contribute the same amount, while boys identified the Republican and Democratic parties with different points of view on specific issues. Girls more often saw disagreement between the parties as having negative effects (Figure 112), stating that it would be bad for the country if the two political parties disagreed on important issues. Girls defined the system as one in which consensus between parties is the most important goal. These results may be interpreted either as a result of girls' greater orientation to candidates rather than issues, or of their desire to minimize conflict and disagreement.

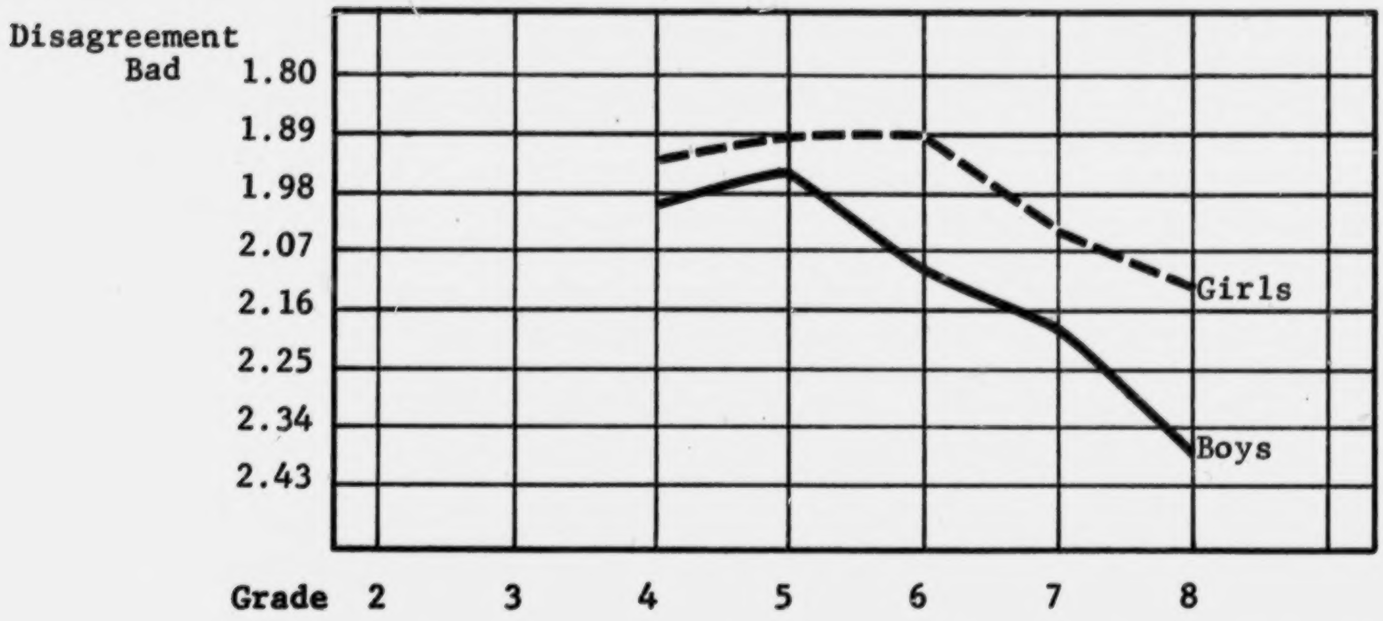
There were no differences between boys and girls in perceiving that the good citizen's duty is to vote and in saying that the good citizen should vote for the best man and not necessarily for a particular party's candidates. This response must be interpreted in light of the tendency for children to view political parties with suspicion. There were no differences in acceptance of norms concerning political parties. Boys and girls did not vary in their tendency to say that "children should belong to the same political party as their parents," in their judgment of how important it is for adults to belong to a political party, or in their assessment of the age at which political party choice is most appropriately made.

(b) Interaction with the system.--Virtually all children in our study understood that voting is a particularly important mode of adult participation in the system which enables them to place men of their choice in office. Elections may act as socializing agents because they bring political activities and figures into the spotlight. This function of elections is equally important for both sexes; there was no difference in girls' and boys' reports of how much they learned from the last Presidential election.

Although children cannot directly participate in changing the administration, there are certain appropriate activities for them. These include commitment to a party, expressing involvement with election outcomes, and engaging in political activities, such as

FIGURE 112

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD INTER-PARTY DISAGREEMENT, WITHIN GRADE



Item: If the Democrats and Republicans disagreed on important things, would it be good or bad for the country?

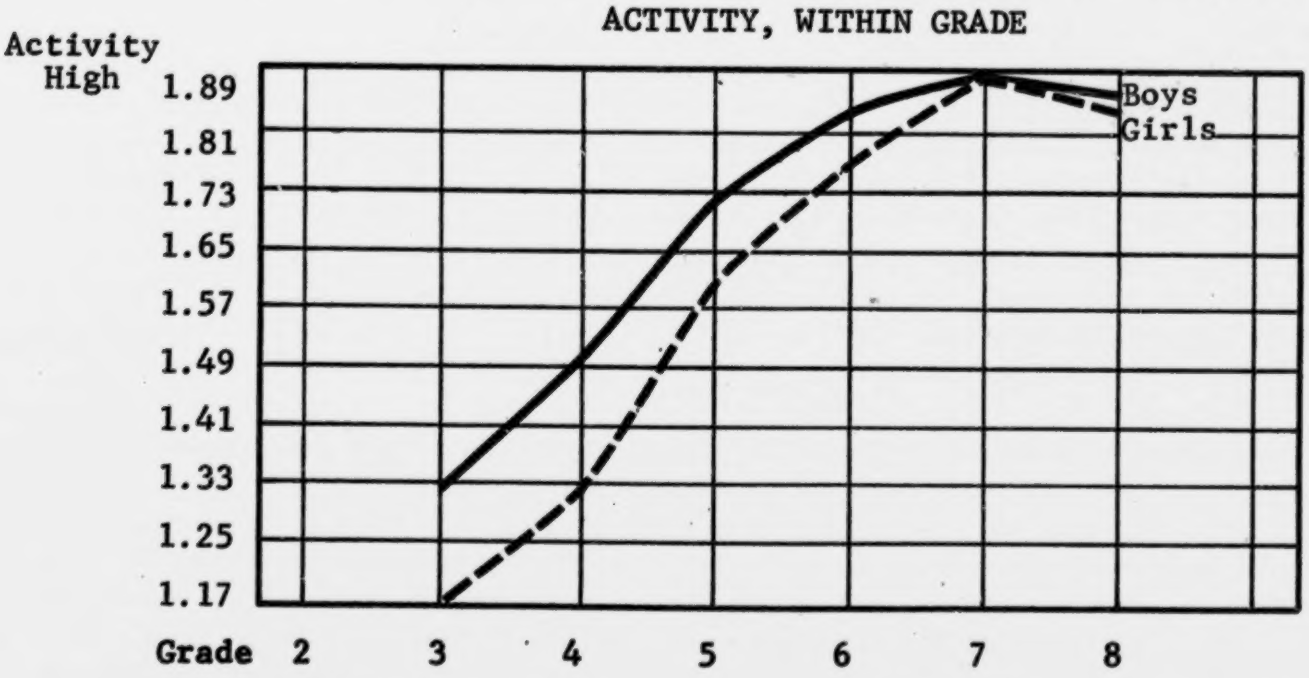
Index Scale: 1 - Very bad
5 - Very good

Range of N: 473 - 742

Significance Unit: .09

FIGURE 113

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, WITHIN GRADE



Item: Combination of three items -- have you worn election button; read about candidates; helped candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - No activity
3 - Three acts.

Range of N: 794 - 900

Significance Unit: .08

wearing a button to show which candidate one supports. The sex differences in these attitudes and activities appeared primarily at the younger age levels and decreased with age.

Boys reported more political activity than girls in the third through fifth grades (Figure 113). Boys were also more likely to identify with a political party, that is, to report that they were Democrats or Republicans rather than Independents or undecided (Figure 114). This was true through grade six. There was no sex difference in the amount of emotional reaction or concern children expressed after hearing the results of the last election. The finding that males are more politically active and partisan-aligned is in line with data on adults. Although these differences disappear by grade eight, they apparently reassert themselves at some time during adolescence or adulthood, perhaps because of diminished institutional support for political activity by women after they leave school.

Conceptions of the constitutionally-defined election system and norms of citizen voting behavior show very few divergencies between boys and girls, the largest differences being evident in the realm of political parties and candidates. Girls tend to see discord as bad for the country and to see the government as needing little change. Congruent with their concern over party disagreement, girls see Republicans and Democrats as taking similar stands on political issues. Girls avoid taking sides on issues and refuse to recognize discontent. Parties are impersonal structures; it may be for this reason that girls become less involved with them.

The insignificance of many of these differences--particularly those concerning norms of election behavior--contrasts with the more pronounced sex differences usually found in adult election and voting behavior.

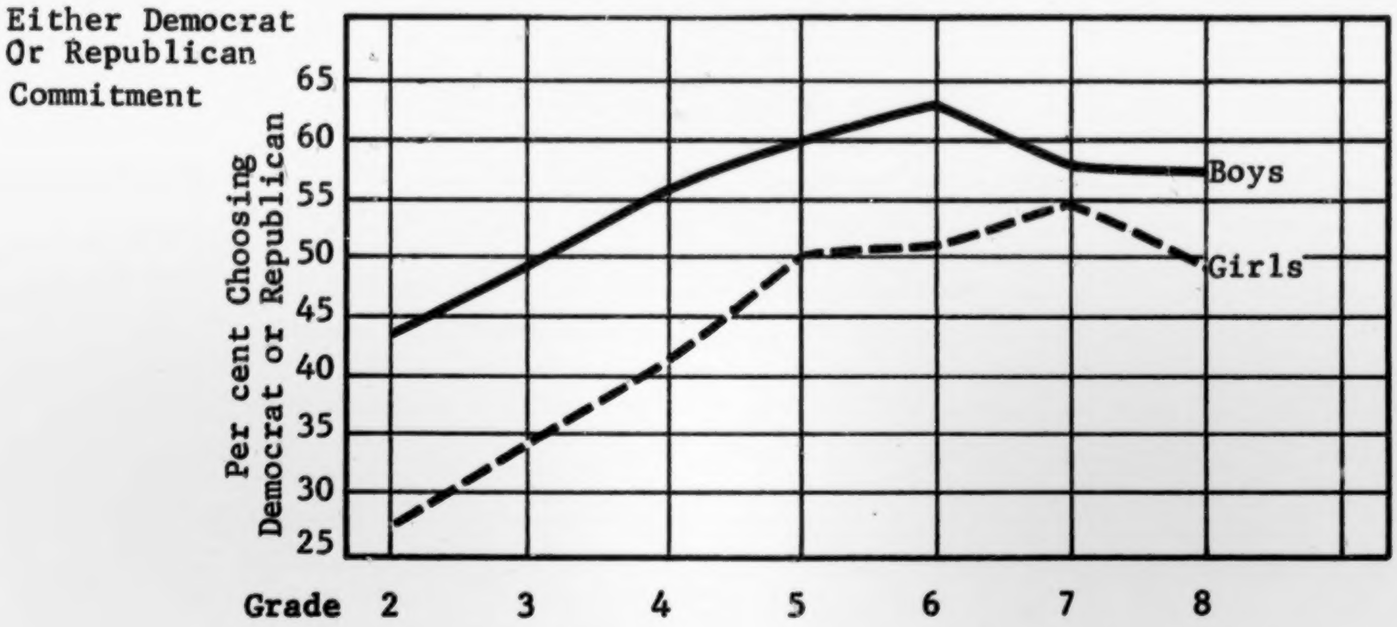
(c) Summary.--In developing sex role, children acquire a set of expectations about their own and others' behavior. Boys and girls hold different expectations for themselves in their relationships with peers, parents, and teachers in situations involving emotional response and compliance. These expectations, as well as the hierarchy of needs they produce, become part of a child's approach to new situations and experiences and influence his relationship with the political system.

Girls form a more personal attachment to the political system than boys because experience with their major role model (mother) is a more personal one and because authority figures deal with them in more expressive and personalized ways. For boys, personalization of the system declines with age; this does not occur for girls because they are not obligated to renounce dependency ties as boys are. Girls relate to the political system through role expectations acquired in the more familiar home and school environments. Boys are more capable of dealing with abstract entities since their experience encourages an abstract conceptualization of the male sex role.

In absorbing and learning the rules, norms, and sanctions

FIGURE 114

COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN PARTY COMMITMENT, WITHIN GRADE



Item: If you could vote, would you be: Democrat; Republican; sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican; don't know; don't know what parties are.

Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 794 - 906

Significance Unit: 5%

which are peculiar to the political system, girls and boys differ only minimally. These are the areas in which the school's influence seems to be the most pronounced. In teaching citizenship behavior, the school does not distinguish between the sexes, and personal needs and relationship expectations are unimportant. Some divergencies in the political perceptions of men and women which appear in the years following school graduation, may result from declining support and reward for female participation by institutions other than the school.

Boys consistently display more active involvement and politicized concern than girls, especially in partisanship and in polarization on political issues, similar to adult participation. These differences may result from an emphasis upon active rather than passive approaches for males and from their ability to deal with problems in a more instrumental fashion. The less active concern exhibited by girls may result from overpersonalization of the system and overemphasis on attachment to such an extent that flaws are disregarded and lack of disagreement and conflict is sought as the greatest good.

3. Partisan Commitment and Political Involvement

The relationship between party allegiance, voting behavior, and alignment on national issues has been a popular research topic for students of American political behavior. An extensive literature establishes the relationship between party commitment and political involvement in adults; citizens apparently depend upon party pronouncements for guidance in forming their own stands on public issues and may also be pressured by party representatives to vote for the candidates of "their party."

Josephson (1959) distinguished between "mass parties," those which maintain the large and active membership they require by inculcating and recruiting youth, and "parties of individual representation," which have few disciplined members, make few demands, are generally inactive between elections, and make few attempts to induct youth since their major strength comes from alignment with institutions and influential people of the society. The latter party system prevails in the United States. To adults and adolescents, the term "political party member" assumes a meaning different from that associated with certain other kinds of membership.

Modern American political parties have been described by Berelson et al. (1954), operating not as organizations but as psychological and social phenomena. They influence political behavior less through their activities than through the effect of symbolic meanings and patterned responses associated with party identification. Similarly, Eulau (1962) suggested that parties are role systems. If his party serves as a significant frame of reference in the voting act for an individual, the political party role system is important to him. In studying children's partisan affiliations, it is useful to look at this incorporation of party role structure into a child's thinking about the political system, since it is impossible to examine its direct influence upon voting.

The independent voter has been a focus of particular concern for political sociologists. Campbell et al. (1960) reported that, in general, Independents are not psychologically involved in political affairs. Independents in their sample had a poorer knowledge of issues, less interest in campaigns, and when compared to party members were less likely to choose their candidate on the basis of an evaluation of national politics. Education, as an independent variable, was not related to strength of partisan commitment.

Agger (1959), however, reported that Independents were quite similar to party members. Holding education constant, Independents expressed great concern with issues. Independents who leaned toward the Democratic party were more active participants (by voting, trying to influence others) than weak Democrats; similar trends were reported for Independents preferring the Republican party. Further, Independents resembled Republicans in education, having more than Democrats. Because Independents reported less concern with the outcome of a particular election, Agger suggested that political independence may promote consensus by minimizing conflict. He also asserted that there are two types of Independents: poorly educated persons who are disinterested in issues but interested in particular candidates, and persons (usually better educated) who are concerned with both candidates and issues.

Eldersveld (1952) presented a still more differentiated view of political independence. Independents, he reported, were between Democrats and Republicans in voting turnout, were likely to have college educations and high incomes, and not likely to be union members. He distinguished several groups of Independents: split-ticket voters, those transferring allegiance over time, voters without crystallized party predispositions, and those who waver in making candidate decisions.

Banfield (1961) asserted that many suburban voters harbor the notion that political independence is a hallmark of middle class sophistication, which suggests other motives for reporting that one does not support a political party. These studies have not altogether clarified the nature of independent voters, but it is clear that they are not a monolithic group. They are represented neither by the well-informed individual, interested but aloof from the blind conformity of party loyalty, who examines candidates and issues carefully in order to support the best candidate, nor are they represented by the apathetic and uninterested citizen. The divergent results reported, however, indicate the importance of this group and the disagreement among political scientists about the function of political party membership.

The relationship between party commitment and a voter's evaluation of Presidential candidates is clear. Berelson et al. (1954) reported that respondents perceived their candidate's stand on issues to be similar to their own, and the opponent's stand as dissimilar; persons strongly committed to political parties distorted in this direction more than those who were weak partisans. Party members, they reported, disagreed on two major issues of the 1948 campaign: the Taft-Hartley Act and price controls. Democrats and Republicans, however, did not disagree on the relative importance of election issues, on criteria for selecting the President, on judgments of how much effect the election would have on political affairs, how much influence they as individuals had on the election, or on the acceptance of the winning candidate.

Rosnow's (1963) study of reactions to the Kennedy-Nixon debates indicated that voters evaluated the performance of their party's candidate more favorably, even when such assessments included fairly specific and detailed judgments. The relationship between party preference and support of a candidate may, indeed, be the only strong party influence upon the overt political behavior of many individual citizens.

The significance of party membership and sympathy makes socialization of partisanship a topic of particular importance in our study. We have already shown that the tendency for children to report alignment with a political party increases with age. From these age trends, it appears that party preference begins to assume some meaning for children during the fifth and sixth grades. Although many children claimed a preference for one of the parties earlier, this preference has little relation to well-known correlates of party membership such as social class and reaction to Kennedy's election. A number of children (14 per cent even at grade eight), however, said they did not know which party they favored. Another 32 per cent indicated a potentially changeable party alignment. In this section, the effects of commitment and non-commitment on the development of political orientations and involvements will be examined along with the role of schools in the emergence of partisanship among pre-adolescent children.

The individual citizen's involvement in American political life is obviously determined, in part, by the structure of the party system and its relation to national political events both during and between elections. The role of political parties in the life of this country, a complex topic which has been discussed and examined in detail, will not be reviewed here. Although technically not a part of our governmental system, political parties provide a basic network of communication and influence between citizens and government. It would be both cynical and inaccurate to argue that individual action is completely futile; but it is apparent that parties, as well as other organized groups and special interests, shape and limit the effectiveness of the individual citizen's impact on government. Political Influence (Banfield, 1961) presents a particularly good case study of the process by which governmental decisions are made and the minimal influence any one person, even a civic leader, can exert on the making of basic political decisions. The role of the party as a vehicle for expression of individual political influence has not been carefully explored.

Given the importance of political parties in mobilizing activity and involvement, the socialization of attitudes toward parties and party affiliation is of great significance. The party system represents the major cleavage in the political life of this country; it encourages and preserves a beneficial disagreement and conflict, opposing the national tendency toward consensus. This division is evident in children at the elementary school grades, particularly during the national election. Early commitment to a party in itself represents a form of political involvement and may indicate socialization which is accelerated or in some other way unusual. Other writers on political socialization (particularly Hyman, 1959) have concluded that the most significant effect of socialization in children is partisan affiliation. Hyman maintains that logically coherent ideologies are too complex to be socialized. Political party affiliation may be transmitted much more easily, since there is limited choice and the symbols are simpler. Political party identification, then, serves as a frame of reference for approaching any novel issue. It seems plausible that partisan feelings act both as a mediating influence in the acquisition of attitudes toward political objects and as encouragement to become involved in political activities and issues.

The primary data to be discussed in this section come from responses to the following question:

"If you could vote what would be be?" (Choose one)

1. A Republican
2. A Democrat
3. Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican
4. I don't know which I would be
5. I don't know what the words Democrat and Republican mean

Children who marked "Don't know" are called "Uncommitted"; those who marked "Republican" or "Democrat" are regarded as "Committed"; and those who responded, "Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican" are called "Independents," although the term as used here does not have precisely the same connotation as in reports of studies of adult voting behavior.[7]

Partisanship in children has no relation to basic attachment and compliance. The effect of partisanship upon attitudes and involvement will be examined by these comparisons among subgroups:

1. "Uncommitted" compared with all others
2. "Independents" compared with those committed to either national party
3. Children who are aligned with the Republicans compared with those who identify with Democrats

---

[7] Eldersveld (1952) asserted that in adults there is a low association between different measures of partisan independence, and that self-perception is not necessarily the most useful index.

This analysis treats partisan preference or commitment as an independent variable in order to examine its association with other attitudes. An initial comparison shows the extent to which interest in partisan aspects of political life is related to attitudes and involvements in other areas. These comparisons clearly indicate that party commitment primarily affects active participation. Apparently the choice of a political party does not influence basic commitment to the nation, attachment to symbols, rituals, authority figures, roles of the system, or compliance to its laws. The areas of political orientation and involvement which showed no difference between the Uncommitted and others are listed in Table 62. These items are primarily concentrated in the initial stages of involvement--attachment and compliance. In the section dealing with the child's perception of the government's responsiveness and the appropriate behavior of the citizen, the items which were unrelated to partisan commitment are those which deal with norms of adult behavior and conception of the system, not with active involvement of the child. This summary of data indicates that a basic attachment to the nation and political system, compliance to its authority, norms and definitions of the system and the citizen's role are not functions of party preference or commitment.

TABLE 62

ATTITUDES UNRELATED TO PARTISAN COMMITMENT

Attitude Objects and Areas	Items and Indices Showing No Difference
Attachment to Country	America Best Country and American Flag Best Flag
	Choice of Flag as Symbol of Government
	Justifying Expedience in Protection of National Interest
Perceptions of Political Figures	Rating the President's Responsiveness to Individuals
	Rating the Role Performance of the President: Knowledge Decision Making Infallibility Works Hard
	Rating the Power of the President: Punitive Power (Can Punish) Coercive Power (Can Make Anyone Do What He Wants)
	Rating the Role Performance of the Policeman:

TABLE 62--Continued

Attitude Objects and Areas	Items and Indices Showing No Difference
Perceptions of Political Figures (continued)	Knowledge Decision Making Infallibility Works Hard
	Attachment to the Policeman
	Rating the Power of the Policeman: Punitive Power (Can Punish) Coercive Power (Can Make Anyone Do What He Wants)
	Choice of "Catch Law Breakers" as Most Important Aspect of Policeman's Role
	Rating the Responsiveness of the Senator to Individuals: Senator Would Want to Help Me
	Attachment to the Senator
	Rating the Role Performance of the Senator: Knowledge Decision Making
	Rating the Punitive Power of the Senator
Perceptions of Institutions	Rating the Role Performance of the Supreme Court: Knowledge Decision Making Infallibility
	Rating the Role Performance of the Government: Knowledge Decision Making
	Rating the Punitive Power of the Government
Perceptions of Law and Compliance to Law	Perception of the Success of Law Enforcement
	Child's Response If He Thinks Policeman Is Wrong
	All Laws Are Fair
	Choice of "Obey Laws" as Citizen's Most Important Obligation

TABLE 62--Continued

Attitude Objects and Areas	Items and Indices Showing No Difference
Perception of Responsiveness of Government	Influence of Pressure Groups on Legislation: Rich People Unions Newspapers Churches Policeman Large Companies The President
	Choice of Interest in Government as the Citizen's Most Important Obligation
Perception of the Power of the Individual Citizen to Change Incumbents	Reasons Candidates Seek Office
	Consequences of Partisan Disagreement
	Choice of Voting as the Citizen's Most Important Obligation

Children who are uncommitted to a party are less active and less interested in political affairs. Commitment to a party is associated with a cluster of responses that indicate relatively greater involvement and active participation in elections and in contemporary political events and issues. An array of attitudes differentiated the Committed (Republicans, Democrats) and Independents from the Uncommitted (those who had no feeling of party loyalty) (Figures 115 through 119). Those expressing some commitment to a party (even if a changeable one) showed greater interest in political events, more political activity, participated in more discussions, were more concerned with issues, and reported learning more from elections. This group exhibited active political participation appropriate for its age level; the involvement of these individuals is shown by their interest in exerting pressure on the system.

The Uncommitted group is, perhaps, most analogous to the apathetic adult citizen; its lack of party commitment was only part of a more general distinterest. Figure 120 shows the inflated tendency in the Uncommitted group to offer "Don't Know" responses to questions dealing with political topics and attitudes.

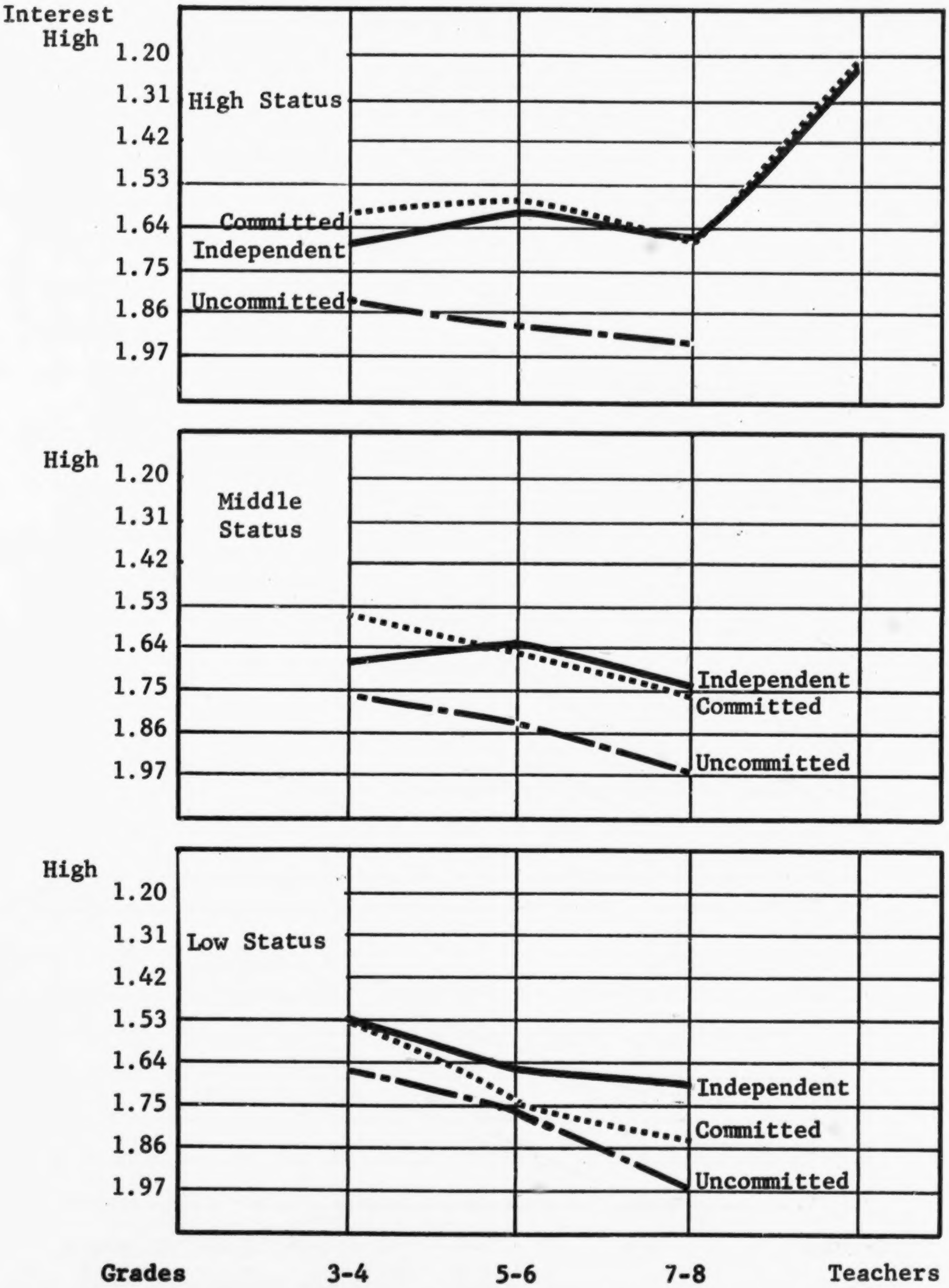
The percentage of children reporting that they did not identify with a party or that they did not know anything about the parties is larger in the low IQ and lower social status groups (Figures 83 and 84). Children uncommitted to a political party also reported fewer organizational memberships (see Chapter IV).

Children who do not identify with a political party share characteristics with those showing low involvement in the outcome of

FIGURE 115

PARTY COMMITMENT AND POLITICAL INTEREST

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of political interest of three groups: 1)those committed to a political party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3) independents.



Item: How interested in the government and current events are you?

Index Scale: 1 - High
3 - Low

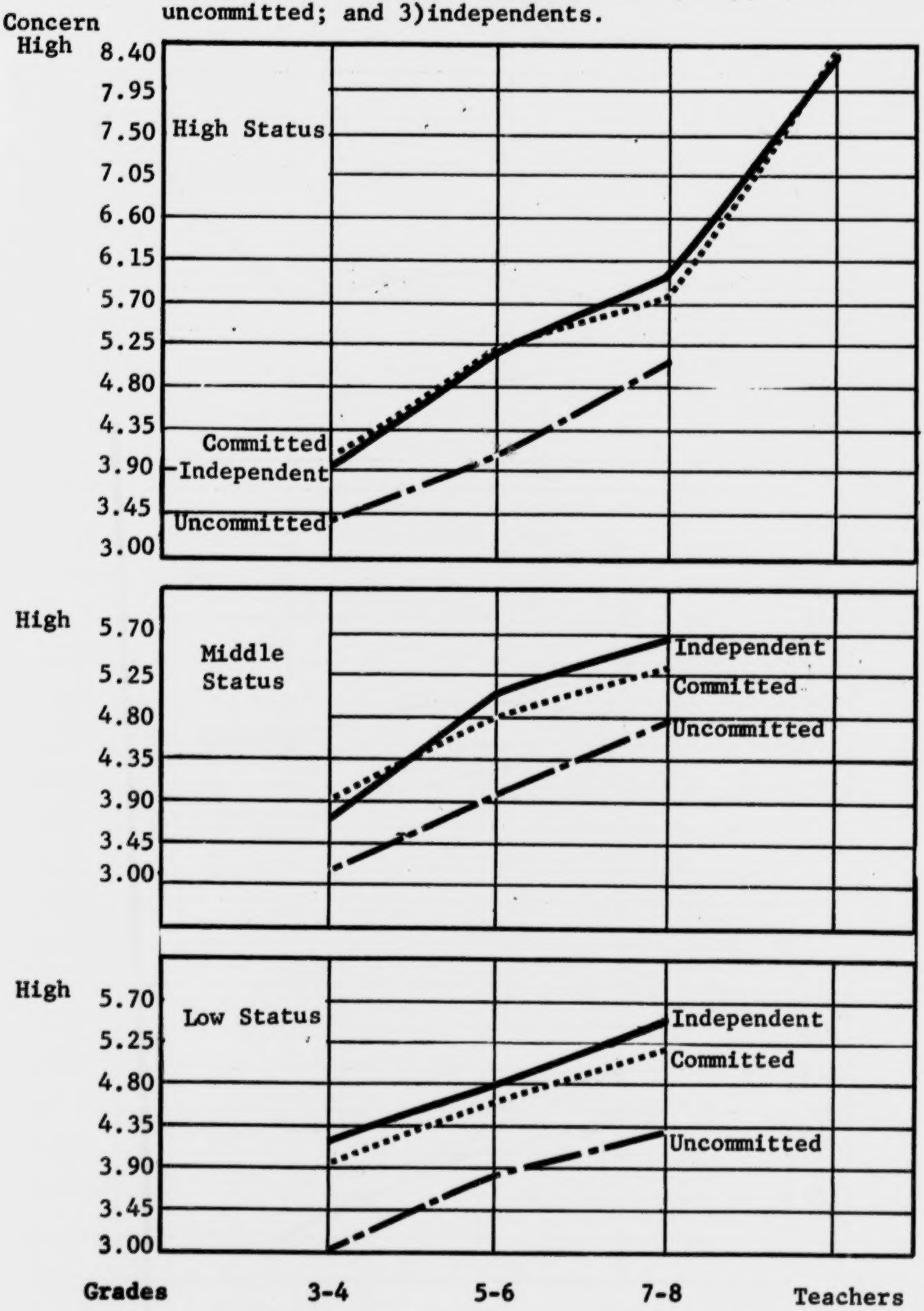
Range of N: 107 - 748

Significance Unit: .11

FIGURE 116

PARTY COMMITMENT AND CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of concern about political issues, expressed by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Combination of five items -- have you discussed and taken sides on: the United Nations; foreign aid; unemployment; aid to education; taxes?

Index Scale: 0 - None
10 - Taken sides on five issues

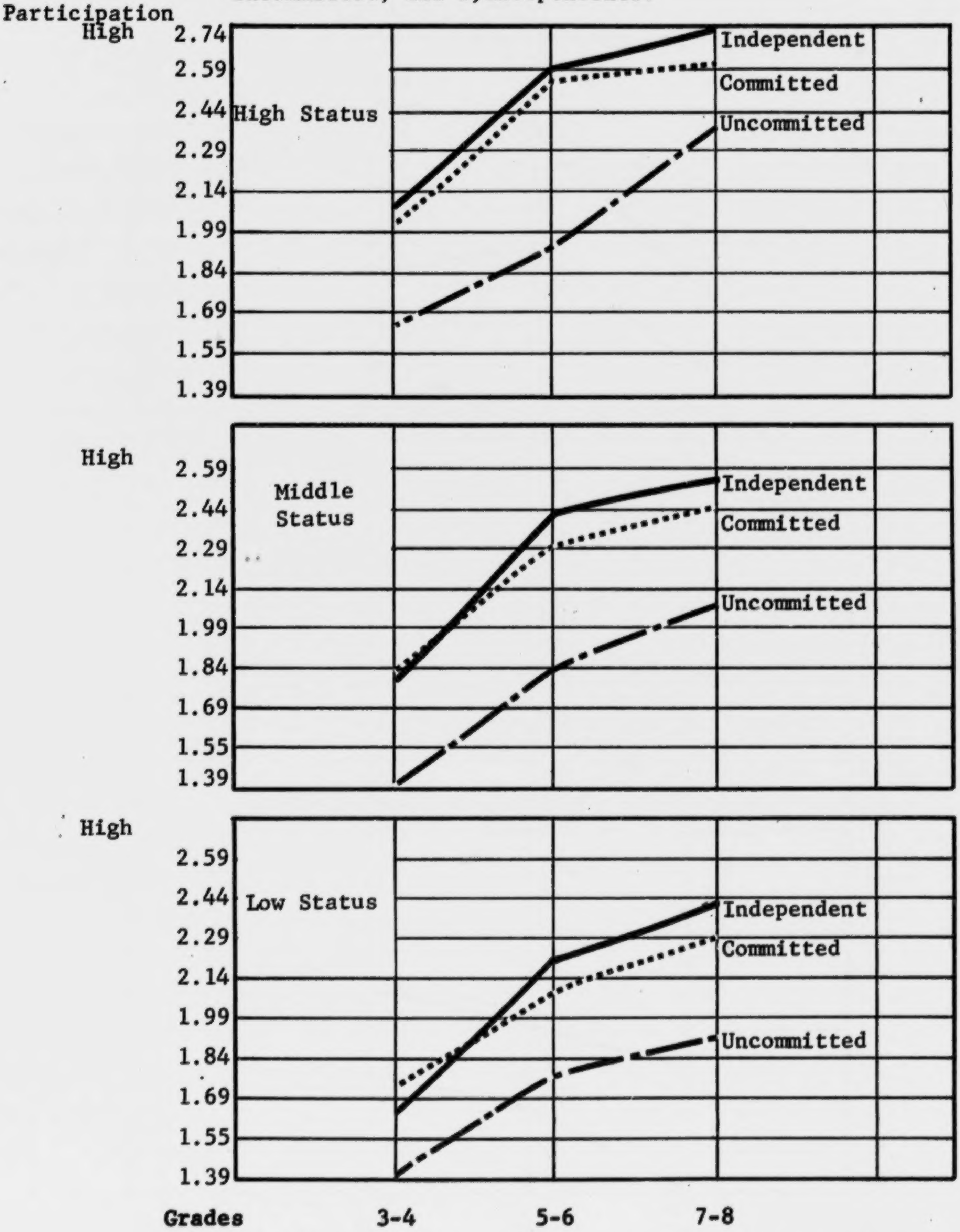
Range of N: 40 - 505

Significance Unit: .47

FIGURE 117

PARTY COMMITMENT AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSION

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of participation in political discussion by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Combination of three items -- have you talked: with parents about candidates; with parents about country's problems; with friends about candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - None Discussed
3 - Three "

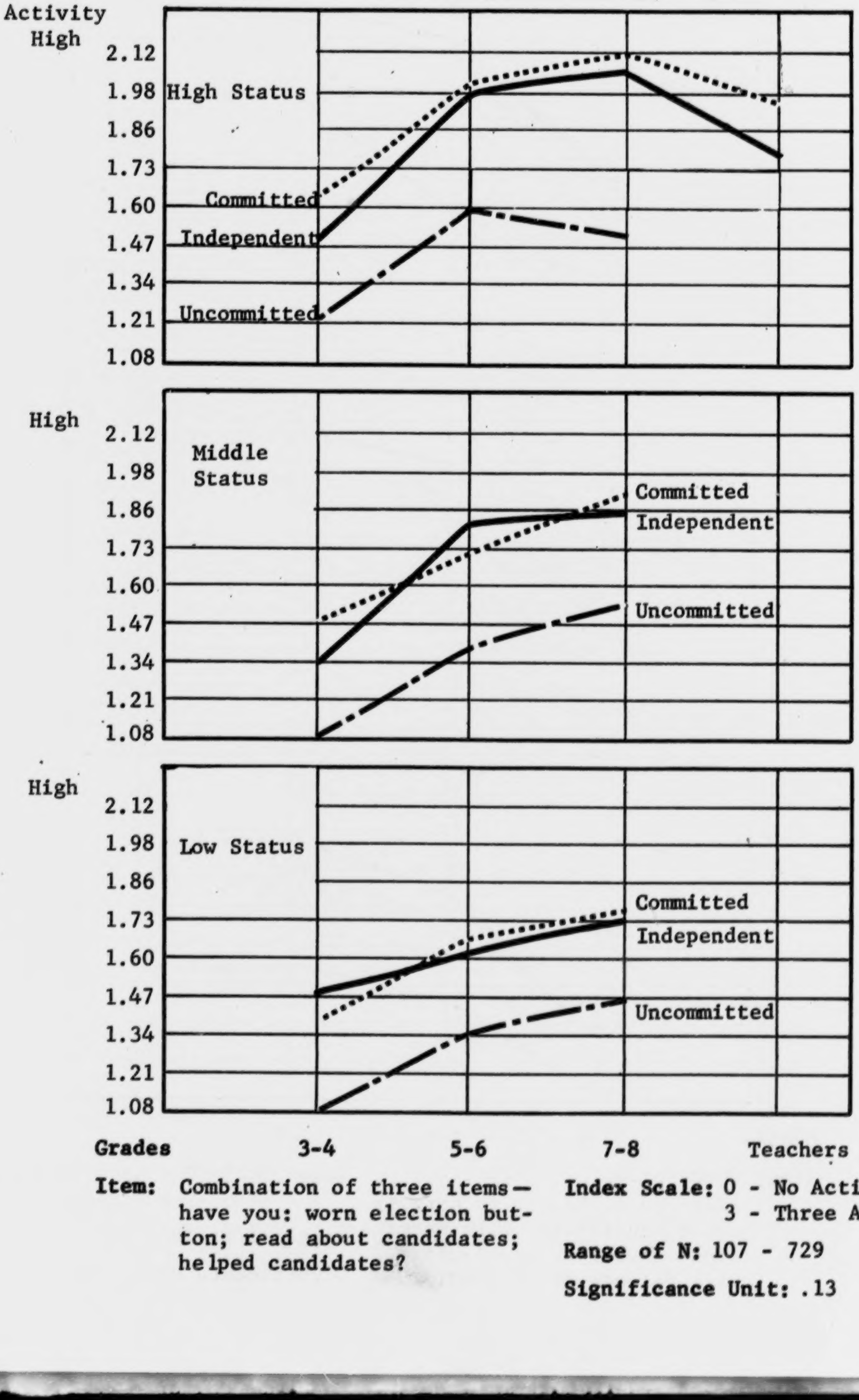
Range of N: 75 - 735

Significance Unit: .15

FIGURE 118

PARTY COMMITTMENT AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean levels of political activity of three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Combination of three items—have you: worn election button; read about candidates; helped candidates?

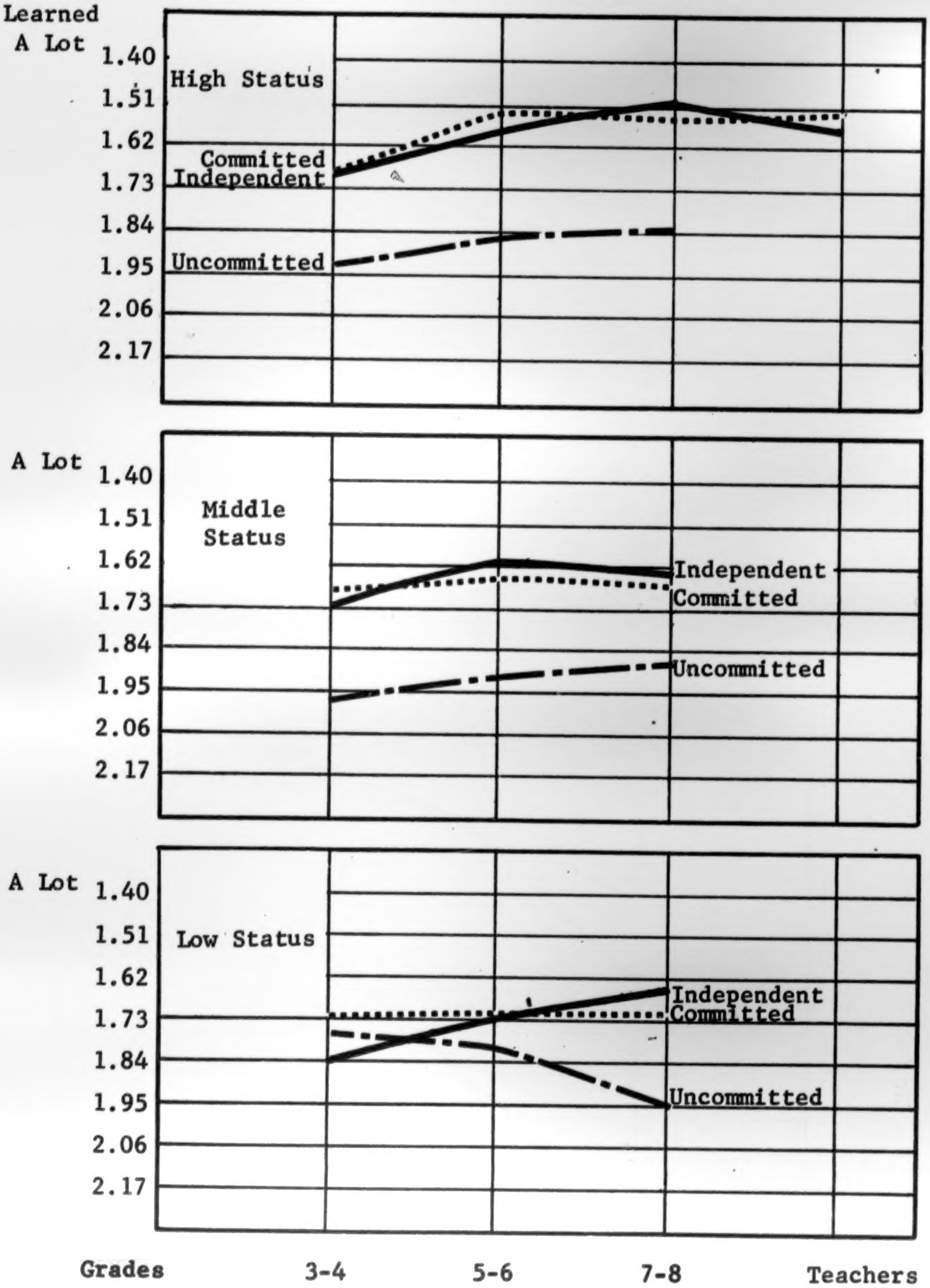
Index Scale: 0 - No Activity
3 - Three Acts.

Range of N: 107 - 729

Significance Unit: .13

FIGURE 119
PARTY COMMITMENT AND RATING OF ELECTIONS AS SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean ratings of the amount learned from the 1960 election, by three groups: 1)those committed to a political party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: How much did you learn from the last election?

Index Scale: 1 - A lot
3 - Very little

Range of N: 43 - 525

Significance Unit: .11

FIGURE 120

PARTY COMMITMENT AND ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean DK scores of three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.

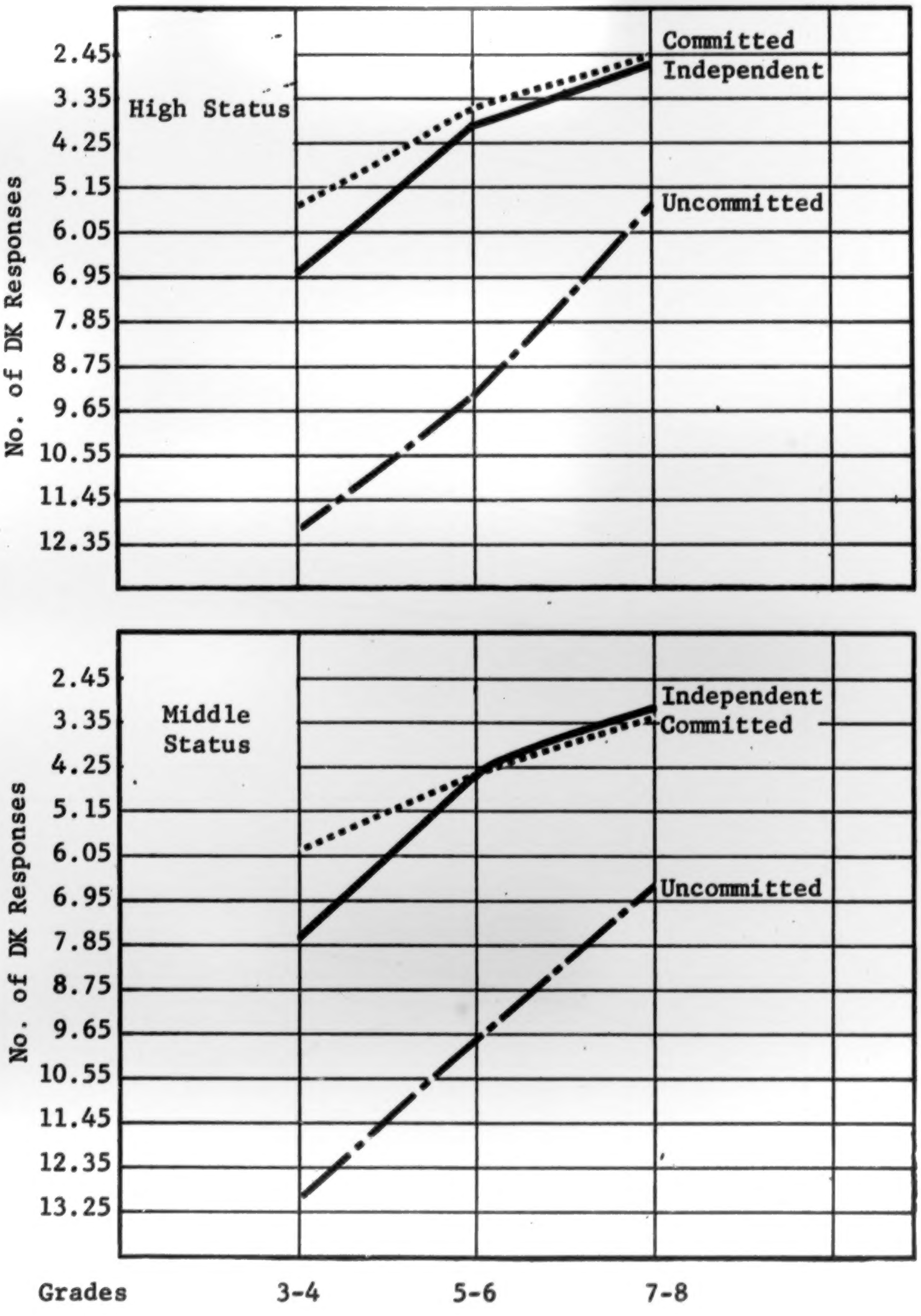
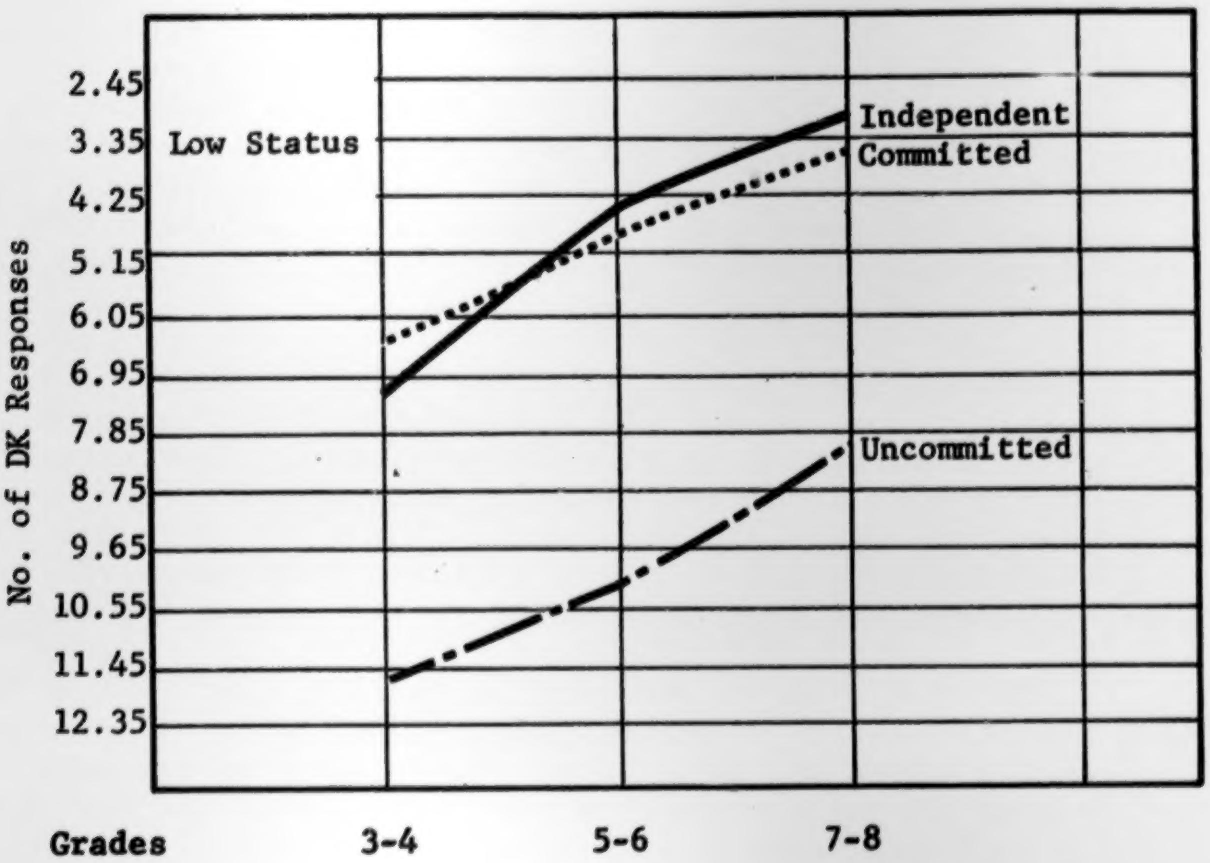


FIGURE 120--Continued



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 questions.

Index Scale: 0 - No DK
32 - High DK

Range of N: 41 - 332

Significance Unit: .92

a particular election. This was assessed by comparing those who reported "not caring one way or the other" when they learned of Kennedy's election, with children who had positive or negative reactions. The association between non-commitment to a party and "not caring" is evident from Figure 121. Like children who reported no party preference, the youngsters who had little concern with the election reported less interest in government, less participation in political discussions, fewer political activities, and said they learned little from the election (Figures 122 though 126). They also had high "Don't know" scores (Figure 127).

Underlining the similarities, children who reported no subjective involvement in the election assigned little importance to membership in political parties (Figure 128). (Teachers who reported not caring about the election outcome were remarkably similar to children who held this attitude.) These children are highly apathetic; not only are they unaffiliated with political organizations, they are not even interested in the outcome of the election.

Children with no interest in the election form a small group (16 per cent of the total population) which draws equally from all social classes and IQ groups. There were no age trends in reporting lack of interest in the election. Usually, the disinterested children were not Catholics (average percentage of non-concern in Protestants was about 18 per cent; in Catholics, about 6 per cent). These data suggest that these children's interest was not mobilized by the candidates in a particular election.

Children who are independent of party show the most active involvement in political affairs. The apathetic group in our sample was particularly characterized by a large number of "Don't know" responses. In contrast, those who declare themselves to be independent of close party loyalty compose the most active group. The data show this group to be highly intelligent, and usually from high status backgrounds (see Figures 85 and 86). This group most closely approximate the image of the independent, thoughtful voter who is informed on issues and chooses his candidate after careful reflection. The differences in response patterns between Independents and Committed groups are shown in Figures 129 through 135.

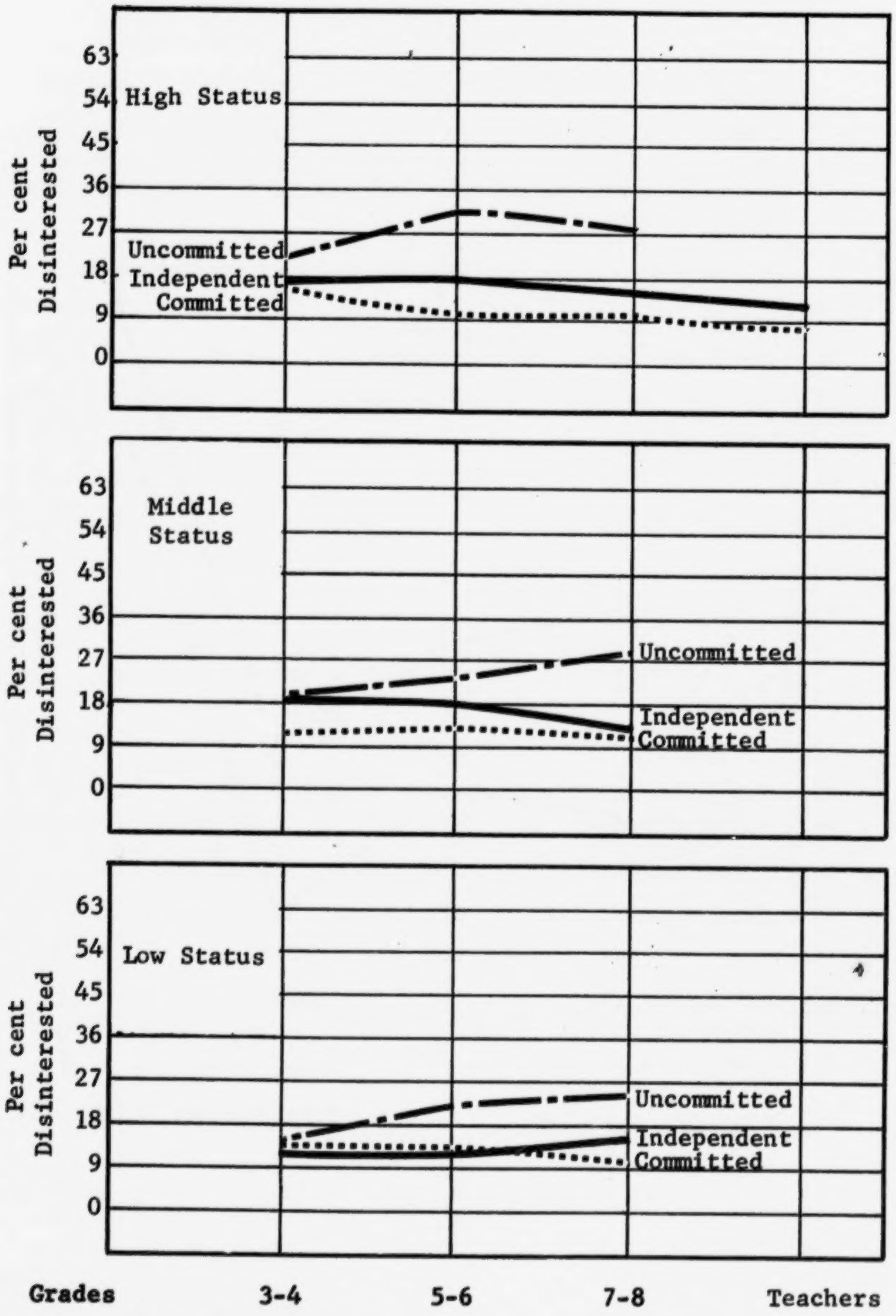
Independents supported their non-partisanship with the acceptance of norms prescribing this behavior. They saw less difference between Democrats and Republicans (Figure 129), less frequently said that children should belong to their parents' party (Figure 130), assessed adult partisanship to be less important (Figure 131), and maintained that the best citizen does not necessarily vote for his party's candidates (Figure 132). Teachers who reported independence from partisan commitment differed in similar ways from teachers who were committed to Democrats or Republicans.

In perceiving reciprocal role relationships between themselves and the political system, this group was overly convinced of the individual's effectiveness--a sort of "personal clout illusion."

FIGURE 121

PARTY COMMITMENT AND DISINTEREST IN THE ELECTION OUTCOME

Comparison (within social status and grade) of reports of disinterest in the outcome of the 1960 election, by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Did you care who won the 1960 election?

Index Scale: Percentage

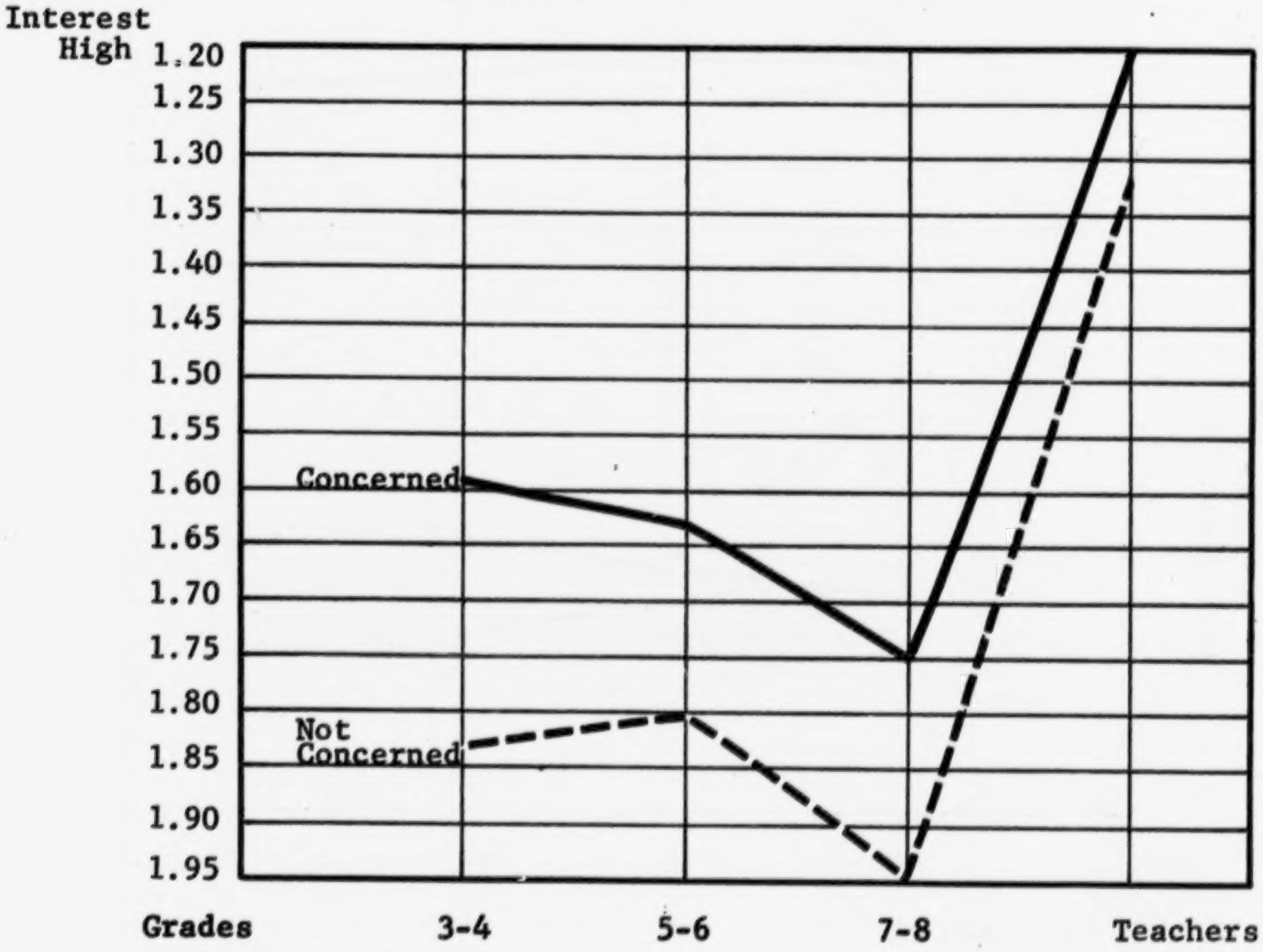
Range of N: 69 - 649

Significance Unit: 9%

FIGURE 122

CONCERN WITH ELECTION OUTCOME AND POLITICAL INTEREST

Comparison (within grade) of mean levels of political interest of two groups: those who report high concern about the outcome of the 1960 election, and those who report low concern.



Item: How interested in the government and current events are you?

Index Scale: 1 - High
3 - Low

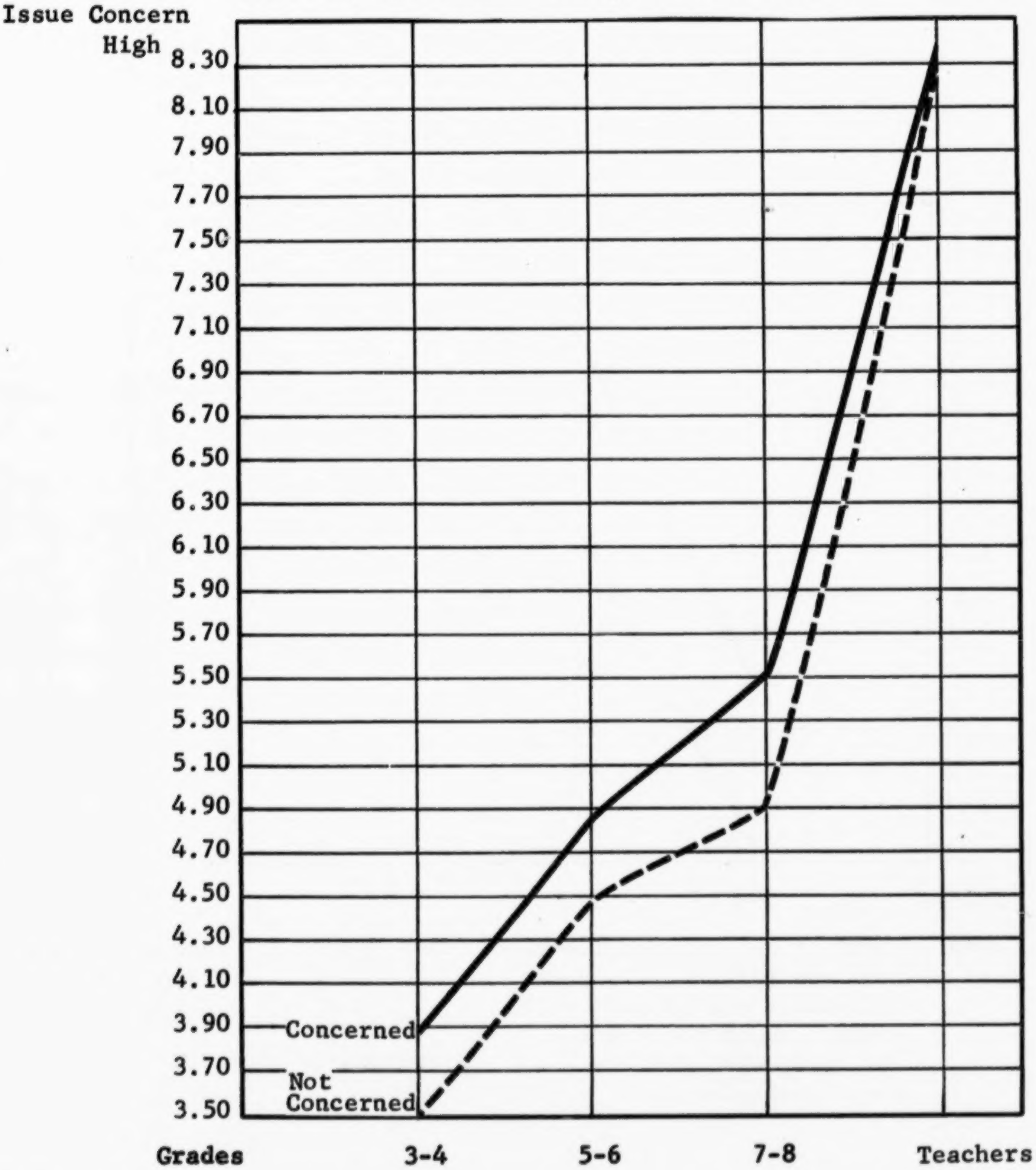
Range of N: 436 - 2655

Significance Unit: .05

FIGURE 123

CONCERN WITH ELECTION OUTCOME AND CONCERN ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES

Comparison (within grade) of mean degrees of concern about political issues, expressed by two groups: those who report high concern about the outcome of the 1960 election, and those who report low concern.



Item: Combination of five items--have you discussed and taken sides on: the United Nations, foreign aid, unemployment, aid to education, taxes?

Index Scale: 0 - None
10 - Taken sides on all five

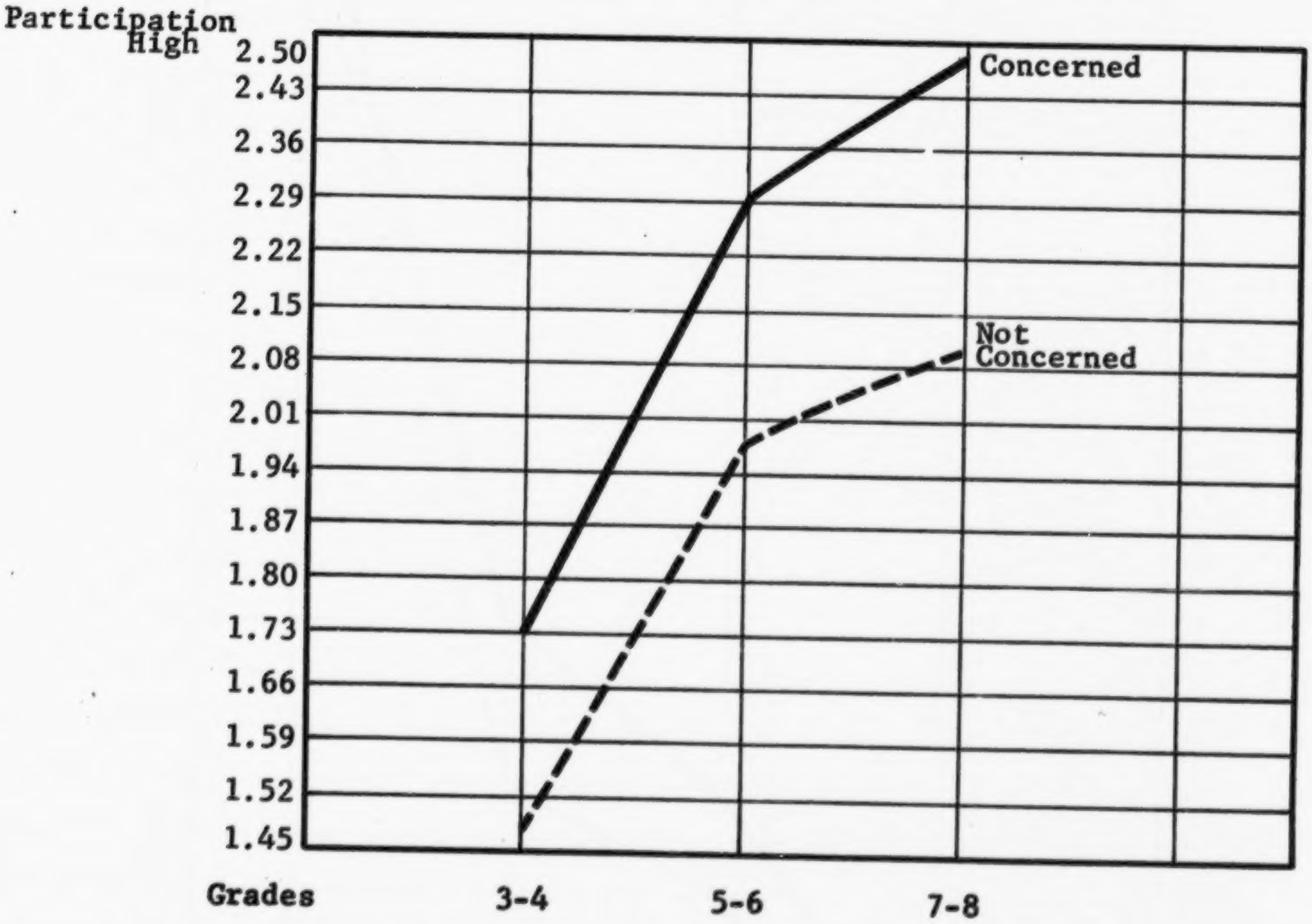
Range of N: 221 - 2539

Significance Unit: .20

FIGURE 124

CONCERN WITH ELECTION OUTCOME AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSION

Comparison (within grade) of mean levels of participation in political discussion, reported by two groups: those who report high concern about the outcome of the 1960 election, and those who report low concern.



Item: Combination of three items--have you talked: with parents about candidates; with parents about country's problems; with friends about candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - None discussed
3 - Three "

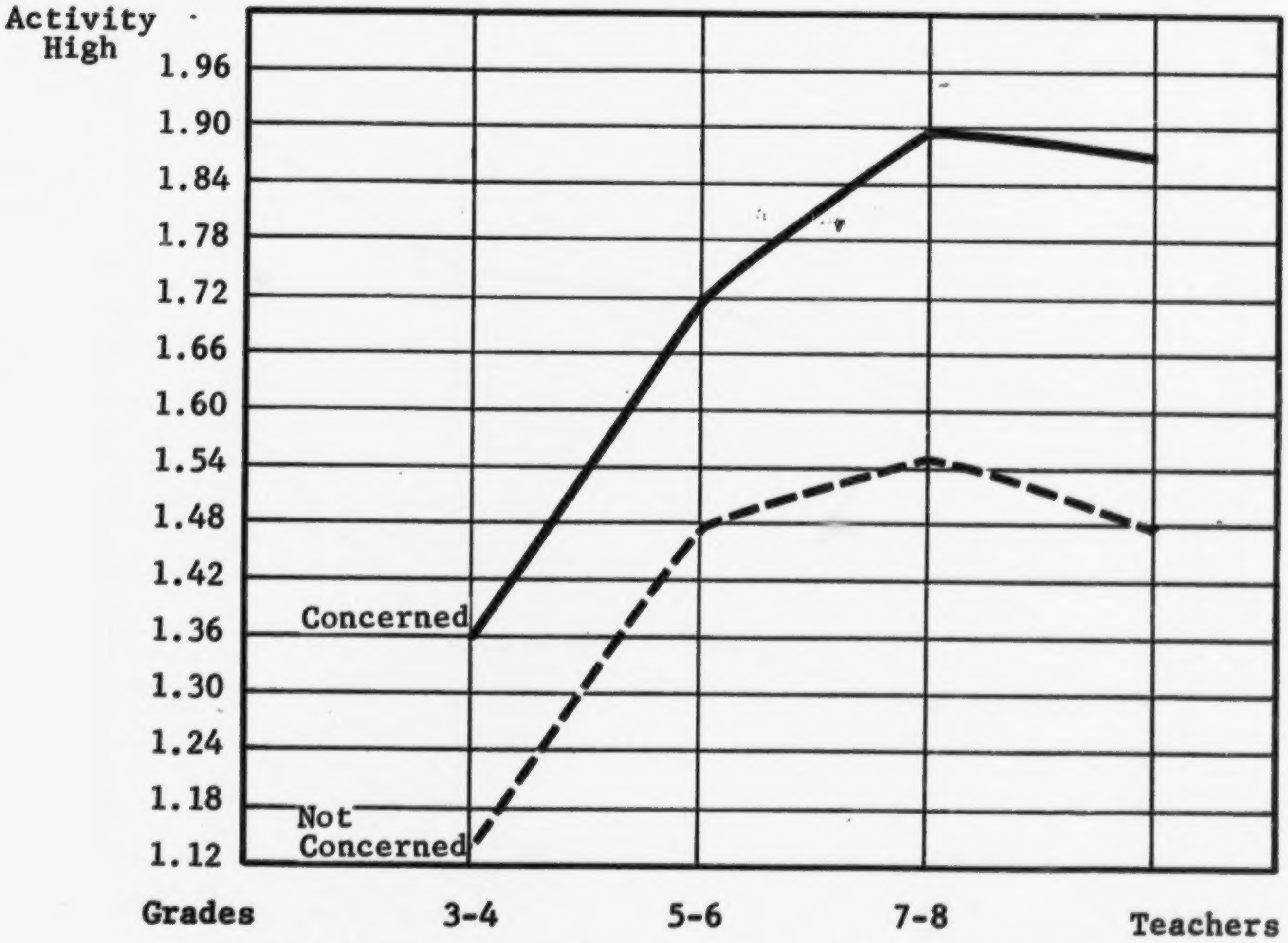
Range of N: 441 - 2640

Significance Unit: .07

FIGURE 125

CONCERN WITH ELECTION OUTCOME AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Comparison (within grade) of mean level of political activity of two groups: those who report high concern about the outcome of the 1960 election, and those who report low concern.



Item: Combination of three items -- have you: worn election button; read about candidates; helped candidates?

Index Scale: 0 - No activity
3 - Three acts.

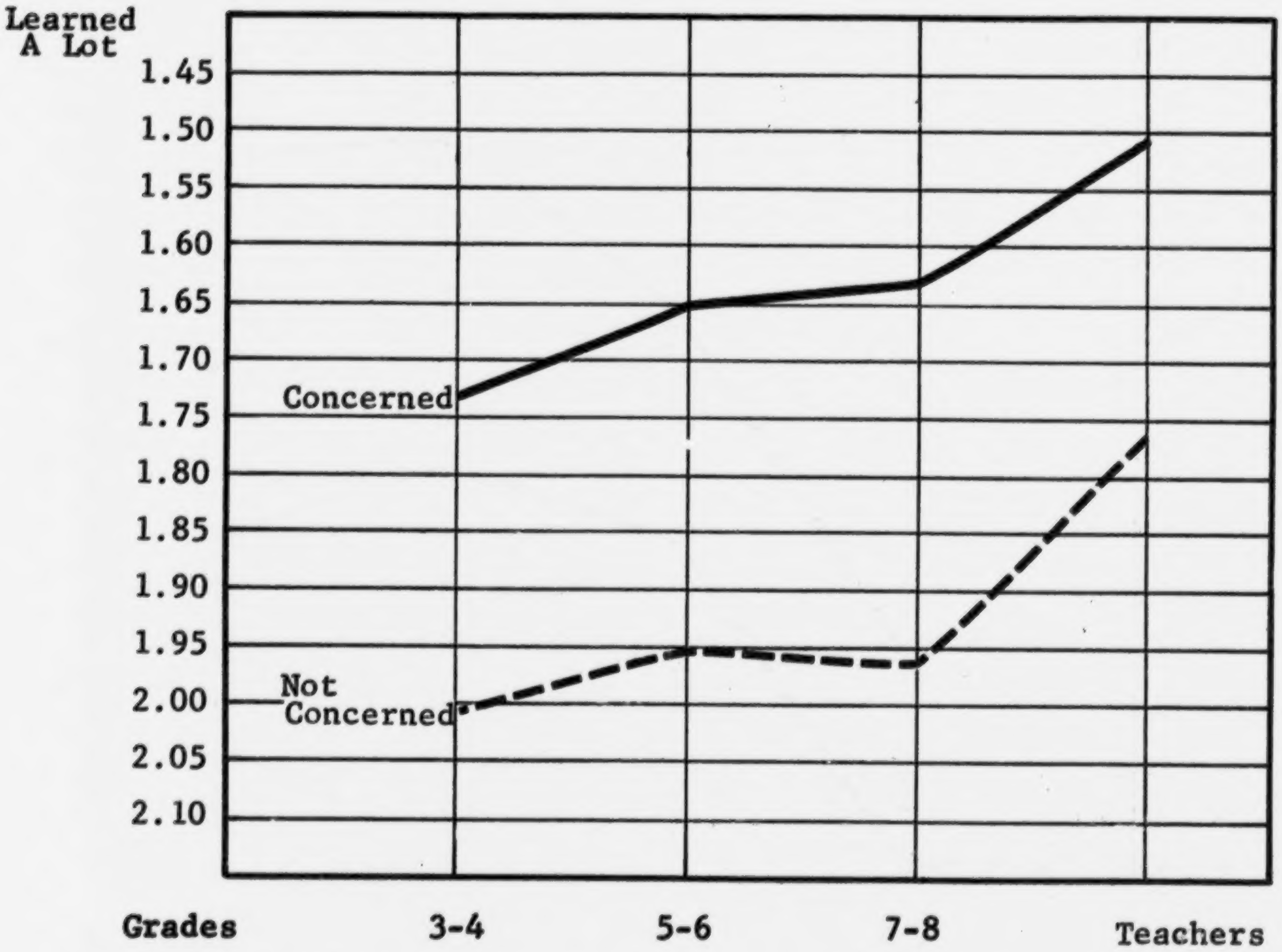
Range of N: 440 - 2647

Significance Unit: .06

FIGURE 126

CONCERN WITH ELECTION OUTCOME AND RATING OF ELECTIONS AS SOURCES OF POLITICAL INFORMATION

Comparison (within grade) of mean ratings of the amount learned from the 1960 election, by two groups: those who report high concern about the outcome of the election, and those who report low concern.



Item: How much did you learn from the last election?

Index Scale: 1 - A lot
3 - Very little

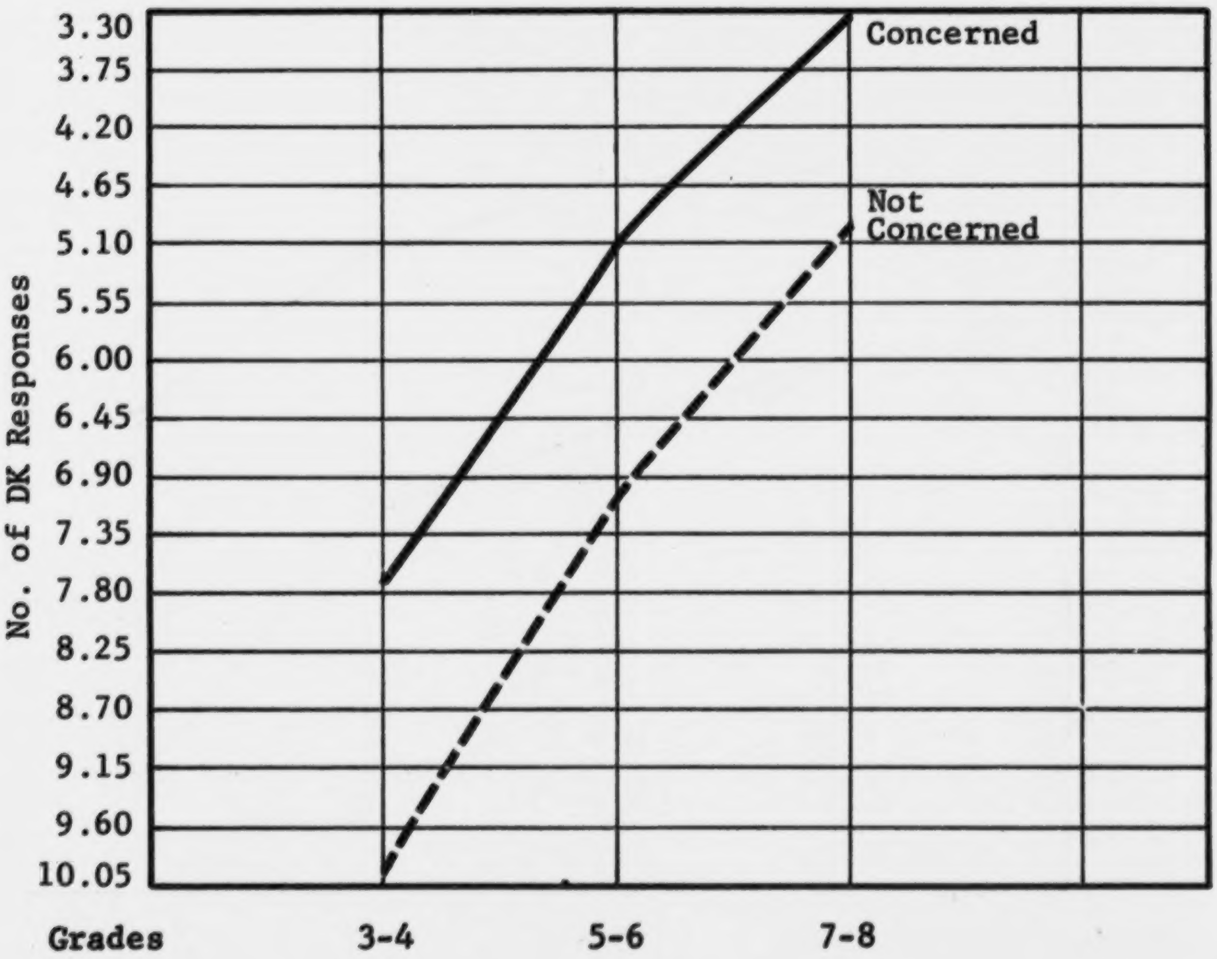
Range of N: 267 - 2641

Significance Unit: .05

FIGURE 127

CONCERN WITH ELECTION OUTCOME AND THE ACQUISITION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Comparison (within grade) of mean DK scores of two groups: those who report high concern about the outcome of the 1960 election, and those who report low concern.



Item: Number of "Don't know" responses to 32 questions

Index Scale: 0 - No DK
32 - High DK

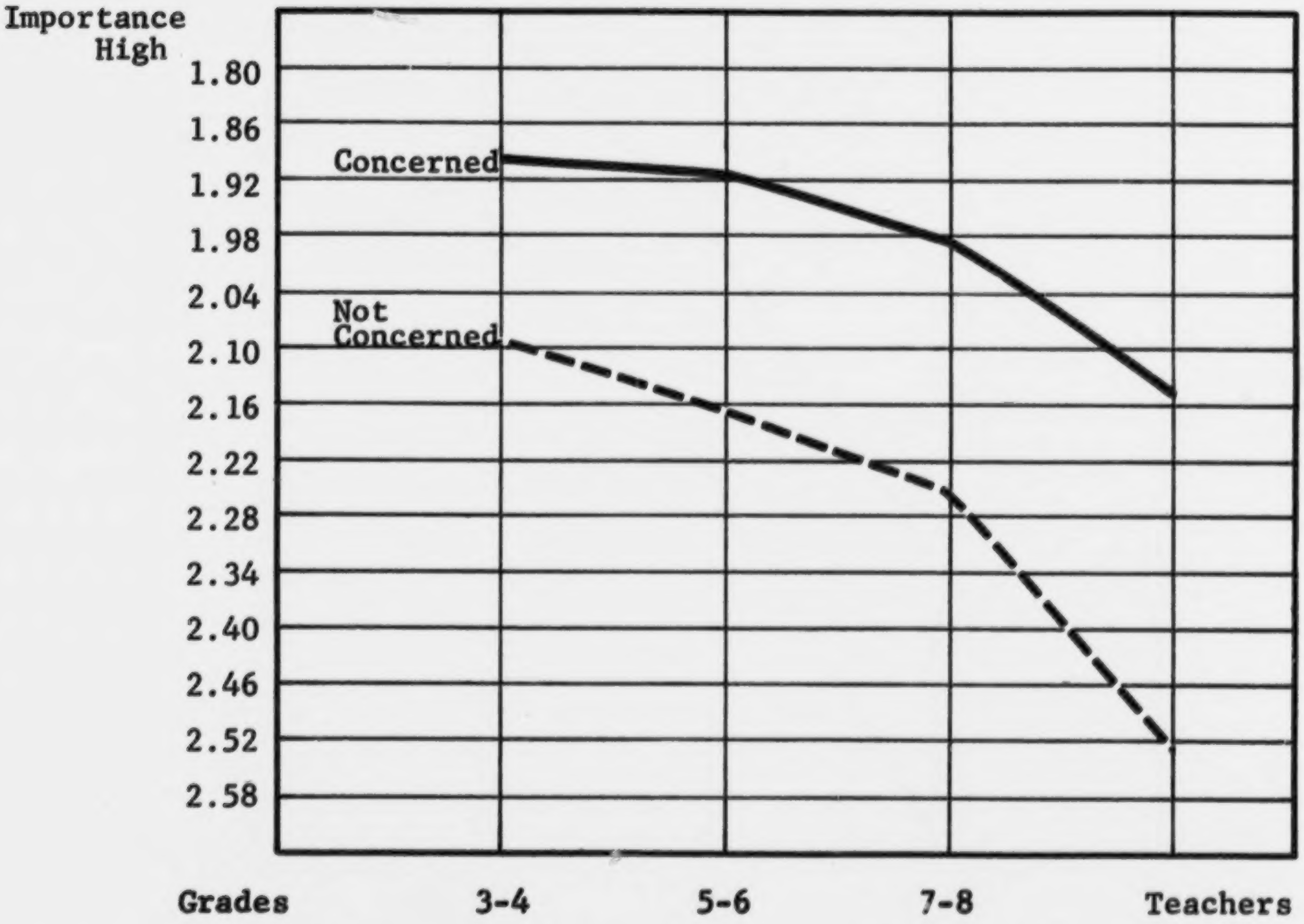
Range of N: 440 - 2640

Significance Unit: .43

FIGURE 128

CONCERN WITH ELECTION OUTCOME AND RATING THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Comparison (within grade) of mean ratings of the importance of belonging to a party as an adult, by two groups: those who report high concern about the outcome of the 1960 election, and those who report low concern.



Item: How important is it for grown-ups to belong to a political party?

Index Scale: 1 - Very import.
4 - Not important

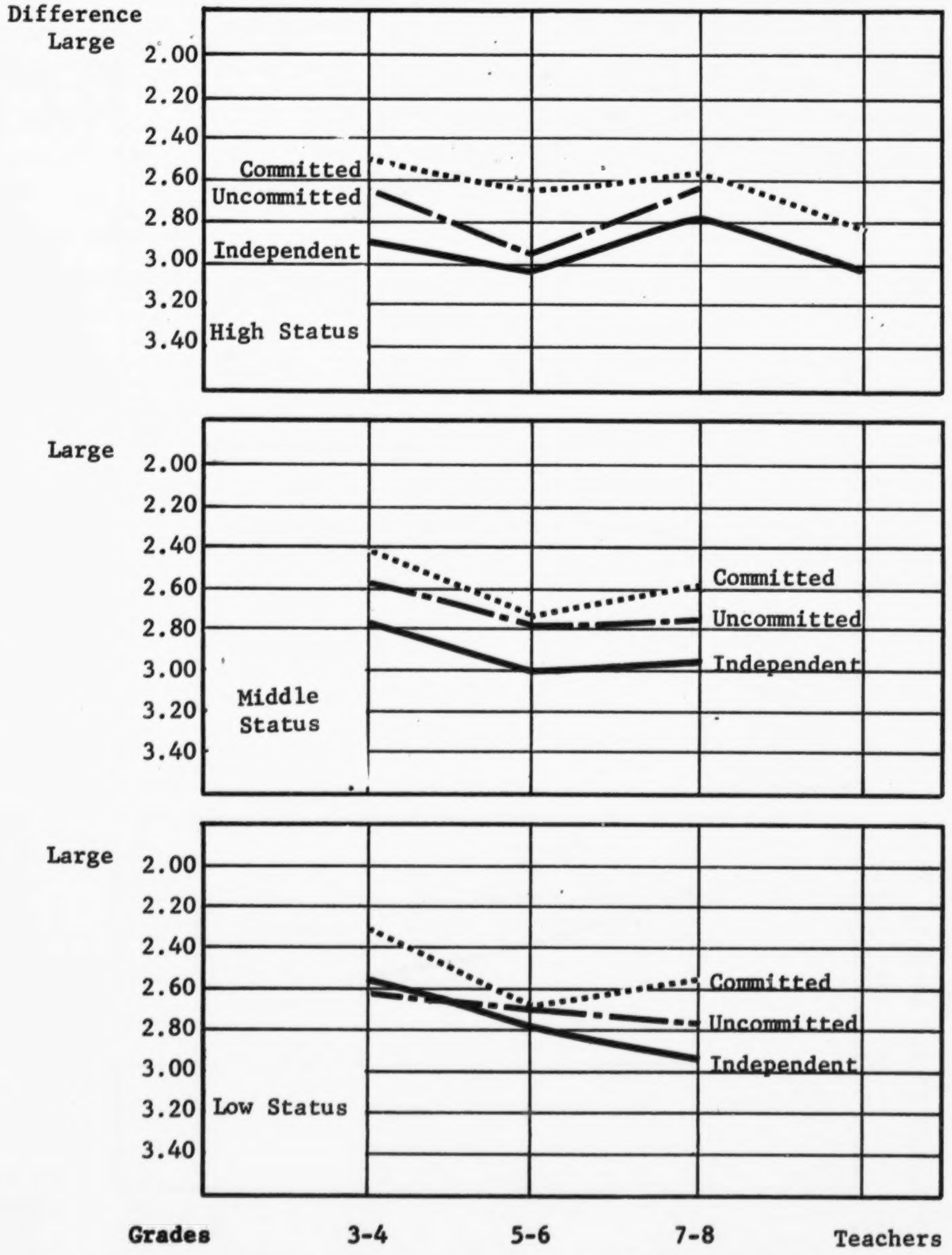
Range of N: 390 - 2526

Significance Unit: .06

FIGURE 129

PARTY COMMITMENT AND PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean amounts of difference between Democrats and Republicans, as perceived by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: How much difference is there between the Democrats and Republicans?

Index Scale: 1 - Very large difference
5 - No difference

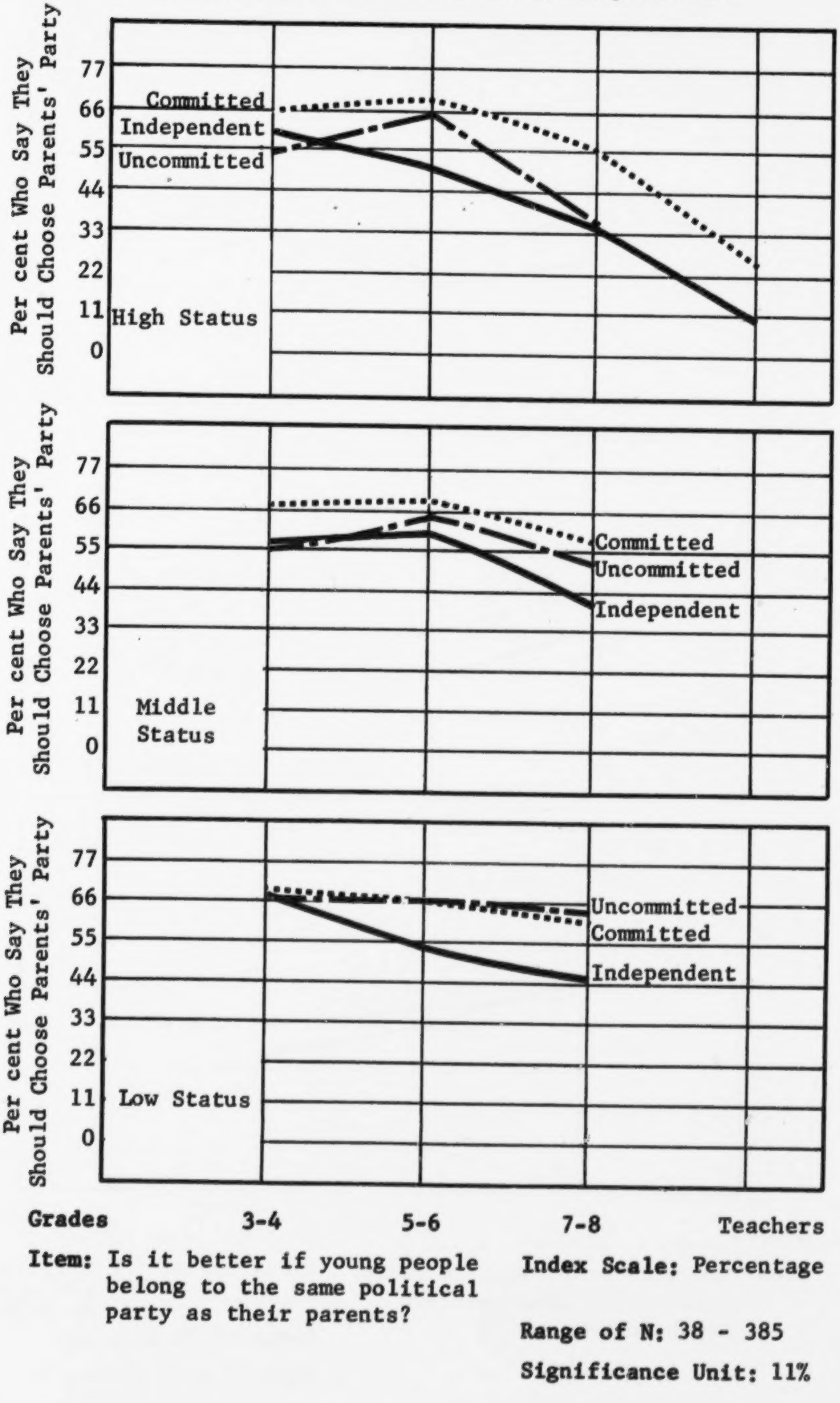
Range of N: 64 - 415

Significance Unit: .20

FIGURE 130

PARTY COMMITMENT AND VIEW OF PARENTS AS APPROPRIATE MODELS FOR PARTY CHOICE

Comparison (within social status and grade) of selection of parents as appropriate models for young people's choice of party, by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Is it better if young people belong to the same political party as their parents?

Index Scale: Percentage

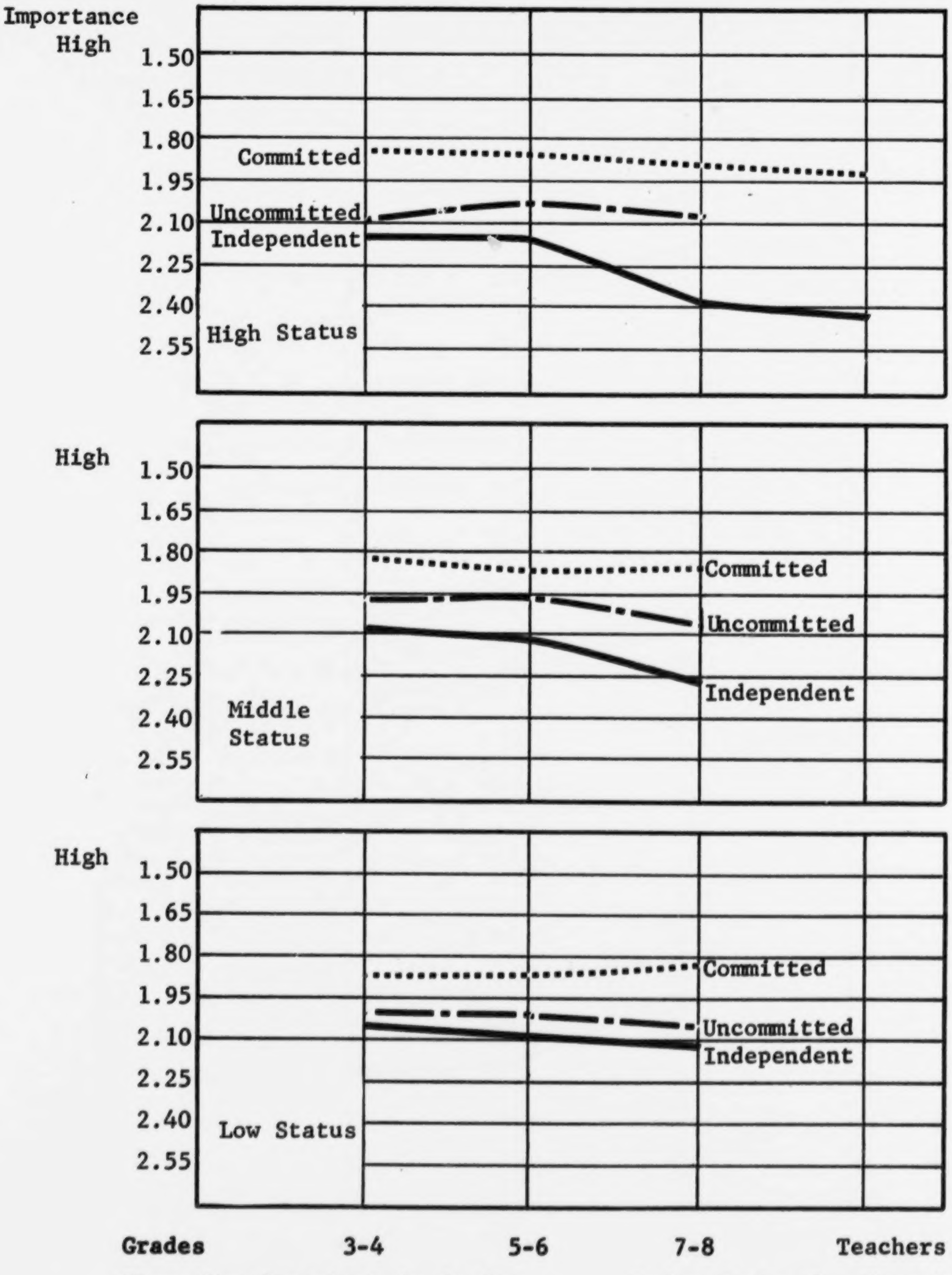
Range of N: 38 - 385

Significance Unit: 11%

FIGURE 131

PARTY COMMITMENT AND RATING THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean ratings of the importance of belonging to a party as an adult, by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: How important is it for grown-ups to belong to a political party?

Index Scale: 1 - Very import.
4 - Not important

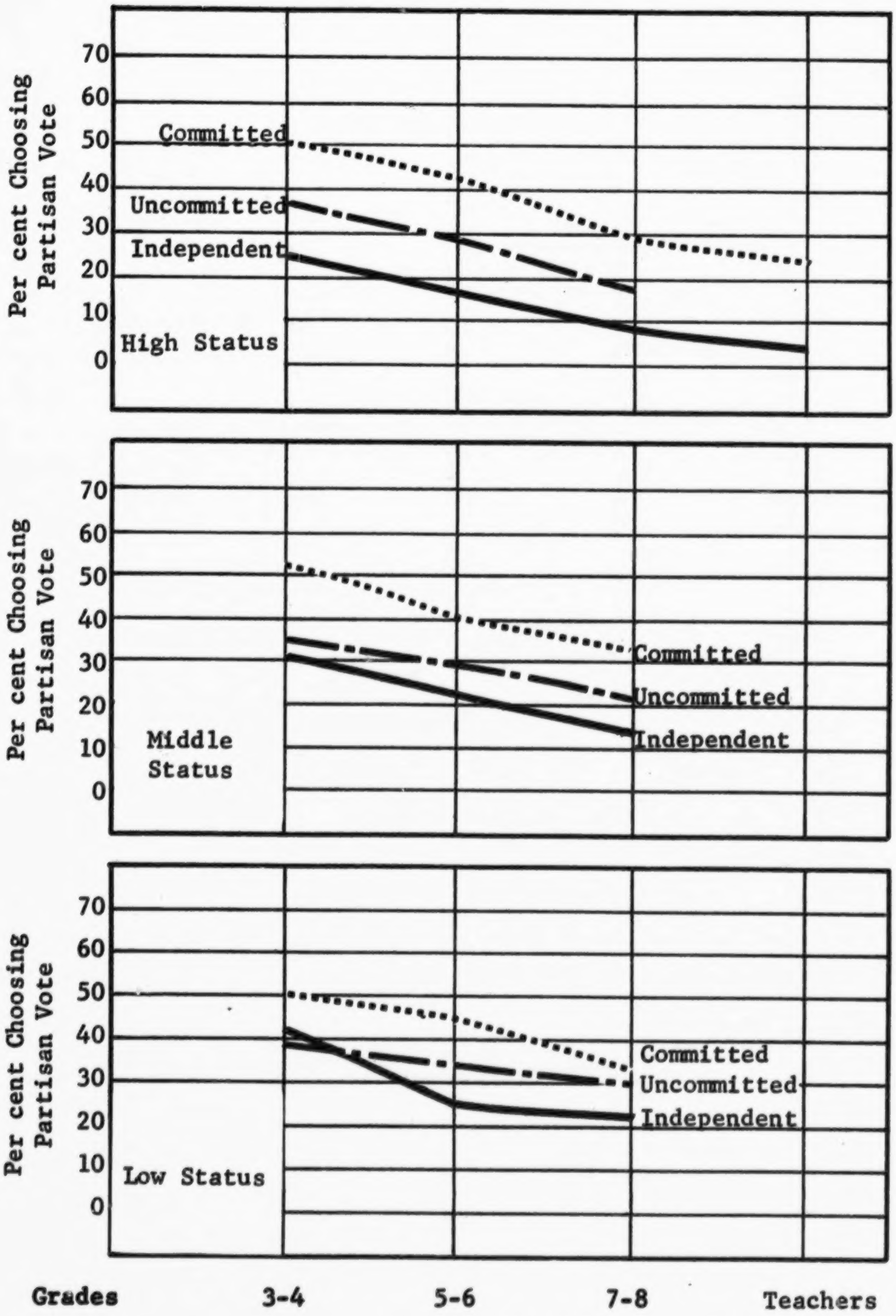
Range of N: 64 - 508

Significance Unit: .15

FIGURE 132

PARTY COMMITMENT AND VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF VOTING ALONG PARTY LINES

Comparison (within social status and grade) of choice of partisan voting over individual candidate selection, by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Should the citizen vote only for candidates sponsored by his political party, or should he vote for the candidates of his choice?

Index Scale: Percentage

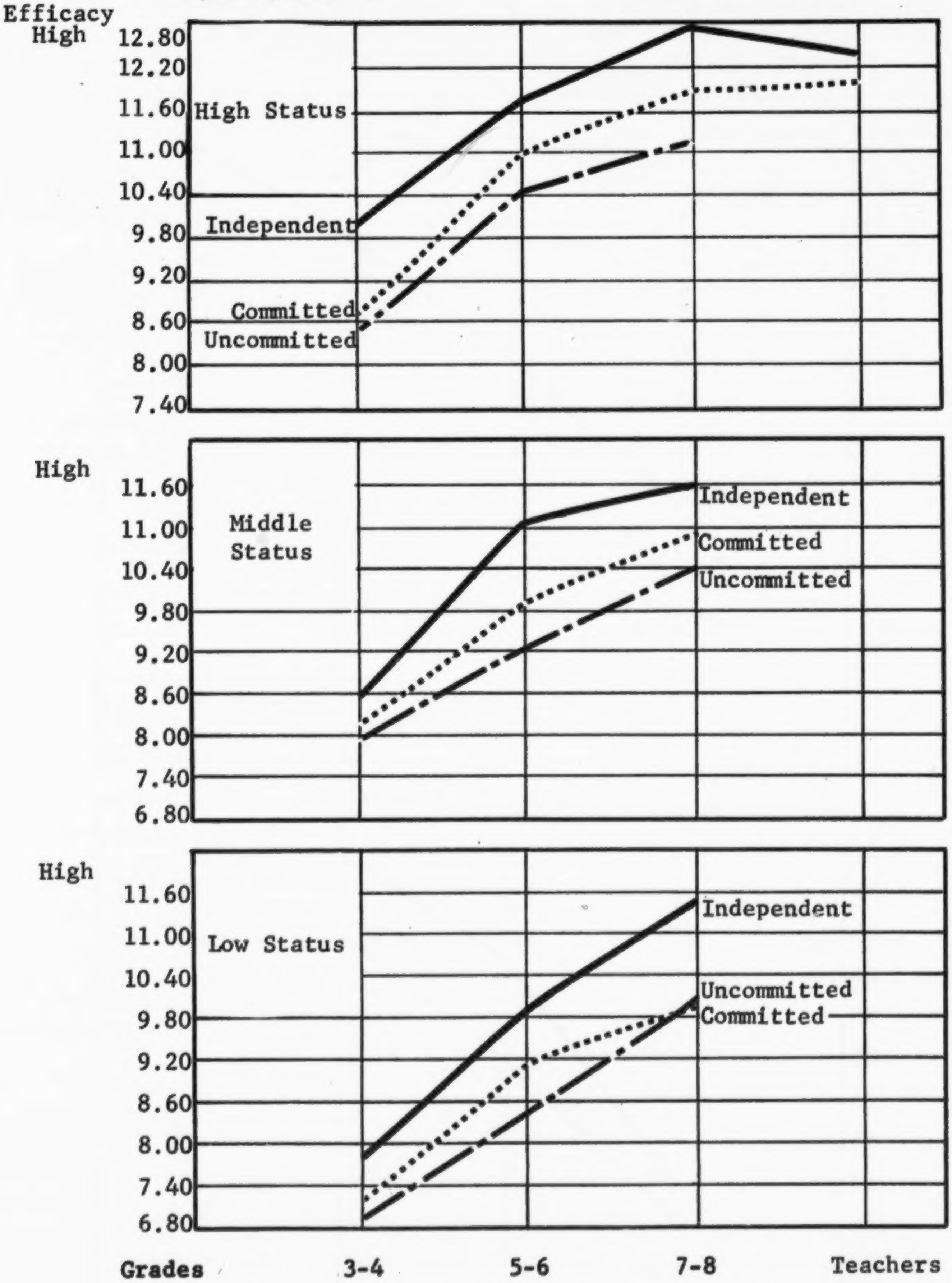
Range of N: 60 - 503

Significance Unit: 10%

FIGURE 133

PARTY COMMITMENT AND SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean ratings of their own political efficacy by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Combination of five items concerning perception of government's responsiveness to citizens' attempts to influence it.

Index Scale: 1 - Low
16 - High

Range of N: 72 - 498

Significance Unit: .58

FIGURE 134

PARTY COMMITMENT AND CHOICE OF VOTING AS A SYMBOL OF OUR GOVERNMENT

Comparison (within social status and grade) of mean ratings of voting as a symbol of our form of government, by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.

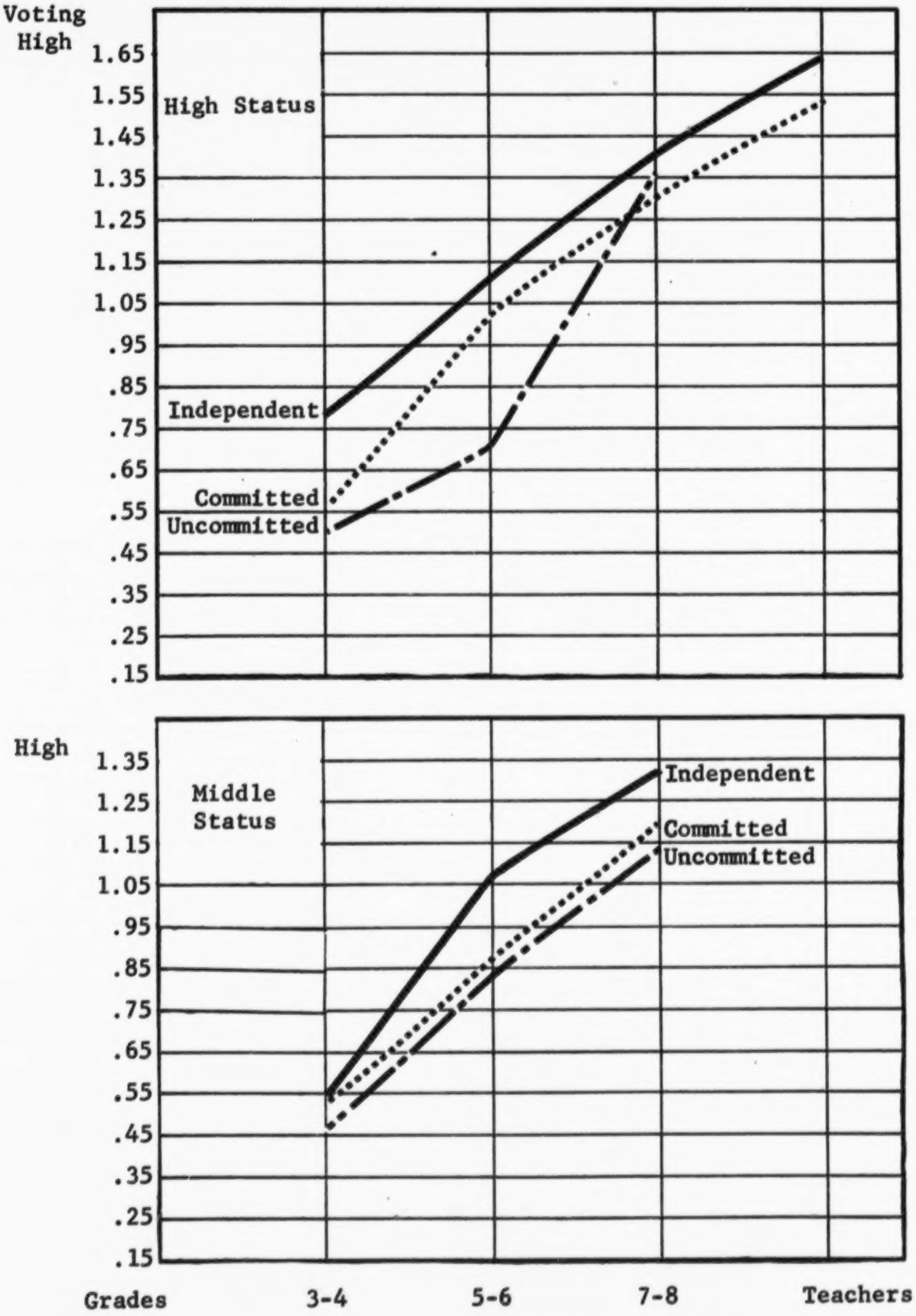
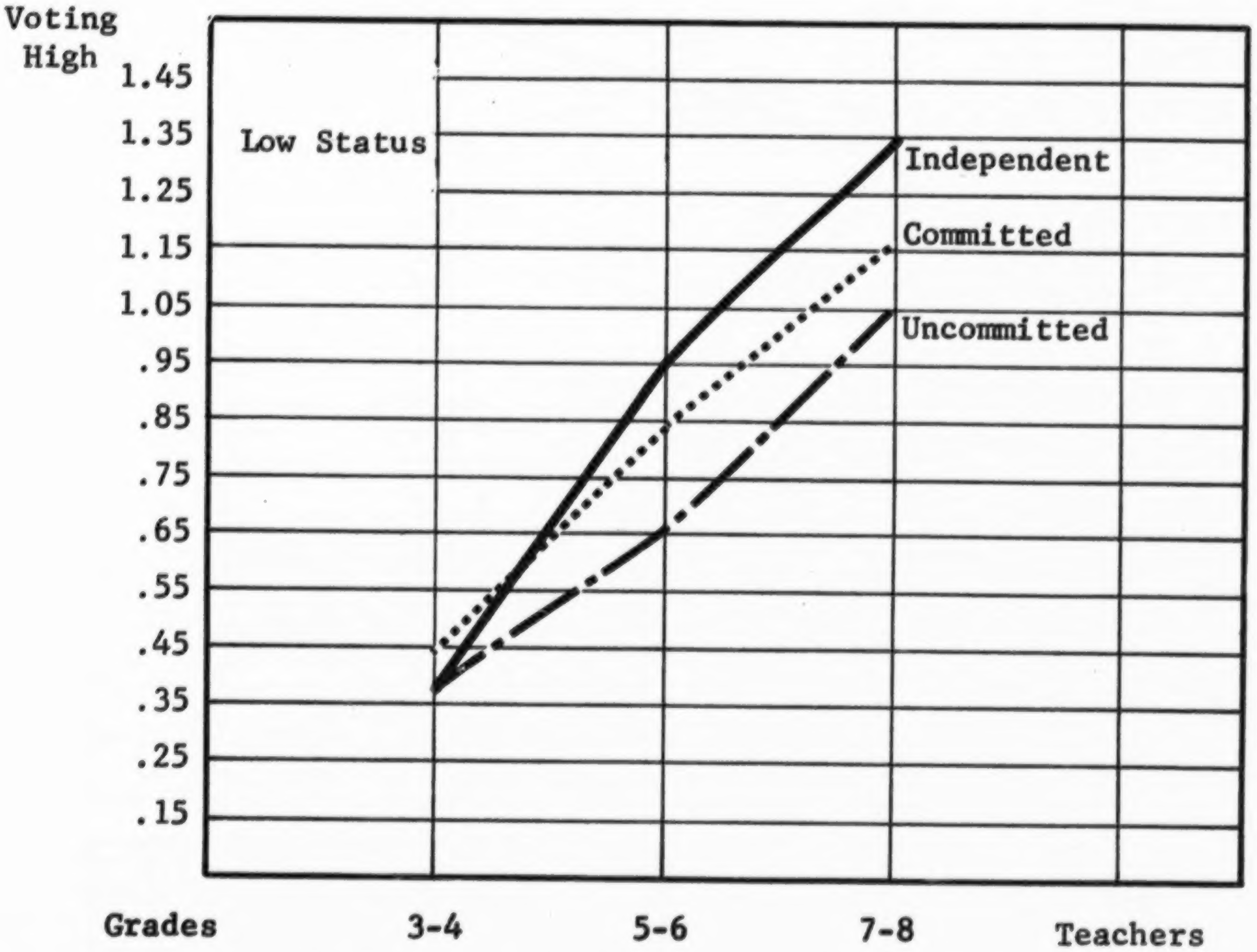


FIGURE 134--Continued



Item: Combination of two items: choice of voting as best picture of government and as source of national pride.

Index Scale: 0 - Neither
2 - Both

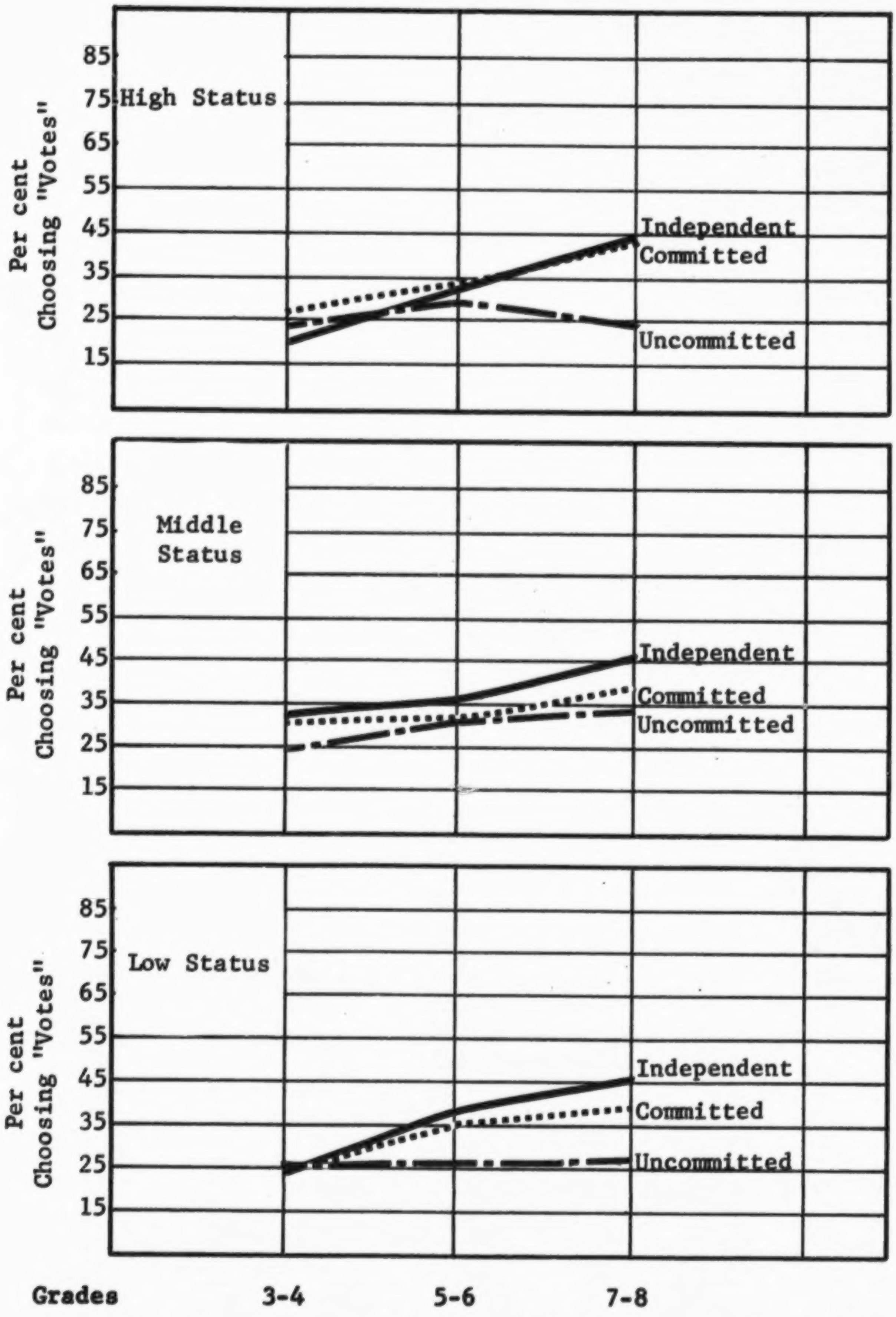
Range of N: 81 - 756

Significance Unit: .10

FIGURE 135

PARTY COMMITMENT AND CHOICE OF VOTING AS THE CITIZEN'S MOST IMPORTANT OBLIGATION

Comparison (within social status and grade) of choice of voting as the adult citizen's most important obligation, by three groups: 1)those committed to a party; 2)those uncommitted; and 3)independents.



Item: Which is the best adult citizen? One who votes and gets others to vote. (Seven other alternatives; child selected two).

Index Scale: Percentage

Range of N: 45 - 524

Significance Unit: 10%

They overrated the participation of the individual citizen as a technique of political influence. Expression of a greater sense of efficacy (Figure 133) is congruent with this group's high evaluation of voting as a symbol of government (Figure 134) and as a behavioral norm for the good citizen (Figure 135). This attitude reflects a preoccupation with the election process--especially voting (as opposed to the events leading to nomination)--as the central arena of political decision making and power, and ignores the powerful network of lobbies, influential individuals and pressure groups.

This pattern is remarkably congruent with teachers' attitudes concerning the importance of individual action as an ideal mode of involvement and with the tendency for schools to undervalue party membership. Children's attitudes towards partisan commitment appear to be most completely socialized by the school--a conclusion supported by the high intelligence level of this group as compared with that of others (Figure 85).

Although teachers cannot require children to be independent, they can inculcate the concepts that parties do not really differ, that good citizens do not vote only for party candidates, and that children should not affiliate with the political party of their parents. These are the values that teachers hold. After learning these norms, the resulting student role behavior is partisan independence. Teachers, because of strong community constraints, cannot express partisan preferences openly; but they can and do teach norms which orient students toward political independence.

While Independents are characterized by the importance they place upon voting for candidates rather than parties, the two partisan groups divide on a more personal and subjectively competitive basis. Items showing differences between Democrats and Republicans are presented in Figures 136 through 138. These differences appear as emotional reactions to the outcome of the election and to the candidate, who is known to be Democratic or Republican. They also reflect differences in evaluation of the parties' contributions to the national welfare.

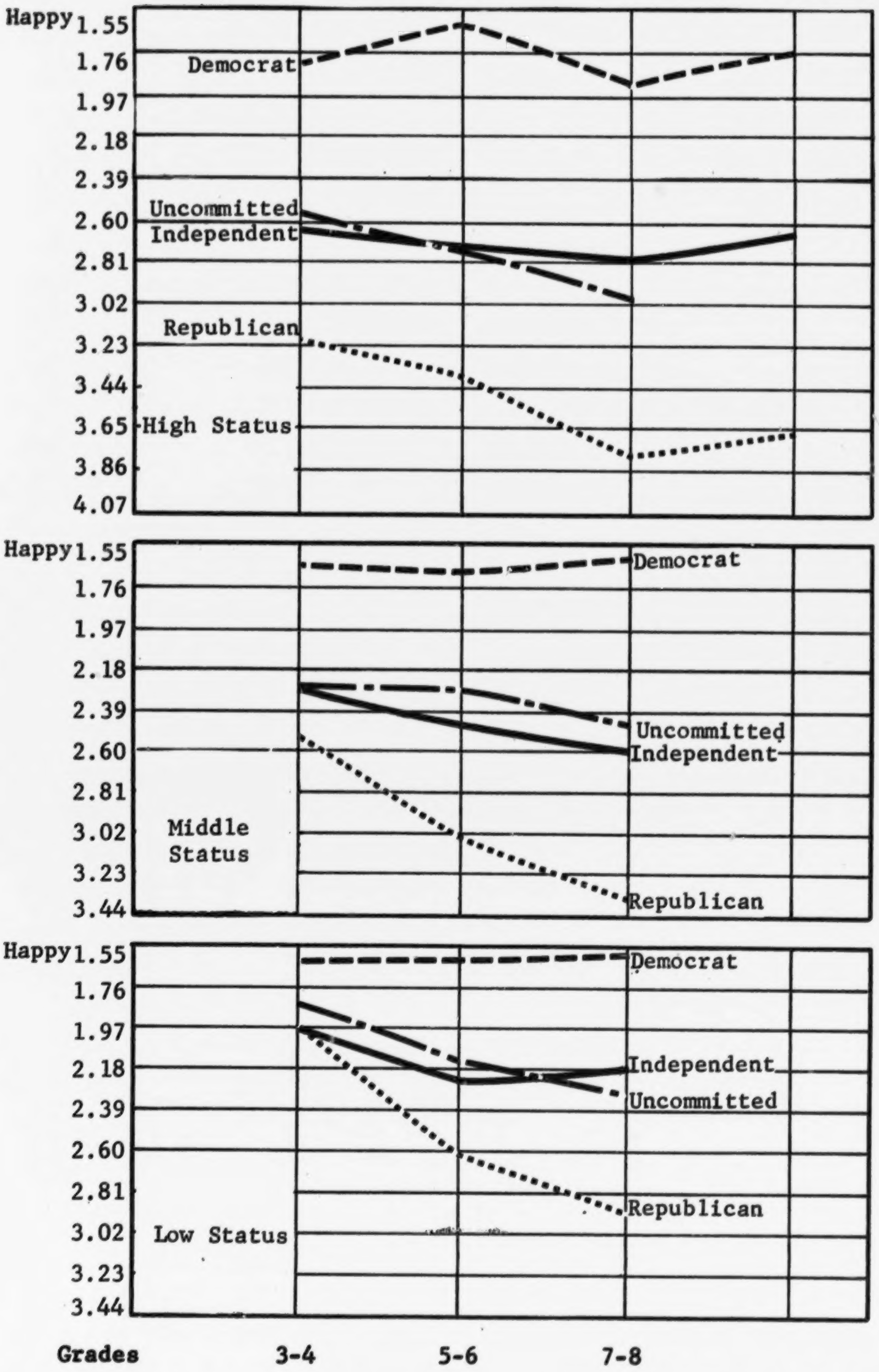
Views of the President's competence in performing his role and respect for his power did not differ between Democrats and Republicans. Emotional reactions following the 1960 election showed strong association with political party preferences (Figure 136) as did the rating of the President as a personal favorite (Figure 137). There is evidence that ratings such as these are highly predictive of voting preferences of adults.[8] Similar differences between Democrats and Republicans appeared on evaluations of which

---

[8] Strickler (1963) had voters rate Nixon, Kennedy, and the ideal President; difference scores between each candidate and the ideal, and the mean evaluative ratings assigned to each candidate would predict voting for 90 per cent of a group of 218.

FIGURE 136

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF PARTY PREFERENCE GROUPS IN THEIR EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO KENNEDY'S ELECTION, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Did you feel happy or sad when Kennedy was elected?

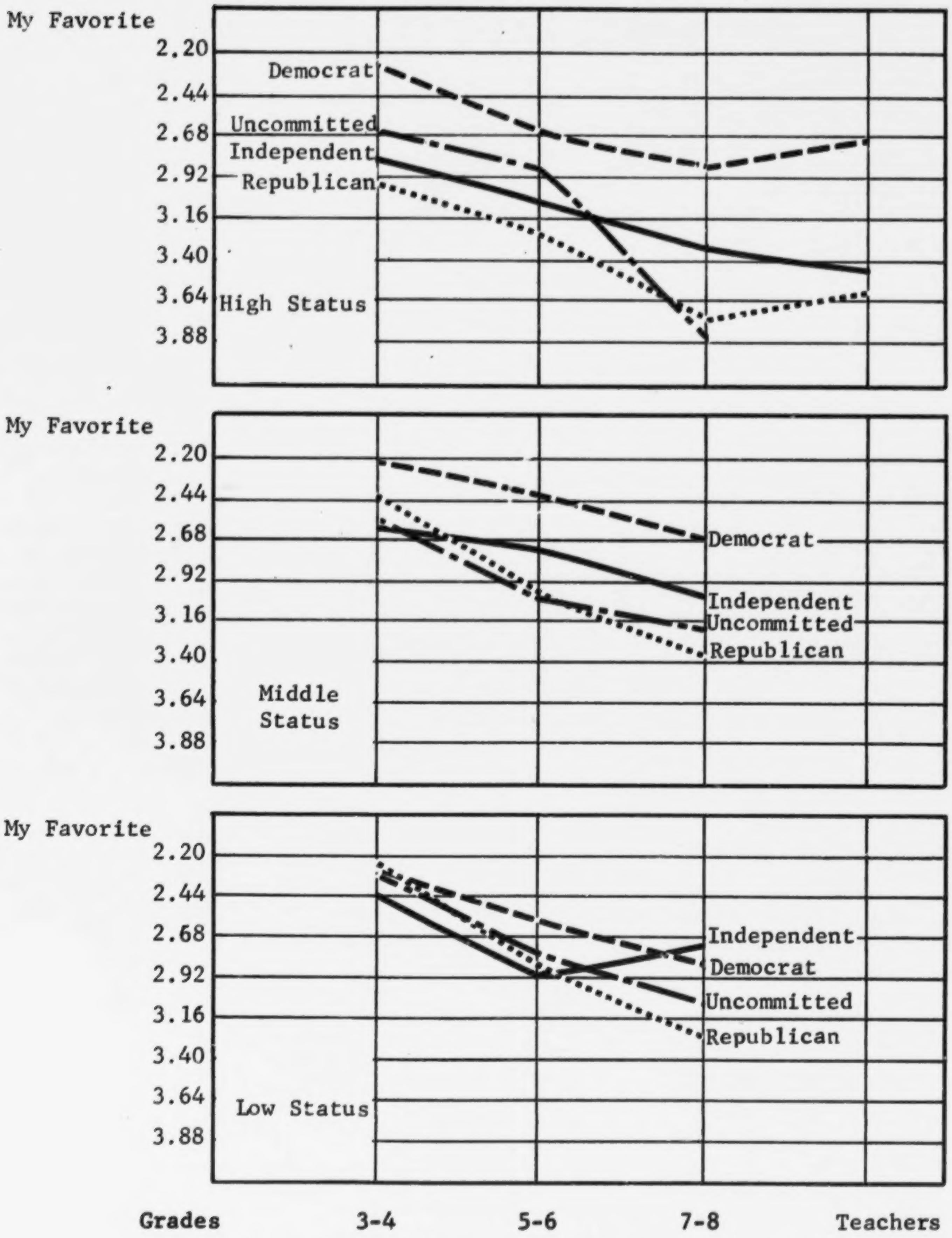
Index Scale: 1 - Very happy
5 - Very sad

Range of N: 69 - 649

Significance Unit: .21

FIGURE 137

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF PARTY PREFERENCE GROUPS IN ATTACHMENT TO THE PRESIDENT, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: The President is my favorite of all.

Index Scale: 1 - Favorite of all
6 - Not favorite

Range of N: 81 - 749

Significance Unit: .24

party does the most for the country (Figure 138), suggesting that party preference, at this level of development, evokes response differences only on items which the child can relate directly to a partisan frame of reference--specific evaluations of the parties and of candidates who are labeled Democrat or Republican.[9] These data also suggest that Hyman's (1959) view of the importance of political party is overstated.

The school's efforts to stimulate attention in the election may render the child susceptible to socialization into party loyalty by his family and community. Our evidence shows a similarity between child's report of parents' and of his own political preference (see Table 53). This is also reflected both in the similarity between siblings' partisan leanings and in the tendency for party preference to follow social class patterns. It is possible that teachers have some influence upon the child's party choice, but this is unlikely since they seem to press for independence and non-partisan active involvement.

In summary, partisan divisions characterizing America's political field do not significantly influence the child's orientations toward the system and its values and rules; consensus on basic attachment and compliance is fixed quite independently from party affiliation. Differences between children who are not committed to a single party (either totally uncommitted or independent) and those who express a party preference are more widespread than differences between Democrats and Republicans. The school attempts to socialize the attitude that involvement and interest are highly valued and that individual action is the most effective means of political influence. The further overlay of party preference for children seems to be relatively superficial and limited to areas which are clearly labeled as partisan. The stress upon individual action seems unrealistic in view of the obvious influence of pressure groups, and indicates that some non-functional attitudes are socialized by the school.

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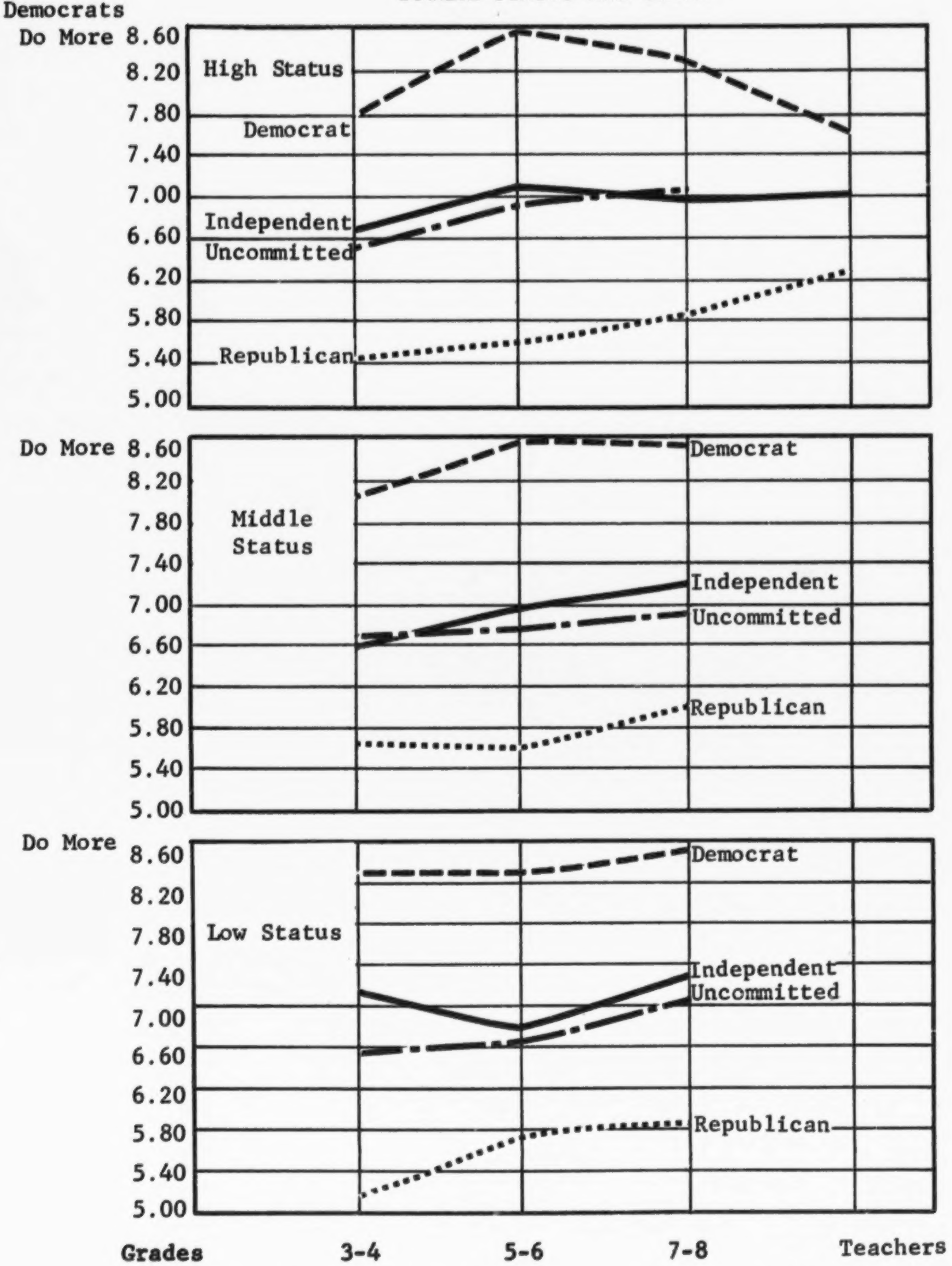
[9] Campbell et al. (1960) explored the relationship of their multi-dimensional measure of partisan attitude to voting choice and evaluation of political parties, with results highly similar to those reported here.

FIGURE 138

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF PARTY PREFERENCE GROUPS IN THEIR APPRAISAL OF THE RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS TO THE NATIONAL WELFARE, WITHIN SOCIAL STATUS AND GRADE



Item: Combination of six items--which party does most: for rich people; to keep us out of war; to help unemployed; to protect rights; to help your family; for the U.S.?

Index Scale: 1 - Republicans
7 - Both same
13 - Democrats

Range of N: 32 - 476

Significance Unit: .40

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the socialization of children into the political system of the United States. This report presents findings within the framework of a theory of socialization into social systems. The initial thrust of the study was descriptive--an attempt to chart and document the growth of political behavior. Very little information on this topic existed in 1957 when our studies began and although some investigations have been reported in the past five years, this report is the first attempt to present in some detail the progress toward adult political behavior of elementary school children in several regions of the U.S. With the evidence from this and other studies now available, it may be possible to move toward experimental or other more focused investigations which examine within a more precise theoretical system the antecedents and correlates of political involvement and behavior.

If this study is successful it will be the first of a group of projects which utilize, revise, and extend the knowledge and formulations it presents. The changing nature of the political arena is likely to affect socialization processes and levels of opinion. For example, the campaign of Goldwater in 1964 and its accent on differences between Democrats and Republicans may lead to a perception on the part of children that the two major parties differ greatly, and to socialization of more intense party commitment. It is important, then, to replicate and extend certain features of this study and to determine which elements of the content of socialization are subject to change with the influence of a shifting political scene and which elements represent a developmental progression that is relatively independent of political climate and events.[1]

In this section of the final report, the focus is upon the induction of the individual into the system. Part II of this report[2] will deal more explicitly with the implications of socialization for the political system and the maintenance of a democratic society. These topics have been discussed only briefly in this part of the report.

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[1] A cross-national study of authority, aggression, and compliance now in progress (Cooperative Office of Education Project Number 2947), R. D. Hess and Leigh Triandis, principal investigators, may give further information on this question.

[2] Part II (Easton, Hess & Dennis, in preparation) will be submitted subsequently.

The theoretical context in which the data were organized in this monograph views socialization into a system of society as the development of a network of role relationships, a complex outcome of the following: (1) psychological orientations to authority and rules following from the individual's position in the social structure and the child's experience in other authority systems, particularly the family; (2) direct and explicit teaching of attitudes and information by all the institutions of the community, especially the school; (3) the individual properties of the child, which mediate instruction--modifying and selecting the inflow of information to adapt it to the characteristics of the individual; and (4) the realities of political experience which even the young child encounters at dramatic moments such as an election, the death of a leader, or the conflict and searing drama of a civil rights revolution.

This general theoretical position draws from several trunks of theory--George Herbert Mead, Freud, Piaget, Parsons--and was imposed on the data after, rather than before, the field testing. This was a deliberate approach, necessary in a field in which little information and few concepts were available for predicting the major trends of the data. In our opinion, the outline represents the best fit of a conceptual scheme to the results. At this stage in the field, theory must be held lightly and be revised on the basis of further testing and alternative interpretations of these results. One of the most useful subsequent steps would be a national study of a random sample of adults' responses to the items used in the present investigation or to similar ones, so that a more precise estimate could be made of progress toward adult attitudes by the end of elementary school. Samples of high school students, college students, and adults would give even better information about the emergence and maturation of political orientations.

An adequate presentation of data from a study of this scope requires a great number of detailed figures and tables to permit the reader to evaluate the information and formulate alternative explanations of his own. The sheer amount of information offered in this report may obscure the salience of results with particular theoretical significance. In this section we summarize the major findings of the study and comment on their implications for educational practice and curriculum development.

In this summary, the findings are grouped to respond to three basic questions: First, what is the content of attitudes which children develop during the elementary school years--what are their perceptions of political figures and organizations and their conceptions of the role of citizens and of the operation of the political system? Second, from which agents (institutions, persons) are political attitudes and behavior acquired and what experiences are related to this acquisition? Third, what is the pattern (rate and sequence) of change and growth in attitudes, and through what processes and mechanisms are they acquired?

A. The Content of Political Attitudes Acquired During Elementary School

The young child's involvement with the political system begins with a strong positive attachment to the country; the U. S. is seen as ideal and as superior to other countries. This attachment to the country is stable and shows almost no change through elementary school years. This bond is possibly the most basic and essential aspect of socialization into involvement with the political life of the nation. Essentially an emotional tie, it apparently grows from complex psychological and social needs and is exceedingly resistent to change or argument. Because it is a powerful emotional bond, it is particularly important in times of national emergency and is sometimes used by individuals and organizations for political purposes. The power gathered by Senator McCarthy developed from his ability to cast doubt on the basic loyalty of his fellow citizens. The effectiveness of his tactics testifies to the importance of this tie, to its emotional character, and to the power of the feelings that are generated when it is challenged, denied, or disregarded.

The young child perceives figures and institutions of government as powerful, competent, benign, and infallible and trusts them to offer him protection and help. This early faith in political authority figures seems to be general among young children in this country. There is also reason to believe that it is characteristic of other countries (Hess, 1963). The age trends in the data give little support to the notion that all these attitudes are learned; rather, the transfer model seems to be more appropriate for many. It also seems likely that the young child endows figures whom he sees as powerful and authoritative with benign and helpful qualities as well. This response appears to be compensatory; it develops as a result of the child's inferior and vulnerable place in the system, and serves to reassure the child that powerful authority is not dangerous (Hess & Easton, 1960; Torney, Hess & Easton, 1962).

The child's initial relationship with governmental authority is with the President, whom he sees in highly positive terms indicating his basic trust in the benevolence of government. Indeed, interviews of first and second grade children indicated that the President is the major figure in the child's emerging political world. The small child believes the President is available to the individual citizen, either by visits to the White House or by telephone. The President's concern is personal and nurturant. He is the tie to the governmental system through which other objects--institutions, processes--become familiar and understood. The Vice-President, for example, is described in interviews as the President's helper, and the Congress is seen as working for the President. The President is the critical point of contact for the child in the political socialization process.

The early image of the President centers around personal qualities. With increasing age, the role qualities of the President become more prominent than the personal attitude of liking, and the child develops a concept of the Presidency as separate from the President. This occurs at a fairly early age, although the child could probably not articulate the distinction. It is clear, however, when one compares children's attitudes to President Eisenhower and President Kennedy. Despite his narrow victory and lacking the popular image that was characteristic of Eisenhower, Kennedy within weeks of his inauguration was rated as positively as Eisenhower had been in his second term (Hess, 1963). Emerging along with attitudes toward the President are attitudes toward roles in the system; these roles endow the incumbent with status and prestige in the eyes of the child and will later allow him to criticize the occupant of a role without expressing disloyalty to the system or withdrawing respect.

The policeman is also among the political figures which are salient to the young child. Children believe that the policeman is nurturant and that his role is to help persons in trouble and prevent crime rather than to exercise the more punitive functions of catching and punishing criminals. Despite his importance as an authority figure, however, children do not see him as a representative of national government. They express a strong personal liking for the policeman; this attraction declines steadily throughout the elementary school years to a level which is positive but considerably lower than their regard for the President.

On most attributes, policemen were rated at approximately the same level as Senators, and consistently lower thanthe President. They were somewhat lower than "father" on personal items ("I like him") but superior to "father" on role performance items ("Knows more," "Is a leader," "Makes important decisions"). The child holds the policeman in awe. Most children have high regard for law and for all law enforcement authorities. The elementary school child, especially at early grade levels, sees laws as just and unchangeable and believes that punishment is an inevitable consequence of wrongdoing. The young child believes that laws are made by persons in administrative positions, especially by the President; this view is later modified to recognize the legislative process. There are some changes with age in this general picture, as will be noted later in this chapter, but norms about the justice of law and necessity for conformity are established firmly at an early age. Deviations from these norms do not result from ignorance or from a failure to accept the norms themselves. The reasons for noncompliance must be sought in other areas of personality and behavior. As with orientations toward authority figures, the attitudes toward law appear to be transferred from attitudes developed in other systems, especially the family and to a lesser extent the school. If this transfer model is valid in these basic areas of orientation toward authority and law, the child's experiences with rules in prior groups (family and school) are very influential in the political socialization process.

The young child's trust in the political system is expressed not only by a view of figures and institutions as benign but through a view of the obligation of the citizen primarily to be a good person. This image of the citizen persists, but the obligations to vote and express interest in governmental affairs become more dominant elements of the norms of adult citizenship as the child grows older. The belief that the citizen should be interested in political matters is apparent in the behavior reported by elementary school children; by the end of the eighth grade most children have acquired some interest in governmental activities and have participated in discussions about political issues and problems.

Children begin engaging in political activities such as wearing campaign buttons at an early age, occasionally as early as the third grade; there is a gradual increase through the eighth grade in the number of children who report such activities. The elementary school child's view of the election process and the mechanisms of influence on governmental action is dominated by an image of the citizen as powerful and the individual vote as the most effective force in the political process. The sense of efficacy in influencing political processes increases with age. Children in elementary school, even in the eighth grade, have a very limited knowledge of the role and effectiveness of pressure groups in elections and in determining governmental policy.

The child's image of political parties develops late, and the nature of the differences between the two major parties is not clearly defined. Parties are apparently first associated with candidates who are identified as Republican or Democrat; interest in an election and a candidate may be the most instrumental mechanism for developing party affiliation. Although taking sides in an election is a prominent aspect of children's political behavior, a meaningful party commitment is usually not acquired until the upper grades of elementary school. Even at this age, a large proportion of children report that if they could vote they would vote independently of party affiliation; in general they believe that partisan commitment is desirable for adults, but that it should be deferred until adulthood.

In viewing politics, particularly the relationship between the two parties and the conduct of elections, children tend to minimize conflict. They see disagreement as undesirable and prefer to believe that politicians never say unkind things about one another during an election campaign. They also have a firm conviction that following an election campaign the conflict that may have arisen should be forgotten; the loser should join in support of the winning candidate and he, in return, should be gracious and forgiving. Thus by the end of the eighth grade, children have developed a sense of the need for consensus and majority rule in democratic processes; but typically they have not recognized the role of debate, disagreement, and conflict in the operation of a democratic political system.

These are the dominant themes in the responses obtained to our questions. There is a great deal of consensus around certain basic points, particularly allegiance and attachment to the country and the President. Equally prominent is a regard for law and for the need for law enforcement and obedience on the part of the citizen. The obligation of the citizen to vote is equally prominent. Of particular note is the strong emphasis upon independence from party affiliation and the value that children attribute to voting for the most qualified candidate rather than supporting the party of one's choice. This may very well be a temporary stage through which children pass as part of an idealistic view of the operation of the political system. Certainly the strong belief in the power of the individual vote, coupled with relative ignorance about the role and importance of pressure groups, helps to support and to maintain this idealistic view of the political system in this country. Since the responses to some rating scales move toward the negative point of the continuum, one could argue that there is a growth in cynicism during the elementary school years; rather it seems that the most prominent feature of children's attitudes is not cynicism but an idealistic trust and faith in the country, its government, governmental figures, the system of law, and the good intentions and character of the individual citizen. It seems fair to say that children are socialized toward an ideal norm, and it may be argued that this ideal norm provides a standard against which the behavior of candidates and of individual citizens, as well as of persons who occupy positions in government, may be judged. The importance of early faith in government, attachment to the system, and belief in the power of the individual citizen, as necessary bases for further political socialization, should be considered in discussing possible curricular changes in civic education. It seems likely that before the child is informed about conflict and disagreement he should have sufficient time to internalize and become attached to the ideal norms of the system. Building on this firm attachment and acceptance of the basic worth of the country and the individual citizen, it may then be possible to explain the role of disagreement and debate and to show the function of consensus in uniting a nation after the conflict of a political campaign. These norms of disagreement, resolution, and subsequent consensus can probably be introduced at a relatively early age, perhaps as early as the fourth or fifth grade. The unpleasant aspects of political life (corruption and deviation from norms) should perhaps be left until a later time, when they can be viewed as deviations rather than being mistaken for normal or usual behavior.

B. Agents of Political Socialization

What are the agents (institutions, persons) from which political attitudes and behavior are acquired? What experiences are related to the acquisition of political attitudes?

From the viewpoint of the totality of socialization into the political system, our results indicate that the effectiveness of the family in transmitting attitudes has been overstressed in the literature. We conclude that the family transmits preference for a political party, but its role in most other areas is to reinforce and support other institutions in teaching political information and orientations to the child. Among evidence for this conclusion is the finding that similarities among children in the same family are confined to partisanship and related attitudes, such as feelings of distress or pleasure over the outcome of an election campaign.

There is some relationship between family structure and the child's interest in the political system. Children who see their fathers as powerful tend to be more informed and interested in political matters; children who see their mothers as the dominant authority in the family tend to be less interested in politics and to acquire attitudes at a later period than children who see the father as the dominant parent or see both parents as equal in authority.

The school is apparently the most powerful institution in the socialization of attitudes, conceptions, and beliefs about the operation of the political system. While it may be argued that the family contributes much to the teaching that goes into basic loyalty to the country, the school gives content, information, and concepts which expand and elaborate these early feelings of attachment.

The young child's attitude toward authority or institutions, however, seems not to correspond directly to the amount of emphasis on these topics reported by the teachers. This argues that some of the early learning comes from sources other than the school. The importance of compliance to rules and authorities is a major focus of civic education in elementary school. Teachers' ratings of the importance of various topics clearly indicate that the strongest emphasis is placed upon compliance to law, authority, and school regulations. Indeed, it seems likely that much of what is called citizenship training in the public schools does not teach the child about the city, state, or national government, but is an attempt to teach regard for the rules and standards of conduct of the school. If it does indeed characterize the school, this type of socialization is oriented toward authoritarian values rather than toward acceptance and understanding of the need for active participation in a political system.

In contrast to its emphasis on compliance, the school curriculum under-emphasizes the rights and obligation of a citizen to participate in government. The school focuses on the obligation and right to vote, but does not offer the child sufficient understanding of procedures open to individuals for legitimately influencing the government. Nor does it sufficiently explain and emphasize the importance of group action to achieve desirable ends.

Teachers tend not to deal with partisanship or to discuss the role and importance of conflict in the operation of the system, perhaps because of the position of the school in the community. They apparently stress the virtue of independent political action oriented toward assessment of candidates' worth rather than an alignment with a group or political party. This preference may follow from explicit or implicit prohibitions against teaching controversial topics; or perhaps it reflects the desire of the school to present political life and information without bias. In either case, it leaves the elementary school child with inadequate information at a time when he is strongly oriented toward the importance of political participation.

The role of the school is particularly important for children who come from working class or low socioeconomic areas. Much of what working class children learn at school is not reinforced by home and community. It may be for these reasons that the school seems to have somewhat less effect upon children from these areas of the city than it does on the children from more prosperous sections.

Participation in peer group organizations within the school or outside it does not have a significant effect upon the political socialization process. Group membership and activity seem to be related to political activity but apparently only because the child who is active tends to be active in several areas of endeavor. Our data give no evidence that participation in group activities or membership in any one of several youth organizations leads to a greater or earlier acceptance of the basic elements of citizenship and democratic process.

Religious affiliation has a strong but limited effect on political socialization in the elementary school years. The most marked relationship between religious affiliation and involvement is the socialization of party affiliation and candidate preference. The data were gathered in the year and a half following the election of President Kennedy and the relationship between religious affiliation and reaction to the selection of a President who was of the Catholic faith was particularly strong. This preference cut across the influence of social class and outweighed in many cases the importance of party affiliation.

It is our conclusion from these data that the school stands out as the central, salient, and dominant force in the political socialization of the young child. Since this study began with second grade children, whose responses showed that a firm attachment to the country had already been established, it is difficult to specify the effectiveness of the school in transmitting this early loyalty to the nation. The recital of the pledge of allegiance and singing "The Star Spangled Banner" are effective rituals supporting any attachment and possibly have a more direct role. In other areas the influence of the school is paramount.

The influence of the family is, of course, considerable, but in our opinion much less than has been assumed in the literature. The influence of the family upon party choice is well-known and important; this aspect of the process of political socialization seems to be similar to the selection of a particular church denomination as a result of family loyalty and identification.

Choices of this type obviously are influential subsequently, but they are to a degree independent from the much larger process of socialization into a network of behavior that relates a citizen to the government and citizens to one another.

The role played by the school in this process suggests a need for greater attention and more systematic evaluation of the methods, curriculum, and timing of political socialization. In the school curriculum, the topics that deal with civic education and the concepts that are part of our democratic heritage are usually taught unsystematically. There has been relatively little attempt to determine which concepts are basic to the operation of the democratic system and to teach these at an early age in an effective manner. It seems likely that many children who can recite the articles of the Bill of Rights would not be able to explain why these sections are important or what the consequences would be if they were not upheld. Underlying the political behavior and attitudes which can be observed are basic concepts which provide the logic for a democratic system--a view of conflicts as a dimension of behavior, a regard for the rights of minorities, and compliance to majority rule--which can be taught, and which should result in more informed and rational political attitudes and action. In our opinion there has been little attempt to seek out and define the basic concepts on which our system is based and to construct a curriculum in the early grades to transmit these concepts and an understanding of their importance. Perhaps what is needed is a task force which will combine the efforts of several disciplines, especially political science, psychology, education, and philosophy, in revising the curriculum in ways comparable to the new advances in the teaching of mathematics and the sciences. Such an effort would examine the conceptual bases of civic education and teaching, then order them in a sequence that would lead the child to an emerging sense of how the system should operate, the principles on which it depends, and his own effectiveness and role within it.

C. Processes and Mediations of Political Socialization

What are the processes and mechanisms through which political orientation and attitudes are acquired and what is the rate, timing, and sequence of this acquisition?

The process of political socialization must be considered within two major categories. The first has to do with the rate, timing, and sequence with which attitudes and orientations are acquired by children; it is concerned with developmental changes, stages of growth, and patterns of acquisition related to chronological age or grade in school. The second has to do with the influences and factors which mediate the transmission of attitudes and orientations by the agents of socialization; it deals with the circumstances and the mediating influences which tend to retard or facilitate children's acquisition of attitudes.

1. Developmental Patterns--The Timing, Rate, and Sequence of Political Socialization

The most striking feature of political socialization in the elementary school is the extent to which basic orientations have been acquired by children by the end of the eighth grade. Our data underestimate the true extent of socialization since testing was spread over a period of time beginning in the fall and ending in late winter, not toward the end of the school term. Despite this, there are many areas of attitudes, concepts, and involvement that toward the end of the eighth grade approximate the attitudes and orientations of the teachers in the schools where testing was conducted. Although there are exceptions (to be noted below), the most general conclusion is that political socialization is well advanced by the end of elementary school.

Socialization seems not to reach adult levels in the areas of partisanship and in the understanding of the role of pressure groups in forming governmental policy. The tendency of many children to see themselves as independent of party affiliation appears to reflect the socialization of the school. It seems likely that some subsequent re-socialization will stimulate greater affiliation with one of the major parties and a loyalty to the candidates of that party.

The acquisition of political orientations and information proceeds rapidly but not evenly during the elementary school years. In some areas, such as attachment to the nation, attitudes are acquired early. In other areas, particularly those dealing with voting and partisan behavior, the emphasis seems to occur relatively late in the elementary school years. The period between grades three and five seems to be especially important in the acquisition of political information. Before this time a number of concepts, such as government and political party, may evoke some recognition in the child; but few children understand even their most elementary aspects.

The process of induction into the system seems to occur initially through a feeling of high regard for political authority figures. The point of contact and affiliation is persons; knowledge and orientations move from persons to institutions and less personal aspects of the system. The early attachment of the child to political authority figures seems not to derive from teaching in the home or the school but to reflect the child's need to see authority figures as benign because they are powerful. The tendency to attribute benevolence to authority appears to be a technique for dealing with feelings of vulnerability in the face of superior power.

Despite the change in the personal respect for authority figures, a basic regard for the roles of authority in the system and for the competence necessary to perform these roles seems not to diminish. Apparently the feelings of liking for political authority figures are transformed into feelings of confidence and esteem for the roles which these figures occupy, and for institutions.

The tendency for early political orientations to be generalized from other areas also applies to the system of law. The young child's conceptions of law and the rules of the school and home are not greatly differentiated. His early regard for law is an extension of his feeling that it is important to obey adults. Thus the induction into compliance with authority and law appears to be mediated through visible authority figures, initially through the parents, possibly through the classroom teacher, and in the political arena through the policeman and the President.

As another example of this process, the child's early conception of the nation is vague, and national symbols such as the flag are crucial points of focus. Evaluative judgments of political objects in all areas are acquired earliest. These are supplemented by later acquisition of more complex information and attitudes which are usually consistent with these evaluations.

2. Individual Factors and Characteristics which Mediate the Acquisition of Political Attitudes and Behavior

In this study the major mediating influences are sex, social class, and intelligence (estimated by IQ scores). Though many of the sex differences in political attitudes and activities were not large, they were remarkably consistent across grades. There was also considerable consistency among the items on which sex differences appeared. One of the most prominent differences between males and females is that the boys are accelerated in political socialization; boys acquire attitudes more rapidly than girls and they are more interested in political matters. In addition, boys report more political activity than do girls.

When compared with boys, girls tend to be more attached to personal figures of the system. They apparently relate to the operation of the system more through trust and reliance on figures and the inherent goodness of the system than do their male peers. There are no differences between males and females in basic attachment, loyalty, and support of the country and the regime. These areas of socialization are apparently so firm that sex differences do not emerge. In general, the differences between males and females are consistent with other reported sex differences. Girls tend to be more oriented toward persons, more expressive and trustful in their attitudes toward the operation of the system, its representatives and institutions. Boys tend to be more task-oriented and are more willing to accept and see benefit in conflict and disagreement.

Party affiliation in itself has relatively little effect upon the acquisition of basic attitudes and political orientation. For example, it has no relationship to attachment and compliance. Children from Republican areas who see themselves as favoring the Republican party show no difference whatsoever in basic loyalty to the country compared with the children who express preference for the Democratic party.

Although there are no differences between children who identify with the two major parties, children who do not identify with any political party--that is, who are uncommitted--are less active and less interested in political affairs. It may be that the first sign of political apathy in the socialization process is a lack of concern about elections, campaigns, and party affiliation. At the elementary school level, children who see themselves as politically independent are the most active of all in political affairs, exceeding the involvement of children who identify themselves as Democrats or Republicans. This tendency toward independence seems to reflect the ideal independent voter as he is sometimes portrayed in adult political situations--intelligent, evaluating the merits of the campaign or issue, interested in political affairs and election outcomes, active in political matters, and deeply involved in the operation of the political system, desiring to participate in it to the full extent of his ability.

The intelligence of the child is one of the most important mediating influences in the acquisition of political behavior. In general, the effect of high IQ is to accelerate the process of political socialization for children of all social status levels.

The facilitating nature of intelligence is particularly noticeable in the rate of acquisition of political attitudes. The development of a concept of government represented by institutions rather than by individuals is also accelerated by intelligence. This seems to indicate that the child with a higher IQ can more easily absorb an abstract concept of government which does not depend upon a personal and powerful leader. Although the acquisition of political attitudes and of the concept of institutional aspects of government is accelerated in children of higher IQ, there is no difference between children of high and low intelligence in their basic attachment to governmental figures and to the nation. These fundamental allegiances are apparently taught so thoroughly that virtually all children within normal IQ range have been socialized in these critical areas.

Children of high intelligence tend to regard the system in less absolute terms. For example, they see laws as less rigid and punishment as an inevitable consequence of lawbreaking as less likely. This is not to suggest that they are casual about the importance of law; the obligation of the citizen to comply is accepted equally by children of high and low intelligence. However, brighter children seem to be more critically aware of the possibility that lawbreakers may not always be apprehended by the police and brought to justice in the courts, and more aware of the injustice of some laws.

Children of high IQ also have more reservations about the competence and intentions of governmental figures and institutions. They are less idealistic about the system and expect less from it. A possible interpretation is that high IQ children are more cynical; this does not completely reflect the facts. It seems more accurate to say that the brighter children are somewhat more realistic about the operation of the system without sacrificing the ideal norms which they have been taught. This interpretation of greater reservation without cynicism is supported by the finding that these children are more interested in governmental matters and tend to emphasize more than do other children the importance of interest in political affairs. They are also more likely to participate in political discussions and to express concern about questions that are of contemporary interest to adults. Feelings of efficacy in relation to government are very strongly related to level of intelligence. Some of the largest differences among the IQ groups appear in the sense of efficacy. Voting is also more salient as an aspect of government to children of high intelligence. They are more inclined to see voting as an obligation of the good citizen than are children who are less gifted. Children of high intelligence seem less bound to the status quo and more willing to accept change in government. They are particularly likely to be independent of party affiliation and to accept the idea that the citizen should vote for the candidate rather than conform with party allegiance.

In summary, children of high intelligence are more active, more likely to discuss political matters, more interested in current events; they have a greater sense of efficacy and a greater sense of the importance of voting and citizen participation. In short, intelligence is associated with greater involvement in political affairs.

The influence of social status seems to be less marked than the impact of IQ. When intelligence is held constant, social status differences are greatly reduced in most political orientations and attitudes studied by this research. Basic affiliation and loyalty to the nation do not vary by social class status. It seems to be a consistent finding that socialization into national loyalty occurs early and is firm across all divisions. Differences in political involvement and behavior which are oberved within the population are apparently built upon this basic feeling of loyalty to the country. Differences by IQ increase with age; this is less true of differences by social status.

Some very distinctive social class differences remain, however. There is a difference between social status groups in their attachment and attitude toward governmental figures. Children from working class homes tend to have a higher regard for policemen and for the President than do children from middle status homes. However, the perception of responsiveness and willingness to help exhibited by government figures shows no social class variation. Like high IQ children, children from high status families see laws as less rigid but accept on a par with working class children the citizen's obligation to comply to law.

The expression of interest in political matters is not related to social status. However, the child's report of his parents' or his family's interest in government is strongly related to social class, with children from higher status homes reporting more parental interest in government and national affairs. Children from high social status report more frequent participation in political discussions and a greater concern for contemporary national issues. These children are similar to those of high intelligence. However, this relationship with social status is maintained when IQ is held constant. Although there are differences in these types of participation and concern, no social class differences appear in the acceptance of voting as a duty of the citizen. This obligation is accepted equally by children of high and low status.

Perhaps the most marked social class difference in these data is the tendency for low status children to feel less efficacious in dealing with the political system than the children from high status homes. The combination of intelligence and social status in their effect upon feelings of efficacy make for dramatic differences between the high status/high IQ children and low status/low IQ children. Although there are no social status differences in expressed interest in political affairs, there are differences among the status groups in the amount of political activity reported. This may reflect, as indicated earlier, a greater tendency for middle class communities and families to support and reinforce the teaching of the schools with regard to obligations of political participation and involvement.

Choice of political party is related to social status similarly for children and adults. This relationship does not appear until grade five, however, suggesting that party affiliation is not salient to younger children and that the effect of family and social class in this area becomes stronger during the late elementary school and high school years.

There are a number of parallels between the effects of social status and the effects of IQ in the socialization of political orientations and involvement. Our date lead to the conclusion that children in working class areas of the city are less completely socialized (in the sense of being prepared for political participation) than children from middle class homes. The same general conclusion may be made about children of low intelligence. These effects are compounded by the fact that schools in working class areas have a disproportionate number of children with relatively low IQ's. A serious re-evaluation of the curriculum and of the role of the school in political socialization must take into account this relative disadvantage of children who come from working class homes and those of every social class level who are not intellectually gifted. For these children it may be necessary to devise more effective teaching methods or to spend a greater amount of time in teaching the basic concepts of government and political behavior. Low status children perceive their teacher as relatively much more effective than their own parents in teaching citizenship. This is probably an indication of a general lack of community and family support in working class areas for the attitudes, concepts, and orientations taught by the school. The school must exert particular effort to transmit to these children an understanding of the operation of the political system and the importance of the democratic principles on which our system operates.

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APPENDIX A

DATA MAP: LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS IN TEXT OF REPORT AND IN APPENDICES F AND G WHICH PRESENT CHILDREN'S RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

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APPENDIX A

DATA MAP: LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS IN TEXT OF REPORT AND IN APPENDICES F AND G WHICH PRESENT CHILDREN'S RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

		Questionnaire	Report	
Page		Item	Table	Figure
3	#19	Family religious preference	9	
	20	Family authority	58	33
4	24	Best picture of government	13,17	46,47,73,74, 94,134
5	25	Best boy citizen	13,24	
6	26	Policeman, responsive		6,100
	27	" , decides		12
	28	" , knows		9,58,59
	29	" , trustworthy	F.05	
	30	" , coercive power		16,103
	31	" , my favorite		7,54,55,101
7	32	Who we say pledge to	F.02	
	33	Who makes laws?	21	45
	34	Pres. cares what I think	26	96
8	35	Brush teeth, a law?	F.09	
	36	Don't cheat, a law?	F.09	
	37	Stop at signs, a law?	F.09	
	38	School on time, a law?	F.09	
	39	Always vote, a law?	F.09	
9	40	If policeman wrong	30	
	41	Who runs country?	22	46,47,94
	42	My party preference	10,13,51	36,83,84,85, 86,87,110, 114,120
10	43	President, responsive		6, 96
	44	" , decides	23	12
	45	" , knows		9
	46	" , trustworthy	F.05	
	47	" , coercive power		16,102
	48	" , my favorite		7,48,95,137
11	49	Milkman works for government	16	
	50	Policeman " " "	16	
	51	Soldier " " "	16	
	52	Judge " " "	16	
	53	Postman " " "	16	
12	54	Teacher " " "	16	
	55	Meaning of "government"	13	
	56	U.N. or U.S. keeps peace?	20	
	57	Proud to be an American	19	46,47,73,74, 94,134

13	#58	Who helps family most?	F.08	
	59	American flag best	15,G.04	
	60	All laws fair		14,51,52,98
	61	America best country	15,G.04	
14	62	People in other countries think them best	F.03	
	63	Laws made long ago		15
	64	Father, responsive		6
	65	" , decides		12
	66	" , knows		9
15	67	" , trustworthy	F.05	
	68	" , coercive power	58,G.01	16,29,32
	69	" , my favorite		7
	70	Lawbreakers get caught		18,62
16	71	Interest in gov., events		22,39,68,107,115,122
	72	Parents' power is voting		20
	73	Difference between parties	G.07	25,129
	74	Can't understand government	F.11	
17	18	People can't affect gov.		42,66,67,133
	19	Import. party membership	44	80,128,131
	20	Like to work for government	F.12	
	21	Feeling when Kennedy won	50,G.09	38,88,89,121,127,136
18	22	Father teaches citizenship	F.15,G.03	31
	23	Teacher " "	F.15,G.o3	31
	24	Mother " "	F.15	
	25	Friends teach "	F.15	
	26	Clergy " "	F.15	
	27	T.V. teaches "	F.15	
	28	Reading " "	F.15	
19	29	Powerful men do not care		42,66,67,133
	30	Leisure preference	F.16	
	31	Family has no say about gov.		42,66,67,133
	32	Candidates' motivation	39	75,76,109
	33	All right for gov. to lie?		5,93
20	34	Activities: worn button	49	27,43,81,82,113,118,125
	35	" : helped candidate	49	27,43,81,82,113,118,125
	36	" : talked with parents about country's problems	36	40,69,70,117,124
	37	Activities: talked with friends about candidates	36	40,69,70,117,124
	38	Activities: read about cand.	49	27,43,81,82,113,118,125
	39	" : talked with parents about candidates	36	40,69,70,117,124
21	40	Why boys and girls wore buttons	F.14	
	41	What goes on in gov. all for the best		19,63

21	# 42	Laws will change	28	53
22	43	People in gov. do not care		42,66,67,133
	44	President's job	23	
	45	Citizens no chance to speak		42,66,67,133
	46	Parents' interest in gov., events	58,F.13,G.02	30,34
23	47	Belong to school club	8	
	48	Belong to other club	8	
	49	Belong to team	8	
	50	Have held office	8	
	51	Easy to get law changed	F.10	
24	52	What pledge is like	F.04	
	53	Belong to parents' party	47	130
	54	Most wrong to disobey	31	
	55	Vote by party or candidate?	46	79,132
25	56	Father, infallible		13
	57	" , a leader		11
	58	" , can punish		17
	59	" , works hard		10
	60	" , I like him		8
	61	" , protective	F.06	
	62	" , persevering	F.07	
26	63	Best adult citizen	25,G.06	78,99,106,135
27	64	President, infallible		13,64
	65	" , a leader		11
	66	" , can punish		17
	67	" , works hard		10
	68	" , I like him		8
	69	" , protective	F.06	
	70	" , persevering	F.07	
28	71	Father's occupation	5	
	72	Inter-party disagreement	G.08	26,112
	73	When decide party?	45	
29	74	Policeman, infallible		13
	75	" , a leader		11
	76	" , can punish		17
	18	" , works hard		10
	19	" , I like him		8
	20	" , protective	F.06	
	21	" , persevering	F.07	
30	22	Rich people decide laws	35	
	23	Unions decide laws	35	
	24	President decides laws	35	105
	25	Newspapers decide laws	35	
	26	Churches decide laws	35	
	27	Average person decides laws	35	65,105
	28	Policemen decide laws	35	105
	29	Big companies decide laws	35	
31	30	Learn from election		28,90,91,119, 126
	31	Most import. for policeman	29	56,57
	32	Government, infallible		13
	33	" , responsive		6
	34	" , decides		12

31	# 35	Government, can punish		17,61
	36	" , knows		9
32	37	Democracy, people rule?	34	
	38	" , not rich or poor?	34	
	39	" , all adults can vote?	34	
	40	" , equal chance?	34	
	41	" , speak against gov.?	34	
33	42	" , majority rule?	34	
	43	Senator, infallible		13
	44	" , responsive		6
	45	" , decides		12
	46	" , can punish		17
	47	" , knows		9
	48	" , I like him		8
34	49	Curing sick an American problem		24
	50	U.S.S.R. an American problem		24
	51	Making cities beautiful a problem		24
35	52	Unemployment an American problem		24
	53	Equal rights an American problem		24
	54	Party of classmates	52	
36	55	Candidates, honest	38	
	56	" , sneaky	38	
	57	" , trustworthy	38	
	58	" , powerful	38	
	59	" , selfish	38	
	60	" , smart	38	
37	61	Which party helps rich?	41	37,77,110,138
	62	" keeps us out of war?	41	37,77,110,138
	63	" party helps unemployed?	41	37,77,110,138
	64	" " protects rights?	41	37,77,110,138
38	65	" " helps my family?	41	37,77,110,138
	66	" " does more for U.S.?	41	37,77,110,138
	67	Supreme Court, infallible		13
	68	" " , responsive		6,97
	69	" " , decides		12,49,50
	70	" " , can punish		17,60
	71	" " , knows		9
39	72	Talked, taken sides on space race	37	
	72'	Talked, taken sides on U.N.	37	23,41,71,72, 108,116,123
	73	Talked, taken sides on for. aid	37	23,41,71,72, 108,116,123
	73'	Talked, taken sides on unemploy.	37	23,41,71,72, 108,116,123
40	74	Talked, taken sides on school aid	37	23,41,71,72, 108,116,123
	74'	Talked, taken sides on taxes	37	23,41,71,72, 108,116,123
	75	Source of voting help	48	

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

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B.02 Distribution of Social Status (Child's Report of Father's Occupation) by City . . . 408

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B.07 Number of Pilot Test Respondents by Grade and Social Status of School District 412

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APPENDIX B.01

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATING CITIES
(1960 census data for standard metropolitan areas)

	Large North-eastern	Large Southern	Large Mid-western	Large Western	Small North-eastern	Small Southern	Small Mid-western	Small Western
Population[a]	2,589,301	1,017,188	6,220,913	2,783,359	120,655	187,045	107,849	321,590
Per cent increase 1950-60[a]	7.4	39.9	20.1	24.2	.6	31.6	3.8	16.6
Per cent foreign born[b]	12.4	9.9	9.7	10.8	6.8	.4	3.0	7.1
Per cent of persons 14-17 in school[b]	88.5	86.3	87.6	92.0	90.4	90.5	88.3	89.5
Median school years completed by 25+[b]	12.1	11.1	10.9	12.1	11.9	11.9	11.3	11.6
Median family income[c]	$6,687	5,758	7,342	7,092	5,668	4,783	5,539	5,950
Per cent white collar workers[c]	49.7	48.2	45.5	51.0	48.0	47.0	44.0	44.3
Manuf. ration per cent in manuf. industries[c]	28.8	22.1	34.2	21.0	21.1	14.2	20.2	22.7
Persons 18 years and over, per cent male[a]	46.6	46.8	48.3	49.0	45.1	45.6	47.3	52.1
Per cent non-white[a]	3.4	22.8	14.8	12.5	.4	40.0	1.8	5.1

[a] *General Population Characteristics*, U. S. Census of Population: 1960.

[b] *General Soc. & Econ. Characteristics*, (1960) Final Report, Table 22.

[c] *General Soc. & Econ. Characteristics*, (1960) Final Report, Table 33.

APPENDIX B.02

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL STATUS (CHILD'S REPORT OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION) BY CITY

Cities	N	Unskilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical, Sales, Small Business	Executive	Professional	Large Business
Large Midwestern	972	31.1	19.1	20.4	14.2	12.2	3.0
Large Southern	887	18.5	17.6	28.2	14.9	14.0	6.9
Small Midwestern	1000	31.0	18.7	23.6	12.2	11.1	3.4
Large Western	1034	23.0	24.0	25.2	12.3	11.6	3.9
Small Western	973	25.2	25.8	30.8	6.0	9.5	2.8
Small Southern	1142	14.1	15.3	32.4	16.4	16.6	5.2
Small Eastern	1105	29.1	20.3	25.3	11.9	10.7	2.7
Large Eastern	991	13.7	17.0	24.9	18.3	21.3	4.7

APPENDIX B.03

DISTRIBUTION OF IQ SCORES BY CITY (In stanines)

Cities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Large Midwestern	1.8	1.7	4.6	8.8	17.0	26.0	17.3	12.0	10.8
Large Southern	2.6	3.6	8.3	12.7	20.2	18.9	16.9	11.2	5.6
Small Midwestern	1.2	2.3	7.5	12.7	23.7	22.6	16.9	8.8	4.1
Large Western	2.4	3.4	6.8	11.0	21.1	18.9	16.7	12.0	7.8
Small Western	.4	1.2	5.0	8.8	14.1	19.5	21.0	14.5	15.5
Small Southern	.6	.6	2.3	4.7	11.2	18.7	26.0	19.1	16.9
Small Eastern	.6	1.9	6.0	11.5	19.8	19.2	17.4	10.8	12.8
Large Eastern	1.0	.8	4.3	8.7	17.8	18.4	19.6	12.5	17.0

APPENDIX B.04

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES (CHILD'S REPORT)

N	Every Week	Almost Every Week	Once in a While	Almost Never
1909	46.0	31.2	14.3	8.5

APPENDIX B.05

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY AUTHORITY (CHILD'S REPORT) BY GRADE AND SOCIAL STATUS

	N	Father Is the Boss	Mother Is the Boss	Both Equal	I Cannot Say
Grade 2					
Low status	296	58.1	17.6	18.9	5.4
Middle status	763	58.6	13.9	19.7	7.9
High status	366	63.8	8.4	21.8	6.0
Grade 3					
Low status	340	50.9	17.6	20.6	10.9
Middle status	791	50.6	9.7	29.8	9.9
High status	331	53.2	8.2	29.6	9.1
Grade 4					
Low status	342	40.6	14.0	35.7	9.6
Middle status	715	43.4	9.6	33.8	13.2
High status	472	39.2	8.0	41.7	11.0
Grade 5					
Low status	372	32.3	16.7	40.6	10.5
Middle status	716	37.0	13.0	41.1	8.9
High status	503	44.1	11.1	37.6	7.2
Grade 6					
Low status	345	34.2	16.8	40.0	9.0
Middle status	680	39.7	13.5	38.1	8.7
High status	515	39.0	10.3	42.5	8.0
Grade 7					
Low status	378	31.0	15.3	43.1	10.6
Middle status	685	36.9	13.4	39.4	10.2
High status	507	42.0	8.7	39.6	9.7
Grade 8					
Low status	348	30.8	17.0	42.8	9.5
Middle status	652	39.6	15.2	36.8	8.4
High status	463	46.2	8.9	38.4	6.5

APPENDIX B.06

DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (CHILD'S REPORT) BY GRADE AND SOCIAL STATUS

	N Not Responding	N Responding	Catholic %	Jewish %	Protestant %	Other %	None %
Grade 2:							
Low Status	125	214	25.70	2.34	62.15	.47	9.35
Middle Status	385	537	15.64	3.72	68.34	3.17	9.12
High Status	138	256	10.51	10.12	71.21	4.67	3.50
Grade 3:							
Low Status	117	281	26.69	2.85	56.58	3.20	10.68
Middle Status	354	561	14.26	6.42	70.23	5.88	3.21
High Status	146	219	9.13	10.05	77.17	2.28	1.37
Grade 4:							
Low Status	135	261	26.82	.38	60.15	3.83	8.81
Middle Status	337	501	18.56	3.59	71.86	3.39	2.59
High Status	175	340	11.76	9.71	73.24	3.53	1.76
Grade 5:							
Low Status	145	286	23.78	.70	61.89	8.04	5.59
Middle Status	319	515	15.53	3.30	71.26	6.80	3.11
High Status	188	350	7.14	14.29	70.00	6.57	2.00

APPENDIX B.06--Continued

Grade 6:							
Low Status	132	273	22.34	.37	69.23	3.66	4.40
Middle Status	318	484	14.88	4.75	72.73	5.17	2.48
High Status	171	371	11.59	12.67	70.08	4.04	1.62
Grade 7:							
Low Status	133	292	25.34	1.37	65.75	5.82	1.71
Middle Status	309	463	15.12	1.94	74.08	6.91	1.94
High Status	199	327	9.79	14.07	71.87	3.67	.61
Grade 8:							
Low Status	148	253	26.09	1.19	60.08	11.07	1.58
Middle Status	303	478	15.48	5.23	70.08	8.58	.63
High Status	194	319	9.09	13.48	72.10	4.39	.94

APPENDIX B.07

NUMBER OF PILOT TEST RESPONDENTS BY GRADE AND SOCIAL STATUS OF SCHOOL DISTRICT

Pilot Test	Grade	Middle Status	Low Status
High School			
Pilot Study 1--1958	Freshman	282	50
	Sophomore	320	131
	Junior	429	163
	Senior	200	236
Grade School			
Pilot Study 2--1959	2	51	0
	3	46	0
	4	55	0
	5	47	0
	6	57	0
	7	52	0
	8	58	0
Pilot Study 3--1961	2	46	58
	3	44	53
	4	54	67
	5	57	63
	6	58	57
	7	64	58
	8	53	56
Pilot Study 4--1961	2	0	65
	3	26	75
	5	45	48
	7	34	51
Pilot Study 5--1961	4	28	59
	6	27	53
	8	29	57
Pilot Study 6--1961	4	56	23
	6	72	67
	8	80	120
Pilot Study 7--1961	3	53	47
	5	46	50
	7	59	80
Pilot Study 8--1961	3	39	20
	5	35	20
	7	57	54
Pilot Study 9--1961	3	22	21
	4	17	39
	5-6	45	68
	7-8	58	68

APPENDIX B.07--Continued

Pilot Test	Grade	Middle Status	Low Status
Grade School (Cont'd)			
Pilot Study 10--1961	4	56	25
	6	55	23
	7-8	40	43
Pilot Study 11--1961	3	21	17
	4	23	27
	5	20	20
	6	32	24
	7	27	32
	8	29	31
Pilot Study 12--1961	3	27	34
	4	0	5
	5	64	59
	8	52	62
Pilot Study 13--Part A 1961	2	57	0
	4	57	0
	6	68	0
--Part B 1961	2	28	47
	3	28	11
	6	37	31
	7	25	28
Pilot Study 14--1962	2	101	118
	3	105	120
	4	107	118
	5	114	109
	6	124	113
	7	101	122
	8	46	57
Supplementary Study --1964	2	47	50
	3	47	59
	4	59	68
	5	60	77
	6	61	67
	7	61	75
	8	60	25

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APPENDIX C

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS, PERCENTAGES, AND MEANS

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APPENDIX C.01

RELIABILITY OF INDICES: TEST-RETEST CORRELATIONS AND MEANS

	Grade 2			Grade 4		
Scale	r	Mean 1	Mean 2	r	Mean 1	Mean 2
Acquisition of Political Attitudes				.7784	8.9916	9.3175
Attachment to Nation	.5146	7.7036	7.3746	.5737	7.2480	6.9677
Personification of Government	.5624	6.1037	5.8559	.4823	5.4876	5.3045
Voting as Symbol of Government	.3652	2.2594	2.2824	.5078	2.6411	2.6931
President's Responsiveness to Individual	.4424	8.1640	7.8650	.4674	7.4081	7.1612
Sense of Efficacy				.5656	8.9826	9.4774
Concern about Political Issues				.6065	4.6700	4.6902
Participation in Political Discussions				.6309	4.8175	4.7558
Parties' Relative Contribution				.5248	6.4052	6.7198
Political Activities				.6323	4.3836	4.2813
Social Participation				.6911	2.4987	2.5726
Father's and Teacher's Role in Citizenship Training				.4765	5.2157	4.9746

APPENDIX C.01--Continued.

		Grade 6			Grade 8	
Scale	r	Mean 1	Mean 2	r	Mean 1	Mean 2
Acquisition of Political Attitudes	.8179	6.5514	6.3505	.6795	3.9809	3.9045
Attachment to Nation	.5121	7.4744	7.3256	.7199	7.4654	7.3962
Personification of Government	.5150	5.0409	4.8955	.6619	4.6894	4.6087
Voting as Symbol of Government	.5867	2.9864	3.0455	.6120	3.3602	3.4224
President's Responsiveness to Individual	.5767	7.1284	6.7018	.6523	6.5472	6.3145
Sense of Efficacy	.7495	10.1622	10.1622	.7101	11.1929	10.8643
Concern about Political Issues	.6800	6.2929	6.2576	.6114	6.8839	6.9290
Participation in Political Discussion	.6272	5.2706	5.4771	.6915	5.3585	5.4528
Parties' Relative Contribution	.7555	7.1047	7.2151	.6525	7.0547	6.9766
Political Activities	.7296	4.6606	4.7294	.7787	4.8176	4.8428
Social Participation	.7439	2.9908	3.1422	.7848	3.4088	3.4969
Father's and Teacher's Role in Citizenship Training	.5629	5.2358	4.9340	.6154	5.3654	5.1731

Notes.--Test-retest information on items which do not appear in these tables may be obtained from the American Documentation Institute.

--The number of subjects who could be scored on these indices on both testings and who could therefore be included in these correlations ranged from 307 to 347 at grade 2; from 232 to 404 at grade 4; from 172 to 220 at grade 6 and from 128 to 161 at grade 8.

APPENDIX C.02

RELIABILITY OF NON-SCALAR ITEMS: PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES WHICH WERE IDENTICAL ON TEST AND RETEST

Item	Number of Alternatives	Percentage Identical Response			
		Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8
Who is the boss in your family? (p.3,#20)	4	80.6	74.3	85.9	81.4
Who makes the laws? (p.7,#33)	4	72.0	58.4	71.8	88.2
Who runs the country? (p.9,#41)	4	73.1	68.3	67.3	77.6
If you could vote, what party? (p.9,#42)	5	52.9	52.5	65.0	77.0
Why do candidates run for office? (p.19,#32)	3		60.9	69.6	69.6
Should one belong to same party as parents? (p.24, #53)	3		58.2	67.3	71.4
Should one vote for party candidate or for best man? (p.24,#55)	3		64.4	69.6	80.1
Best adult citizen interested in country. (p.26,#63)	7[a]		73.8	73.2	78.3
Best adult citizen votes. (p.26,#63)	7[a]		72.0	75.4	77.0
Best adult citizen obeys laws. (p.26,#63)	7[a]		59.6	69.1	72.7
Which is policeman's most important duty? (p.31,#31)	3		55.7	60.4	67.1

Note.-- The number of subjects who were included in these computations was the same for every item. There were 346 children in grade 2, 404 in grade 4, 220 in grade 6, and 161 in grade 8.

[a] Subjects chose 2 alternatives out of 7. The percentage is calculated for each alternative separately.

APPENDIX C.03

RELIABILITY OF SCALAR ITEMS: PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES WHICH WERE IDENTICAL ON TEST AND RETEST, TEST-RETEST CORRELATION, AND MEANS

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation[a]	Mean 1	Mean 2
Policeman would help (p. 6, #26)					
Grade 2	6	62.1	.35	1.45	1.52
Grade 4		47.0	.20	1.34	1.79
Grade 6		49.6	.37	1.46	1.97
Grade 8		36.6	.46	1.66	2.25
Policeman makes decisions (p. 6, #27)					
Grade 2	6	45.4	.32	2.14	2.28
Grade 4		40.8	.28	2.04	2.44
Grade 6		46.4	.38	2.01	2.34
Grade 8		50.9	.45	2.26	2.49
Policeman knows (p. 6, #28)					
Grade 2	6	42.5	.36	2.27	2.43
Grade 4		48.3	.34	2.51	2.68
Grade 6		56.8	.32	2.66	2.70
Grade 8		65.2	.36	2.90	3.00
Policeman can make people do things (p. 6, #30)					
Grade 2	6	34.1	.36	2.71	2.69
Grade 4		35.9	.29	2.84	2.75
Grade 6		38.6	.37	2.76	2.79
Grade 8		36.6	.35	3.11	3.08
Policeman is my favorite (p. 6, #31)					
Grade 2	6	40.2	.33	2.15	2.48
Grade 4		34.9	.48	2.75	3.19
Grade 6		39.1	.61	3.25	3.53
Grade 8		41.0	.57	4.07	4.05
If I wrote to the President he would care (p. 7, #34)					
Grade 2	3	70.2	.46	1.23	1.38
Grade 4		63.1	.42	1.50	1.64
Grade 6		65.4	.58	1.56	1.72
Grade 8		68.9	.64	1.78	1.91

APPENDIX C.03--Continued

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation[a]	Mean 1	Mean 2
President would help (p. 10, #43)					
Grade 2	6	53.5	.30	1.60	1.74
Grade 4		36.9	.41	2.10	2.23
Grade 6		38.6	.46	2.31	2.56
Grade 8		42.2	.58	2.63	2.76
President makes decisions (p. 10, #44)					
Grade 2	6	45.1	.24	1.77	1.74
Grade 4		57.7	.36	1.57	1.60
Grade 6		65.0	.50	1.51	1.68
Grade 8		69.6	.45	1.42	1.45
President knows (p. 10, #45)					
Grade 2	6	46.5	.27	1.96	2.03
Grade 4		55.2	.33	2.17	2.13
Grade 6		69.6	.45	2.25	2.18
Grade 8		62.1	.35	2.26	2.25
President can make people do things (p. 10, #47)					
Grade 2	6	41.3	.43	2.39	2.22
Grade 4		45.5	.41	2.39	2.39
Grade 6		46.4	.46	2.52	2.43
Grade 8		39.8	.42	3.04	2.76
President is my favorite (p. 10, #48)					
Grade 2	6	43.6	.37	2.04	2.34
Grade 4		39.4	.59	2.56	2.99
Grade 6		42.7	.52	2.74	3.04
Grade 8		42.9	.65	3.50	3.64
All laws are fair (p. 13, #60)					
Grade 2	6	55.5	.28	1.64	1.55
Grade 4		56.2	.36	1.67	1.86
Grade 6		55.0	.51	2.18	2.43
Grade 8		62.1	.59	2.96	3.00
Father would help (p. 14, #64)					
Grade 2	6	74.0	.46	1.42	1.44
Grade 4		74.8	.32	1.34	1.40
Grade 6		77.3	.69	1.29	1.35
Grade 8		67.7	.62	1.45	1.47

APPENDIX C.03--*Continued*

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation[a]	Mean 1	Mean 2
Father makes decisions (p. 14, #65)					
Grade 2	6	50.3	.38	2.53	2.53
Grade 4		55.0	.36	2.34	2.31
Grade 6		68.6	.51	2.22	2.21
Grade 8		60.9	.54	2.26	2.29
Father knows (p. 14, #66)					
Grade 2	6	49.7	.51	2.78	2.88
Grade 4		60.6	.37	2.81	2.69
Grade 6		66.8	.39	2.87	2.65
Grade 8		67.7	.50	2.91	2.74
Father can make people do things (p. 15, #68)					
Grade 2	6	42.2	.48	3.70	3.42
Grade 4		45.8	.49	4.01	3.69
Grade 6		51.8	.54	3.90	3.58
Grade 8		47.2	.62	3.67	3.57
Father is my favorite (p. 15, #69)					
Grade 2	6	65.0	.46	1.69	1.62
Grade 4		70.0	.44	1.52	1.43
Grade 6		80.4	.68	1.35	1.39
Grade 8		66.5	.82	1.80	1.63
People who break laws get caught (p. 15, #70)					
Grade 2	4	54.0	.29	1.63	1.74
Grade 4		77.5	.53	1.70	1.72
Grade 6		85.0	.50	1.84	1.83
Grade 8		88.2	.70	1.92	1.88
Interest in government (p. 16, #71)					
Grade 2	3	63.6	.50	1.39	1.53
Grade 4		62.6	.48	1.71	1.86
Grade 6		71.4	.54	1.68	1.73
Grade 8		77.0	.65	1.74	1.71
Differences between Democratic and Republican Parties (p. 16, #73)					
Grade 2	5	50.0	.45	1.99	2.19
Grade 4		45.8	.60	2.67	2.79
Grade 6		49.6	.73	2.66	2.77
Grade 8		53.4	.60	2.73	2.90

APPENDIX C.03--*Continued*

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation[a]	Mean 1	Mean 2
How important for adults to belong to party? (p. 17, #19)					
Grade 4	4	49.3	.41	1.97	2.02
Grade 6		56.4	.64	1.91	1.93
Grade 8		55.9	.65	2.08	2.17
Reaction to 1960 election (p. 17, #21)					
Grade 4	5	71.3	.83	2.50	2.57
Grade 6		77.3	.85	2.48	2.56
Grade 8		75.2	.81	3.06	3.04
How much does father teach about citizenship (p. 18, #22)					
Grade 4	5	54.5	.62	2.03	1.93
Grade 6		58.2	.62	2.05	1.98
Grade 8		54.7	.63	2.45	2.31
How much does teacher teach about citizenship (p. 18, #23)					
Grade 4	5	59.2	.55	1.81	1.94
Grade 6		58.6	.57	1.82	2.04
Grade 8		59.0	.53	2.06	2.13
Is government justified in lying to protect country (p. 19, #33)					
Grade 4	5	51.2	.54	3.02	2.97
Grade 6		55.4	.60	3.47	3.20
Grade 8		52.8	.64	3.42	3.40
Government is all for the best (p. 21, #41)					
Grade 4	5	57.2	.46	1.73	1.86
Grade 6		45.9	.39	1.94	2.16
Grade 8		57.8	.50	2.56	2.65
Laws will change by time grown up (p. 21, #42)					
Grade 4	5	55.0	.50	3.44	3.57
Grade 6		62.3	.43	3.50	3.53
Grade 8		70.8	.44	3.71	3.67

APPENDIX C.03--*Continued*

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation[a]	Mean 1	Mean 2
Family interest in government (p. 22, #46)					
Grade 4	4	49.0	.51	1.80	1.91
Grade 6		58.6	.54	1.82	1.80
Grade 8		67.7	.60	1.73	1.79
Father never makes mistakes (p. 25, #56)					
Grade 4	6	52.5	.39	2.55	2.24
Grade 6		64.1	.61	2.69	2.39
Grade 8		68.9	.66	2.83	2.69
Father is a leader (p. 25, #57)					
Grade 4	6	51.5	.49	3.00	2.88
Grade 6		60.9	.61	3.15	2.91
Grade 8		52.2	.62	2.98	2.80
Father can punish anyone (p. 25, #58)					
Grade 4	6	52.0	.41	4.27	3.97
Grade 6		50.4	.55	4.43	3.87
Grade 8		44.1	.60	4.36	3.92
Father works hard (p. 23, #59)					
Grade 4	6	55.2	.48	2.61	2.43
Grade 6		58.6	.62	2.72	2.43
Grade 8		55.3	.54	2.57	2.41
Father--I like him (p. 25, #60)					
Grade 4	6	71.5	.58	1.64	1.47
Grade 6		74.1	.72	1.45	1.42
Grade 8		69.6	.83	1.90	1.71
President never makes mistakes (p. 27, #64)					
Grade 4	6	50.7	.44	2.00	1.85
Grade 6		45.4	.49	2.32	2.11
Grade 8		62.7	.64	2.61	2.31
President is a leader (p. 27, #65)					
Grade 4	6	50.7	.30	1.67	1.64
Grade 6		60.0	.41	1.78	1.68
Grade 8		60.2	.40	1.52	1.51

APPENDIX C.03--Continued

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation[a]	Mean 1	Mean 2
President can punish anyone (p. 27, #66)					
Grade 4	6	39.8	.43	2.68	2.43
Grade 6		43.2	.52	2.84	2.51
Grade 8		46.0	.59	3.10	2.83
President works hard (p. 27, #67)					
Grade 4	6	47.5	.38	1.99	2.02
Grade 6		55.4	.64	2.14	2.18
Grade 8		54.7	.51	2.12	2.07
President--I like him (p. 27, #68)					
Grade 4	6	45.8	.63	3.21	3.18
Grade 6		39.1	.52	3.17	3.09
Grade 8		45.3	.62	3.71	3.58
Consequences if Democrats and Republicans disagreed (p. 28, #72)					
Grade 4	5	46.5	.24	1.92	1.97
Grade 6		53.6	.32	1.88	1.98
Grade 8		62.1	.60	2.31	2.41
When decide on political party (p. 28, #73)					
Grade 4	4	55.4	.45	3.21	3.13
Grade 6		65.4	.56	2.98	2.87
Grade 8		78.9	.74	2.89	2.89
Policeman never makes mistakes (p. 29, #74)					
Grade 4	6	53.5	.44	2.25	2.22
Grade 6		67.3	.56	2.47	2.36
Grade 8		67.1	.42	2.85	2.85
Policeman is a leader (p. 29, #74)					
Grade 4	6	44.8	.29	2.72	2.65
Grade 6		53.2	.48	2.66	2.61
Grade 8		57.1	.45	2.67	2.70

APPENDIX C.03--*Continued*

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation	Mean 1	Mean 2
Policeman can punish anyone (p. 29, #76)					
Grade 4	6	46.3	.50	2.98	2.87
Grade 6		45.4	.59	2.86	2.68
Grade 8		44.7	.60	3.28	3.04
Policeman works hard (p. 29, #18)					
Grade 4	6	46.5	.38	2.71	2.60
Grade 6		53.6	.25	2.77	2.56
Grade 8		55.9	.44	3.00	2.81
Policeman--I like him (p. 29, #19)					
Grade 4	6	37.4	.54	3.25	3.19
Grade 6		43.2	.58	3.35	3.18
Grade 8		48.4	.61	3.85	3.60
President's role in deciding laws (p. 30, #24					
Grade 4	4	78.0	.30	1.12	1.17
Grade 6		82.3	.58	1.10	1.21
Grade 8		77.6	.38	1.18	1.22
Average person's role in deciding laws (p. 30, #27)					
Grade 4	4	52.7	.49	2.36	2.31
Grade 6		56.4	.44	2.30	2.25
Grade 8		64.0	.58	2.15	2.22
Policeman's role in deciding laws (p. 30, #28)					
Grade 4	4	54.5	.48	1.81	1.83
Grade 6		55.4	.48	2.14	2.10
Grade 8		59.0	.36	2.35	2.33
How much learned from 1960 election (p. 31, #30)					
Grade 4	3	68.3	.58	1.78	1.78
Grade 6		74.1	.57	1.72	1.64
Grade 8		67.7	.55	1.68	1.69
Government can punish anyone (p. 31, #35)					
Grade 4	6	36.9	.34	2.86	2.64
Grade 6		45.0	.50	2.44	2.55
Grade 8		41.6	.59	2.60	2.50

APPENDIX C.03--Continued

Questionnaire Item	Number of Alternatives	Identical Responses	Test-retest Correlation[a]	Mean 1	Mean 2
Supreme Court never makes mistakes (p. 38, #67)					
Grade 4	6	45.8	.29	1.97	1.83
Grade 6		58.2	.53	2.07	1.97
Grade 8		64.6	.57	2.16	2.15
Supreme Court would want to help (p. 38, #68)					
Grade 4	6	33.7	.42	2.41	2.25
Grade 6		46.8	.47	2.48	2.73
Grade 8		47.8	.53	2.63	2.47
Supreme Court makes decisions (p. 38, #69)					
Grade 4	6	44.6	.35	1.87	1.80
Grade 6		59.6	.36	1.74	1.74
Grade 8		65.2	.42	1.48	1.60
Supreme Court can punish anyone (p. 38, #70)					
Grade 4	6	37.9	.48	2.49	2.37
Grade 6		51.4	.71	2.41	2.29
Grade 8		49.1	.55	2.07	2.14
Supreme Court knows (p. 38, #71)					
Grade 4	6	44.1	.31	2.40	2.30
Grade 6		62.7	.53	2.40	2.31
Grade 8		64.0	.49	2.22	2.06

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[a] The number of subjects who answered the item on both testings and who could therefore be included in these correlations ranged from 194 to 346 at grade 2, from 218 to 399 at grade 4, from 154 to 220 at grade 6, and from 131 to 161 at grade 8. The number of subjects included in the computation of percentage of identical responses is the same as in Appendix C.02.

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APPENDIX D

ITEM COMBINATIONS AND SCALING DESCRIPTION

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APPENDIX D

ITEM COMBINATIONS AND SCALING DESCRIPTION

The decision to combine items into indices or scales was based upon two considerations: first, the investigators' intent to deal with certain dimensions of political attitudes and to use questions designed to measure these dimensions; second, the correlation between items or their Guttman scaling properties, which would indicate the degree to which given items were measuring the same dimension.

In addition to making decisions concerning the items to be combined, a series of analyses related to the scoring of these items was undertaken. Here a decision on the manner of scoring "Don't Know" responses had implications for the majority of indices of political attitudes. In the questionnaire, all the five-point scales which measured agreement with an item had presented "Don't Know" as the middle alternative on the scale (scored 3). If the responses to these items had been normally distributed at all grade levels, this scoring would have made "Don't Know" equivalent to the neutral point on the attitude scale. In fact, however, many responses were skewed toward the "agree" side of the distribution in the early grades and toward the "disagree" side in the later grades. In correlation procedures, "Don't Know" responses were therefore being treated as more negative responses when given by young children and as more positive responses when given by older children. In addition, in some of the early correlation matrices, items which included the "Don't Know" alternative correlated more highly with other items having "Don't Know" alternatives than with items whose content was similar. For these reasons it was decided to form a separate "Don't Know" Index (summing the number of "Don't Know" responses from a large number of questions) and to give zero scores to children who responded "Don't Know" to more than half of the questions in any index. Those with fewer than half "Don't Know" responses were given scores estimated from the questions which they had answered. (For example, if a child answered four out of five questions, his score computed from the four questions was multiplied by 5/4 to estimate the score he would have received if he had responded to all five questions.) The "Don't Know" response was eliminated in a similar fashion from all individual items.

1. "Don't Know" Index

The number of "Don't Know" responses given to questions in three content areas (partisanship, efficacy, definition of democracy), and to a group of miscellaneous items, were counted to form four "Don't Know" subscores. The correlations between these subscores and the total "Don't Know" score (in each case subtracting the subscore being correlated) ranged from .53 to .68 for fourth graders, from .51 to .62 for sixth graders, and from .42 to .49 for eighth graders. The magnitude of these correlations justified the summation of all the "Don't Know" subscores to form a "Don't Know" Total Score based on responses to thirty-two items. (Questionnaire page 4, item 24; page 7, item 33; page 9, item 41; page 12, item 56; page 13, items 59 through 61; page 14, items 62 and 63; page 16, items 72 through 74; page 17, items 18 and 19; page 19, items 29 and 31; page 22, items 43 and 45; page 24, item 53; page 28, item 72;

page 32, items 37 through 41; page 33, item 42; page 37, items 61 through 64; page 38, items 65 and 66.)

2. Index of Attachment to the Nation

This index is composed of two items:

(1) The American flag is the best flag in the world (Questionnaire page 13, item 59).

(2) America is the best country in the world (Questionnaire page 13, item 61).

Each item was followed by a five-point scale with the alternatives: YES, yes, Don't Know, no, NO. These items were combined because of their common content and because of their correlation of .49 (total group of eighth graders) and .41 (total group of third graders). Both items had "Don't Know" options scaled at the midpoint of the scale which were distorted by the skew of responses toward the agreement end of the scale. If a subject omitted or answered "Don't Know" to both of the items, he received no score on this index. If he omitted or answered "Don't Know" to one item, his score on the other item was doubled to estimate his total score. The alternatives were scored as follows: YES received a score of 4; yes, a score of 3; no, a score of 2; and NO, a score of 1. The score on the two items was summed to form an index score with a range of 2 to 8, high numbers representing more positive agreement with the statements and greater attachment to the country.

3. Personification of the Government, and Voting as a Symbol of the Government

These indices were constructed to measure the child's conception of the government--the symbol, picture, or objects which are most salient to him in describing or thinking about the government. The score on the Personification Index was computed by adding one point for each of the following choices:

(1) Choice of Washington as "the best picture of the government" (Questionnaire page 4, item 24, alternative 2).

(2) Choice of the President as "the best picture of the government" (Questionnaire page 4, item 24, alternative X).

(3) Choice of the President as the one who "runs the country" (Questionnaire page 9, item 41, alternative 2).

(4) Choice of the President as making you "the most proud to be an American" (Questionnaire page 12, item 57, alternative 5).

Using all the third grade students in the large western city and the small midwestern city, a Guttman scaling procedure was performed on these items. The Coefficient of Reproducibility was .90. The ordering of the items was identical in all seven grades; that is to say, the President was chosen more frequently as running the country than he was as the best picture of government, and so on.

Representation of the government by the voting process was indexed by the following choices:

(1) Choice of voting as "the best picture of the government" (Questionnaire page 4, item 24, alternative 4).

(2) Choice of "Americans can vote for their own leaders" as "what makes you the most proud to be an American" (Questionnaire page 12, item 57, alternative 3).

These items were combined because of their similar content and to complement the Personification Index.

4. Index of the President's Responsiveness to Individuals

This index assessed the feeling that the President has a personal interest in the child's well-being and ideas. The items which were combined to form this index were:

(1) Ratings of the President on the dimension 1--Would always want to help me if I needed it, to 6--Would not usually want to help me if I needed it (Questionnaire page 10, item 43).

(2) Ratings of the President on the dimension 1--If you write to the President he cares a lot what you think, to 3--If you write to the President he cares a little what you think (Questionnaire page 7, item 34).

The correlation between these items in the total group of eighth grade children was .47. The score on this index was formed by summing the responses to these items and reversing the scale so that high scores corresponded to high ratings of responsiveness.

5. Index of Efficacy

The questions which made up this index were adapted from those used by the Survey Research Center to measure feelings of political efficacy in adults (Campbell *et al*., 1954). The items used in the adult scale which required a simple agree-disagree response are listed in Chapter I of this report. In the present study, a number of items related to this content area were pilot tested; but because of low correlations among some items, only the following were selected for the final instrument:

(1) What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it. (Questionnaire page 17, item 18).

(2) There are some big, powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people (Questionnaire page 19, item 29).

(3) My family doesn't have any say about what the government does (Questionnaire page 19, item 31).

(4) I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think (Questionnaire page 22, item 43).

(5) Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government (Questionnaire page 22, item 45).

Each statement was followed by a five-point scale with the alternatives: YES, yes, Don't Know, no, NO. The correlations between these items ranged from .31 to .43 in the eighth graders from the large western city, and in the eighth graders from the small cities in the Midwest and South. Individuals who did not respond or answered "Don't Know" on more than two of the five questions received no score on this index. Scores were estimated for children who had no response or a "Don't Know" response on one or two questions. The alternatives were scored as follows: YES received a score of 1; yes, a score of 2; no, a score of 3; and NO, a score of 4. The range of scores was 4 to 20 (rescaled for computer storage as 1 to 16). Since negative responses to these items indicate feelings of higher efficacy, high scores on this index correspond to a greater sense of efficacy.

6. Index of Participation in Political Discussion

The score on this index consisted of the number of "yes" responses to the following items:

(1) I have talked with my mother or father about our country's problems (Questionaire page 29, item 36).

(2) I have talked with my friends about a candidate (Questionnaire page 29, item 37).

(3) I have talked with my mother or father about a candidate (Questionnaire page 29, item 39).

7. Index of Concern with Political Issues

This index was formed from the following list of issues:[1]

(1) The United Nations (Questionnaire page 39, item 72, alternatives 5 through 8).

(2) Giving money to other countries (Questionnaire page 39, item 73, alternatives 1 through 4).

(3) People who are out of work in our country (Questionnaire page 39, item 73, alternatives 5 through 8).

(4) Government aid to schools (Questionnaire page 40, item 74, alternatives 1 through 4).

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[1] The "space race" was eliminated from the issues scored on this index because in early analysis it showed low correlations with the other issues. The conquest of space is a topic of great interest to children, but is apparently not particularly related to political concern.

(5) Taxes (Questionnaire page 40, item 74, alternatives 5 through 8).

For each issue the alternatives were: (1) I have not talked about this; (2) I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it; (3) I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it; (4) I don't know. If the subject omitted or answered "Don't Know" on more than two items, he was not scored on this index. Scores were estimated for children who had no response or "Don't Know" on one or two items. The alternatives were scored as follows: "not talked about it" received a score of 1; "talked but not taken sides" received a score of 2; "talked and taken sides" received a score of 3.

8. Index of Party Stands

The index of the relative contributions of the two parties was composed of the following questions:

(1) Who does more for the rich people? (Questionnaire page 37, item 61).

(2) Who does most to keep us out of war? (Questionnaire page 37, item 62).

(3) Who does most to help people who are out of work? (Questionnaire page 37, item 63).

(4) Who does more to protect the rights of citizens? (Questionnaire page 37, item 64).

(5) Who does more to help my family? (Questionnaire page 38, item 65).

(6) Who does more for the United States? (Questionnaire page 38, item 66).

For each question the alternatives were: (1) Republicans; (2) Democrats; (3) Both about the same; (4) Don't Know. If the subject omitted or answered "Don't Know" on more than two items, he received no score on this index. Scores were estimated for children who had no response or a "Don't Know" response on one or two items. The alternatives were scored as follows: "Republican" received a score of 1; "Democrat" received a score of 3; "Both about the same" received a score of 2. The higher the score, the more the respondent attributed positive contribution to members of the Democratic party.

9. Index of Political Activity

The score on this index was the number of "yes" responses to the following questions:

(1) I have worn a button for a candidate (Questionnaire page 20, item 34).

(2) I have helped a candidate by doing things for him--such as handing out buttons and papers with his name on them (Questionnaire page 20, item 35).

(3) I have read about a candidate in newspapers or magazines (Questionnaire page 20, item 38).

Using all the third and eighth grade students in the large western and small midwestern city, these items were Guttman scaled with a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .96.

10. Index of the Relative Influence of Father and Teacher in Citizenship Training

This index was made up of the ratings given by respondents to father and to teacher on the dimension, 1--teaches me an awful lot about being a good citizen, to 5--doesn't teach me at all about being a good citizen (Questionnaire page 18, items 22 and 23). The score was calculated by subtracting the rating given to teacher from the rating given to father. This score was rescaled to a 1 - 9 range to eliminate negative scores. The higher the score, the greater the teacher's role in teaching citizenship, relative to the father.

APPENDIX E

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN RESPONSES OF SIBLINGS AND BETWEEN RESPONSES OF NON-SIBLINGS

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APPENDIX E

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN RESPONSES OF SIBLINGS AND BETWEEN RESPONSES OF NON-SIBLINGS

Item	Siblings		Non-siblings	
	No. Pairs	Correlation	No. Pairs	Correlation
Policeman would help (p.6,#26)	205	.0441	205	.0961
Policeman makes decisions (p.6,#27)	202	.0407	201	.0116
Policeman knows (p.6,#28)	199	.0939	201	.0158
Policeman keeps promises (p.6,#29)	200	.0155	201	.0962
Policeman can make people do things (p.6,#30)	202	.0074	201	.0091
Policeman is my favorite (p.6,#31)	202	.0102	201	.0307
If I wrote to the President, he would care (p.7,#34)	205	.0262	205	.0559
If policeman wrong (p.9,#40)	204	.0996	204	.0669
President would help (p.10,#43)	202	.0035	202	.0560
President makes decisions (p.10,#44)	205	.0432	205	.0376
President knows (p.10,#45)	203	.1210	204	.0431
President keeps promises (p.10,#46)	204	.0227	205	.0361
President can make people do things (p.10,#47)	204	.1697	205	.1200
President is my favorite (p.10,#48)	204	.0938	204	.0335
Soldier works for government (p.11,#51)	203	.1485	204	.0128
Judge works for government (p.11,#52)	201	.0510	204	.0475
American flag best (p.13,#59)	204	.0472	204	.0988
All laws fair (p.13,#60)	205	.0786	204	.0036
America best country (p.13,#61)	204	.0812	203	.0018
People in other countries think them best (p.14,#62)	204	.0043	204	.0786
Laws made long ago (p.14,#63)	203	.2014	205	.0332
Father would help (p.14,#64)	198	.0814	199	.1334
Father makes decisions (p.14,#65)	200	.0569	203	.0235

APPENDIX E--*Continued*

Item	Siblings		Non-siblings	
	No. Pairs	Correlation	No. Pairs	Correlation
Father knows (p.14,#66)	199	.0186	202	.0444
Father keeps promises (p.15,#67)	198	.1167	200	.0046
Father can make people do things (p.15,#68)	199	.0958	202	.1649
Father is my favorite (p.15,#69)	197	.1086	197	.0829
People who break laws get caught (p.15,#70)	203	.1648	201	.0838
Interest in government (p.16,#71)	180	.0130	180	.0768
Parents' power is voting (p.16,#72)	177	.0116	176	.1140
Differences between Democratic and Republican parties (p.16,#73)	104	.0977	93	.0065
Sometimes I can't understand government (p.16,#74)	180	.1055	178	.1006
What goes on in government will happen no matter what (p.17,#18)	157	.2086	155	.1316
How important for adults to belong to a party? (p.17,#19)	118	.0782	114	.0131
Like to work for the government? (p.17,#20)	157	.1371	157	.1128
Reaction to 1960 election (p.17,#21)	117	.4995	117	.0374
How much does father teach about citizenship? (p.18,#22)	153	.0931	154	.1053
How much does teacher teach about citizenship? (p.18,#23)	156	.0104	156	.0482
How much does mother teach about citizenship? (p.18,#24)	156	.1498	156	.0787
How much do friends teach about citizenship? (p.18,#25)	157	.0853	156	.0796
How much does clergyman teach about citizenship? (p.18,#26)	153	.0537	153	.0497
How much does television teach about citizenship? (p.18,#27)	157	.1514	155	.0038
How much does reading teach about citizenship? (p.18,#28)	157	.0452	155	.0740
Men in government don't care about us (p.19,#29)	156	.0329	153	.1418
Family doesn't have any say in government (p.19,#31)	157	.1245	156	.0604
Is government justified in lying to protect country? (p.19,#33)	157	.1269	155	.0541
Government is all for the best (p.21,#41)	155	.1238	156	.0061
People in government don't care what we think (p.22,#43)	157	.1960	156	.0619
Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think (p.23,#45)	157	.1042	156	.0020

APPENDIX E--*Continued*

Item	Siblings		Non-siblings	
	No. Pairs	Correlation	No. Pairs	Correlation
Family interest in government (p.23,#46	128	.1309	124	.0233
Easy to get law changed (p.23,#51)	156	.0111	154	.0385
Which most serious to disobey? (p.24,#54)	149	.0120	146	.0495
Father never makes mistakes (p.25,#56)	120	.1552	122	.0648
Father is a leader (p.25,#57)	115	.1792	117	.0688
Father can punish anyone (p.25,#58)	116	.0998	120	.0871
Father works hard (p.25,#59)	118	.1709	122	.0050
Father--I like him (p.25,#60)	119	.2011	119	.1254
Father protects (p.25,#61)	120	.1573	122	.1198
Father never gives up (p.25,#62)	119	.1602	121	.0112
President never makes mistakes (p.27,#64)	123	.0864	122	.0073
President is a leader (p.27,#65)	122	.0305	122	.0277
President can punish anyone (p.27,#66)	120	.1797	119	.0087
President works hard (p.27,#67)	122	.0068	121	.0966
President--I like him (p.27,#68)	123	.1998	122	.0380
President protects me (p.27,#69)	122	.0425	122	.0897
President never gives up (p.27,#70)	122	.1626	122	.0200
Father's occupation (p.28,#71)	89	.7725	89	.5984
Consequences if Democrats and Republicans disagree (p.28,#72)	50	.1996	49	.1025
When decide political party? (p.28,#73)	92	.0505	93	.1337
Policeman never makes mistakes (p.29,#74)	122	.0628	122	.1583
Policeman is a leader (p.29,#75)	122	.0652	122	.1512
Policeman can punish anyone (p.29,#76)	122	.0800	122	.0310
Policeman works hard (p.29,#18)	92	.0377	92	.0463
Policeman--I like him (p.29,#19)	93	.0655	93	.0638
Policeman protects me (p.29,#20)	93	.0032	93	.0065
Policeman never gives up (p.29,#21)	93	.2600	92	.0789
Rich people's role in deciding laws (p.30,#22)	77	.0238	68	.2128
Unions' role in deciding laws (p.30,#23)	71	.0012	72	.0096
President's role in deciding laws (p.30,#24)	87	.1428	89	.1048
Newspapers' role in deciding laws (p.30,#25)	81	.1616	83	.0704
Churches' role in deciding laws (p.30,#26)	79	.1727	81	.0195
Average person's role in deciding laws (p.30,#27)	84	.1021	83	.0476
Policeman's role in deciding laws (p.30,#28)	85	.1197	80	.0258

APPENDIX E--Continued

Item	Siblings		Non-siblings	
	No. Pairs	Correlation	No. Pairs	Correlation
Big companies' role in deciding laws (p.30,#29)	77	.0779	73	.1149
How much learned from the 1960 election? (p.31,#30)	93	.0868	92	.1177
Government never makes mistakes (p.31,#32)	93	.0216	92	.0258
Government would help (p.31,#33)	93	.0464	92	.0538
Government makes decisions (p.31,#34)	93	.0307	92	.0230
Government can punish anyone (p.31,#35)	93	.0293	92	.0329
Government knows (p.31,#36)	93	.1391	92	.1067
Senator never makes mistakes (p.33,#43)	91	.0000	89	.0919
Senator would help (p.33,#44)	91	.1524	89	.0368
Senator makes decisions (p.33,#45)	91	.0632	89	.0875
Senator can punish anyone (p.33,#46)	90	.1661	88	.0308
Senator knows (p.33,#47)	90	.0321	88	.0094
Senator--I like him (p.33,#48)	89	.1792	87	.1215
U. S. problems--sickness (p.34,#49)	93	.0908	92	.1157
U. S. problems--Russia (p.34,#50)	93	.1411	92	.2367
U. S. problems--making cities beautiful (p.34,#51)	93	.0301	92	.0639
U. S. problems--unemployment (p.35,#52)	93	.0763	92	.0408
U. S. problems--equal rights (p.35,#53)	93	.2830	92	.1676
People who try to get elected--honest (p.36,#55)	93	.1180	91	.0933
People who try to get elected--sneaky (p.36,#56)	93	.2212	91	.0652
People who try to get elected--keep promises (p.36,#57)	92	.0505	91	.2414
People who try to get elected--powerful (p.36,#58)	93	.1200	91	.0345
People who try to get elected--selfish (p.36,#59)	93	.0104	91	.0189
People who try to get elected--smart (p.36,#60)	93	.0672	91	.0715
Supreme Court never makes mistakes (p.38,#67)	93	.0778	91	.0963
Supreme Court would help (p.38,#68)	93	.0162	91	.0537
Supreme Court makes decisions (p.38,#69)	93	.0178	91	.1248
Supreme Court can punish anyone (p.38,#70)	92	.0981	91	.0367
Supreme Court knows (p.38,#71)	92	.0077	91	.0255

APPENDIX F

CHAPTER III SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

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APPENDIX F.01

CHANGES BY GRADE IN "DON'T KNOW" RESPONSES TO AGREE-DISAGREE-DON'T KNOW ITEMS WITHIN EACH AREA OF INQUIRY

(Percentage of DK Responses)

Areas and Included Items	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8	Predominant Response
American Ideological or Moral Superiority:				
Other countries have freedom, but it is not as good as the freedom we have in America.[b]	15	5	9	Agree
America is the best country in the world.[c]	8	7	5	Agree
American Supremacy on Non-Ideological Grounds:				
The United States is the leader of the world.[b]	30	22	25	Undecided
America tries to prevent wars more than any other country.[b]	14	14	16	Agree
America controls the world.[b]	13	7	8	Disagree
America is the richest country in the world.[b]	20	19	16	Undecided
America is the strongest country in the world.[b]	22	23	28	Undecided
The United States has more people in it than any other country in the world.[b]	22	12	7	Disagree
Definition of a Democracy:				
Democracy is a fair government.[a]	49	13	9	Agree
A place where you are free to do anything is a democracy.[b]	53	14	14	Disagree
Is a democracy where the people rule?[c]	59	14	14	Agree
Is a democracy where no one is very rich or very poor?[c]	52	25	13	Disagree

APPENDIX F.01--Continued

Areas and Included Items	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8	Predominant Response
Is a democracy where all grown-ups can vote?[a]	44	18	8	Agree
Is a democracy where everyone has an equal chance to get ahead?[c]	26	19	8	Agree
Is a democracy where you can say anything against the government without getting into trouble?[c]	45	22	9	Undecided
Is a democracy where if most of the people agree, the rest should go along?[c]	49	23	12	Undecided
Communist Threat to Our Country:				
The Communists want to take over our country.[a]	7	3	6	Agree
We can never relax as long as there are any Communists in our country.[b]	18	14	7	Agree
Communists, Without Relation to Threat to the United States:				
In Russia, people are forced to vote for whomever the Communists put up.[a]	31	11	16	Agree
In Communism everybody works for the government, not for themselves.[a]	36	16	18	Agree
Moral Qualities of the President and Importance of His Job:				
Sometimes the President does bad things.[a]	20	18	16	Agree
The President does not make promises he cannot keep.[a]	15	11	10	Undecided
The President is the best person in the whole world.[b]	18	15	12	Disagree
The President makes the nation stronger.[a]	7	10	9	Agree
The hardest job in the world is that of President of the United States.[b]	16	15	9	Undecided

APPENDIX F.01--*Continued*

Areas and Included Items	Grade			Predominant Response
	4	6	8	
The President has the whole world's future in his hands.	17	8	2	Undecided
President's Relationship to Congress:				
The President checks up on the Congress.[a]	27	16	14	Agree
The President won't sign unfair laws even if Congress wants them.[b]	31	16	9	Agree
The President should make sure that Congress does not get too much power[b]	35	21	15	Undecided
Power should be equally divided between the President, Congress, and Supreme Court.[b]	46	22	12	Undecided
Laws:				
Laws are to make sure people do the right thing.[a]	0	4	2	Agree
All laws are fair.[a]	5	2	13	Undecided
If there were no laws there would be lots of killing.[a]	7	1	3	Agree
Policemen:				
Policemen arrest people for little things and often let big criminals go.[a]	2	1	2	Disagree
People who commit crimes are usually caught by the police.[a]	6	2	1	Agree
The only people who do not like policemen are people who have done something bad.[a]	8	4	12	Agree
The main job of the policeman should be to protect us.[b]	9	7	4	Agree
Politicians and Their Election Behavior:				
People shouldn't believe what politicians say.[a]	22	20	8	Disagree
Politicians sometimes force people to vote for them.[a]	17	11	14	Undecided

APPENDIX F.01--Continued

Areas and Included Items	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8	Predominant Response
Most politicians have a high opinion of themselves.[a]	35	21	21	Agree
Politicians know most about what is going on in the world.[a]	38	14	10	Agree
Politicians just make a lot of noise.[a]	18	9	5	Disagree
Politicians never make promises they cannot keep.[a]	25	16	6	Disagree
Norms of Voting and Election:				
The reason we vote to elect our President is because it's the best way to get the best person for the job.[a]	11	5	8	Agree
You have to go along with the man who was elected even if you didn't vote for him.[a]	5	7	2	Agree
When people vote they vote for people whose ideas they agree with, not just for people who are handsome.[a]	5	1	1	Agree
You vote for people who think the way you do.[a]	8	5	7	Agree
Most elections in the United States are fair.[b]	8	4	5	Agree
The man who loses in an election should ask his followers to help the winner.[a]	11	5	7	Agree
Prediction of Kennedy's Performance in Presidency, Compared to Nixon and Eisenhower:				
Nixon would have been a better President than Kennedy.[a]	16	38	43	Undecided
Kennedy will do more work in this country; Nixon would have done more work in other countries.[a]	22	39	38	Undecided

APPENDIX F.01--Continued

Areas and Included Items	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8	Predominant Response
Kennedy will do a better job than Eisenhower did.[b]	35	30	32	Undecided
Kennedy is a better President than Nixon would have been.[b]	38	31	31	Undecided
Generalized Perceptions of Democrats and Republicans:				
The Democrats are for the working people, and the Republicans are for the people who have money.[a]	21	14	12	Disagree
The Republicans always have better candidates.[a]	20	9	15	Disagree
The Democrats always have better candidates.[a]	15	9	15	Disagree
The Democrats think the government should rule, and the Republicans think the people should rule.[a]	25	20	23	Disagree
When the Democrats are in power in Washington, we usually have a war.[b]	28	9	11	Disagree
When the Republicans are in power in Washington, we usually have a depression.[b]	42	23	11	Disagree
Who does more for the rich people, Democrats, Republicans, or both about the same?[c]	41	29	24	Both same
Who does more to keep us out of war, Democrats, Republicans, or both about the same?[c]	26	13	10	Both same
Who does more to help people who are out of work, Democrats, Republicans, or both about the same?[c]	32	19	16	Both same
Who does more to protect the rights of citizens, Democrats, Republicans, or both about the same?[c]	29	15	10	Both same
Who does more to help my family, Democrats, Republicans, or both about the same?[c]	32	22	18	Both same

APPENDIX F.01--Continued

Areas and Included Items	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8	Predominant Response
Who does more for the United States, Democrats, Republicans, or both about the same?[c]	23	12	8	Both same
Norms of Political (not specific as to Democrat or Republican):				
The parties think the same things, but go about doing them in different ways.[a]	31	14	15	Undecided
A political party is a group of people who get together once every four years and back a candidate for President.[a]	31	14	13	Undecided
People should vote for the man, not for the political party.[b]	36	12	3	Agree
If your parents are for one political party, then you should back them up and be for that party, too.[b]	25	9	4	Disagree
How a candidate will run the country is more important than what party he belongs to.[b]	36	10	5	Agree
A good citizen shpports a political party.[b]	39	20	9	Undecided
Political parties should be done away with.	39	8	7	Disagree
Government Control and Citizen Influence:				
The people ought to have more say in what happens in America.[a]	32	14	13	Undecided
The government interferes too much in our private lives.[b]	33	16	11	Disagree
The government has too much power.[b]	25	10	10	Disagree
Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.[a]	21	4	4	Disagree

APPENDIX F.01--Continued

Areas and Included Items	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8	Predominant Response
Definition of Citizen:				
Citizens are people who help out others.[a]	5	5	4	Agree
A citizen is a person who reads the newspaper.[a]	12	5	8	Disagree
Citizens are ordinary people.[a]	7	4	4	Agree
A citizen is a person who keeps the streets of his city clean.[a]	10	6	7	Disagree
Most citizens are not important.[a]	14	4	3	Disagree

[a] Item from Pilot Study 5.

[b] Item from Pilot Study 6.

[c] Item from nationwide study.

APPENDIX F.02

CHANGES BY GRADE IN RESPONSES TO "WHEN WE SAY THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE, WE SAY IT..."

(Percentages)

Grade Level	To the Country	To God	To the President	To the Flag
Grade 2	15.4	20.0	3.7	60.8
Grade 3	24.8	18.8	2.1	54.3
Grade 4	28.6	14.4	0.6	56.4
Grade 5	39.5	13.4	0.7	46.4
Grade 6	38.4	10.7	0.3	50.6
Grade 7	37.5	9.0	0.1	53.3
Grade 8	42.9	7.5	0.2	49.4

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 7, #32.

APPENDIX F.03

CHANGES BY GRADE IN AGREEMENT THAT "PEOPLE IN OTHER COUNTRIES THINK THEIR COUNTRY IS THE BEST IN THE WORLD" (Percentages)

Grade Level	YES	yes	Don't Know	no	NO
Grade 2	41.6	20.4	15.6	7.2	15.3
Grade 3	47.0	23.2	13.7	7.4	8.7
Grade 4	45.2	29.6	14.1	6.9	4.3
Grade 5	39.6	33.3	14.9	8.4	3.8
Grade 6	35.7	35.6	15.5	9.2	3.7
Grade 7	32.2	37.9	14.6	12.7	2.6
Grade 8	29.2	42.6	14.3	11.6	2.4

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 14, #62.

APPENDIX F.04

CHANGES BY GRADE IN RESPONSES TO "THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE IS LIKE..." (Percentages)

Grade Level	A Prayer for Our Country	Saying Our Flag Is Best	Saying Our Country Is Best	Saying We Will Help Our Country
Grade 3	34.7	10.7	8.8	45.9
Grade 4	37.7	7.2	7.0	48.1
Grade 5	37.5	5.4	7.1	49.9
Grade 6	35.6	6.2	8.5	49.7
Grade 7	31.0	5.2	10.2	53.6
Grade 8	26.2	5.6	9.7	58.4

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 24, #52.

APPENDIX F.05

CHANGES BY GRADE IN MEAN RATING OF THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF FIGURES

Grade Level	President	Father	Policeman
Grade 2	1.60	1.96	1.65
Grade 3	1.69	2.02	1.74
Grade 4	1.85	2.05	1.89
Grade 5	1.90	2.07	2.01
Grade 6	2.01	2.14	2.14
Grade 7	2.06	2.22	2.25
Grade 8	2.14	2.20	2.39

Notes.--Items: Questionnaire pages 6 #29, 10 #46, 15 #67.

--Index Scale: 1 - Always keeps promises to 6 - Almost never keeps promises.

APPENDIX F.06

CHANGES BY GRADE IN MEAN RATING OF THE PROTECTIVENESS OF FIGURES

Grade Level	President	Father	Policeman
Grade 4	3.10	1.88	2.85
Grade 5	3.27	1.84	2.87
Grade 6	3.25	1.81	2.85
Grade 7	3.22	1.83	2.83
Grade 8	3.39	1.82	2.91

Notes.--Items: Questionnaire pages 25 #61, 27 #69, 29 #20.

Index Scale: 1 - Protects me more than anyone, to 6 - Protects me less than most do.

APPENDIX F.07

CHANGES BY GRADE IN MEAN RATING OF THE PERSEVERANCE OF FIGURES

Grade Level	President	Father	Policeman
Grade 4	4.63	4.81	4.41
Grade 5	4.72	4.82	4.44
Grade 6	4.65	4.95	4.45
Grade 7	4.69	5.05	4.44
Grade 8	4.73	5.05	4.40

Notes.--Items: Questionnaire pages 25 #62, 27 #70, 29 #21.

--Index Scale: 1 - Almost always gives up when things are hard to do, to 6 - Never gives up. ...

APPENDIX F.08

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF "WHO HELPS YOU AND YOUR FAMILY MOST" (Percentages: children were asked to choose two alternatives)

Grade Level	Policeman	Soldier	Father	Teacher	President
Grade 2	51.3	21.6	38.2	29.5	49.2
Grade 3	47.0	18.7	47.7	32.7	42.8
Grade 4	37.6	16.5	59.2	34.8	34.7
Grade 5	37.0	16.9	64.2	33.8	30.6
Grade 6	33.8	15.5	68.5	35.6	29.6
Grade 7	27.9	16.7	74.1	37.6	27.5
Grade 8	29.7	14.8	73.7	39.8	23.8

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 13, #58.

APPENDIX F.09

CHANGES BY GRADE IN DISTINGUISHING RULES FROM LAWS (Percentages of "Yes" responses)

Grade Level	Brush Your Teeth Every Morning	Don't Cheat in School	Cars Stop at Stop Signs	Get to School on Time	Always Vote
Grade 2	25.7	69.6	97.4	45.2	36.8
Grade 3	15.7	64.7	98.4	38.5	27.7
Grade 4	10.3	61.4	98.9	38.5	28.5
Grade 5	6.8	47.9	99.1	33.0	23.8
Grade 6	5.2	43.4	99.0	33.7	29.8
Grade 7	3.7	40.0	99.2	34.8	23.4
Grade 8	3.8	35.4	99.3	34.5	17.6

Note.--Items: Questionnaire page 6, #35 through #39.

APPENDIX F.10

CHANGES BY GRADE IN AGREEMENT THAT "IT IS EASY TO GET A LAW CHANGED" (Percentages)

Grade Level	YES	yes	Don't Know	no	NO
Grade 3	8.1	8.9	18.6	19.6	44.8
Grade 4	4.3	6.9	15.8	26.0	47.0
Grade 5	1.7	4.5	11.3	32.8	49.8
Grade 6	1.4	5.2	13.0	35.1	45.3
Grade 7	0.8	4.8	9.0	45.9	39.6
Grade 8	0.9	5.6	6.6	52.8	34.1

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 23, #51.

APPENDIX F.11

CHANGES BY GRADE IN AGREEMENT THAT "SOMETIMES I CAN'T UNDERSTAND WHAT GOES ON IN THE GOVERNMENT" (Percentages)

Grade Level	YES	yes	Don't Know	no	NO
Grade 3	28.2	33.2	20.2	11.0	7.4
Grade 4	23.1	42.0	15.4	13.4	6.1
Grade 5	20.9	49.3	8.5	17.3	4.0
Grade 6	19.2	53.9	7.8	15.0	4.1
Grade 7	18.3	57.8	7.1	13.8	3.0
Grade 8	18.0	58.8	6.4	13.6	3.1

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 16, #74.

APPENDIX F.12

CHANGES BY GRADE IN CHILD'S REPORT THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO WORK FOR THE GOVERNMENT (Percentages)

Grade Level	YES	yes	Don't Know	no	NO
Grade 3	56.4	17.3	6.5	7.4	12.3
Grade 4	48.3	22.6	7.4	10.6	11.1
Grade 5	42.4	31.8	6.9	10.9	8.0
Grade 6	35.3	32.4	9.2	12.6	10.6
Grade 7	29.3	38.5	10.5	13.8	7.9
Grade 8	24.8	38.1	13.5	15.0	8.6

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 17, #20.

APPENDIX F.13

CHANGES BY GRADE IN REPORT OF PARENTS' INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT AND CURRENT EVENTS (Percentages)

Grade Level	Always Interested	Usually Interested	Sometimes Interested	Almost Never Interested
Grade 3	43.1	33.5	19.5	4.0
Grade 4	38.0	36.6	22.4	3.1
Grade 5	39.4	42.3	17.1	1.2
Grade 6	41.2	42.4	15.0	1.3
Grade 7	38.9	44.7	15.2	1.2
Grade 8	41.4	42.9	14.4	1.3

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 22, #46.

APPENDIX F.14

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PREFERRED LEISURE ACTIVITY (Percentages)

Grade Level	Read Book	Watch TV	Talk to Friends
Grade 3	21.1	66.1	12.8
Grade 4	23.6	62.8	13.6
Grade 5	25.1	59.6	15.3
Grade 6	21.3	56.1	22.5
Grade 7	18.6	49.8	31.6
Grade 8	16.1	45.1	38.9

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 19, #30.

APPENDIX F.15

CHANGES BY GRADE IN PERCEPTION OF THE REASON THAT BOYS AND GIRLS WORE POLITICAL BUTTONS

(Percentages)

Grade Level	Their Friends Did	Their Parents Did	It Was Fun	It Is Good to Take Sides	They Thought It Would Help a Candidate Win
Grade 3	4.2	8.4	6.4	12.8	68.2
Grade 4	3.1	6.8	6.1	12.8	71.1
Grade 5	4.4	5.3	5.0	10.1	75.2
Grade 6	6.2	6.4	6.2	8.5	72.8
Grade 7	7.3	8.4	6.9	7.1	70.3
Grade 8	13.7	9.8	8.9	7.5	60.1

Note.--Item: Questionnaire page 21, #40.

APPENDIX F.16

CHANGES BY GRADE IN MEAN RATING OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS SOURCES OF CITIZENSHIP TRAINING

Grade Level	Father	Teacher	Mother	Friends	Clergy	Television	Books, Periodicals
Grade 3	1.98	1.61	1.94	3.65	1.96	3.14	2.77
Grade 4	2.00	1.70	1.95	3.79	1.94	3.20	2.77
Grade 5	2.02	1.82	1.90	3.86	1.97	3.19	2.68
Grade 6	2.12	1.89	2.01	3.86	2.05	3.18	2.66
Grade 7	2.22	2.10	2.08	3.86	2.00	3.30	2.76
Grade 8	2.32	2.14	2.22	3.86	2.21	3.30	2.77

Note.--Items: Questionnaire page 18, #22 through #28.

--Index Scale: 1...doesn't teach me at all, to 6...teaches me an awful lot.

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APPENDIX G

CHAPTERS IV AND V SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

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APPENDIX G.01

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF FAMILY AUTHORITY AND MEAN RATING OF FATHER'S POWER, WITHIN GRADE AND SEX

Grade Level	Sex	Family Authority		
		Father	Mother	Both Equal
Grade 3-4	Boys	3.98	4.34	4.17
Grade 5-6		3.96	4.13	4.09
Grade 7-8		3.82	4.19	3.97
Grade 3-4	Girls	3.88	4.11	3.86
Grade 5-6		3.70	3.97	3.88
Grade 7-8		3.51	3.99	3.76

Notes.--Item: Questionnaire page 15, #68.

--Index Scale: 1-Father can make anyone do what he wants, to 6-Father can make almost no one...

--Significance Unit: .16

APPENDIX G.02

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF FAMILY AUTHORITY AND MEAN RATING OF FAMILY'S INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT AND CURRENT EVENTS, WITHIN GRADE AND SEX

Grade	Sex	Family Authority		
		Father	Mother	Both Equal
Grade 3-4	Boys	1.82	2.07	1.82
Grade 5-6		1.80	1.94	1.72
Grade 7-8		1.74	2.07	1.76
Grade 3-4	Girls	1.90	1.96	1.81
Grade 5-6		1.70	1.96	1.71
Grade 7-8		1.72	1.81	1.72

Notes.--Item: Questionnaire page 22, #46.

--Index Scale: 1-Parents always interested, to 4-Parents almost never interested

--Significance Unit: .10

APPENDIX G.03

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF FAMILY AUTHORITY AND FATHER'S AND TEACHER'S ROLES IN CITIZENSHIP TRAINING, WITHIN GRADE AND SEX
(Means)

Grade Level	Sex	Family Authority		
		Father	Mother	Both Equal
Grade 3-4	Boys	5.19	5.64	5.13
Grade 5-6		5.04	5.57	4.96
Grade 7-8		5.01	5.45	5.00
Grade 3-4	Girls	5.33	5.72	5.25
Grade 5-6		5.14	5.67	5.21
Grade 7-8		5.09	5.58	5.17

Notes.--Items: Questionnaire page 18, # 22 and # 23

--Index Scale: 1-Father teaches more about being a good citizen,
to 9-Teacher teaches more

--Significance Unit: .15

APPENDIX G.04

RELATIONSHIP OF IQ AND SOCIAL STATUS TO MEAN LEVEL OF ATTACHMENT TO THE NATION, WITHIN GRADE

Grade Level	IQ			Social Status		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Middle	High
Grade 2	7.57	7.47	7.29	7.56	7.52	7.32
Grade 3	7.35	7.31	7.31	7.48	7.32	7.10
Grade 4	7.25	7.20	7.03	7.24	7.19	7.07
Grade 5	7.27	7.34	7.21	7.30	7.34	7.17
Grade 6	7.18	7.26	7.15	7.22	7.24	7.17
Grade 7	7.37	7.16	7.08	7.22	7.22	7.22
Grade 8	7.35	7.34	7.08	7.37	7.32	7.15

Notes.--Items: See Appendix D, description of America Best Index

--Index Scale: 2-Low attachment, to 8-High attachment

--Significance Unit: .17

APPENDIX G.05

RELATIONSHIP OF IQ AND SOCIAL STATUS TO THE RATED RESPONSIVENESS OF FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS TO THE INDIVIDUAL, WITHIN GRADE

(Means)

Figure or Institution	Grade Level	IQ			Social Status		
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Middle	High
Policeman	Grade 2	1.72	1.50	1.51	1.61	1.51	1.52
	Grade 3	1.56	1.42	1.36	1.72	1.42	1.49
	Grade 4	1.56	1.42	1.43	1.58	1.45	1.42
	Grade 5	1.58	1.43	1.37	1.47	1.46	1.46
	Grade 6	1.57	1.43	1.46	1.56	1.50	1.49
	Grade 7	1.62	1.53	1.54	1.64	1.54	1.56
	Grade 8	1.66	1.68	1.64	1.73	1.65	1.62
Supreme Court	Grade 4	2.37	2.45	2.47	2.33	2.44	2.48
	Grade 5	2.33	2.56	2.69	2.42	2.47	2.65
	Grade 6	2.36	2.53	2.55	2.36	2.47	2.52
	Grade 7	2.56	2.61	2.72	2.55	2.57	2.72
	Grade 8	2.62	2.69	2.66	2.54	2.62	2.74
Senator	Grade 4				2.43	2.54	2.51
	Grade 5				2.61	2.66	2.77
	Grade 6				2.75	2.73	2.76
	Grade 7				2.89	2.76	2.87
	Grade 8				2.88	2.89	2.90

Government	Grade 4	2.27	2.53	2.52
	Grade 5	2.68	2.65	2.84
	Grade 6	2.79	2.67	2.68
	Grade 7	2.80	2.70	2.80
	Grade 8	2.79	2.80	2.86

Notes.--Items: Questionnaire page 6 #26, 31 #33, 33 #34, 38 #68

--Index Scale: 1-Would always want to help me if I needed it, to 6-Would not usually want to...

--Significance Unit: .12

APPENDIX G.06

RELATIONSHIP OF IQ AND SOCIAL STATUS TO BELIEF THAT OBEDIENCE TO LAWS IS THE CITIZEN'S MOST IMPORTANT OBLIGATION, WITHIN GRADE

(Percentages)

Grade Level	IQ			Social Status		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Middle	High
Grade 4	40.2	46.7	45.8	41.2	43.0	48.8
Grade 5	40.3	42.4	43.1	39.5	42.6	43.2
Grade 6	34.6	39.8	36.2	35.9	39.0	36.1
Grade 7	34.8	32.2	31.8	31.7	34.2	31.2
Grade 8	31.5	27.3	26.0	32.5	28.8	26.4

Notes.--Item: Questionnaire Page 26 #63

--Significance Unit: 3%

APPENDIX G.07

RELATIONSHIP OF IQ AND SOCIAL STATUS TO PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARTIES, WITHIN GRADE
(Means)

Grade Level	IQ			Social Status		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Middle	High
Grade 2	2.09	2.23	2.27			
Grade 3	2.35	2.56	2.59	1.94	2.17	2.31
Grade 4	2.49	2.53	2.75	2.34	2.47	2.55
Grade 5	2.68	2.81	2.88	2.52	2.57	2.61
Grade 6	2.70	2.76	2.87	2.77	2.80	2.78
Grade 7	2.53	2.74	2.72	2.64	2.81	2.84
Grade 8	2.69	2.70	2.66	2.66	2.70	2.62

Notes.--Item: Questionnaire page 16, # 73

--Index Scale: 1-Very big difference, to 5-No difference

--Significance Unit: .15

APPENDIX G.08

RELATIONSHIP OF IQ AND SOCIAL STATUS TO ATTITUDE TOWARD INTER-PARTY DISAGREEMENT, WITHIN GRADE
(Means)

Grade Level	IQ			Social Status		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Middle	High
Grade 4	2.06	1.87	1.90	2.09	1.97	1.89
Grade 5	1.90	1.91	1.97	1.95	1.88	1.94
Grade 6	2.00	1.98	2.03	1.98	1.96	2.05
Grade 7	2.11	2.09	2.17	2.20	2.06	2.14
Grade 8	2.21	2.19	2.39	2.12	2.19	2.40

Notes.--Item: Questionnaire page 28, # 72.

--Index Scale: 1-Disagreement would be very bad for the country, to
5-Disagreement would be very good for the country

--Significance Unit: .12

APPENDIX G.09

RELATIONSHIP OF IQ AND SOCIAL STATUS TO APATHY TOWARD THE OUTCOME OF THE 1960 ELECTION, WITHIN GRADE

(Percentages of children who didn't care who won)

Grade Level	IQ			Social Status		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Middle	High
Grade 3	11.5	20.2	24.3	11.9	14.6	16.9
Grade 4	14.7	21.3	25.1	16.1	18.5	18.6
Grade 5	18.7	24.6	34.3	17.8	17.6	17.9
Grade 6	19.3	27.4	29.2	13.6	16.0	14.3
Grade 7	20.6	33.3	35.6	13.1	14.8	14.8
Grade 8	16.5	29.1	39.3	15.0	14.4	12.7

Notes.--Item: Questionnaire page 17, # 21

--Significance Unit: 3%

APPENDIX H

QUESTIONNAIRE AND CURRICULUM QUESTIONNAIRE

Page
H.01 Questionnaire 473
H.02 Curriculum Questionnaire 493

CA-9

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(8)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
(9)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(10)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	0	1	2
(11)	☐	☐	☐

	0	1	2
(12)	☐	☐	☐

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)

BEGIN HERE

Print your name ______________________________

Print your teacher's name ______________________________

Print the first name and the grade of each brother or sister in grades 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 in this school.

Name	Grade	Name	Grade
Name	Grade	Name	Grade

2.

(16) How old are you? Put an X in the box that tells how old you are today?

☐ 6 years old 1.

☐ 7 years old 2.

☐ 8 years old 3.

☐ 9 years old 4.

☐ 10 years old 5.

☐ 11 years old 6.

☐ 12 years old 7.

☐ 13 years old 8.

☐ 14 years old or older 9.

(17) You are a:

1. ☐ Boy

2. ☐ Girl

(18) How often do you go to Mass, Church, Temple, or Sunday School? (Choose one)

1. ☐ Every week

2. ☐ Almost every week

3. ☐ Only once in a while

4. ☐ Almost never

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(19) Your family is: (Choose one)

1. ☐ Catholic
2. ☐ Jewish
3. ☐ Protestant
4. ☐ Other
5. ☐ None

(20) Who is the boss in your family? (Choose one)

1. ☐ Both fairly equal but father more
2. ☐ Both fairly equal but mother more
3. ☐ Both fairly equal
4. ☐ I can not answer

(21) Do you have any sisters or brothers?

1. ☐ Yes I have
2. ☐ No I have not

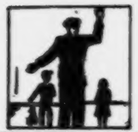
(22) Are you older than all of your sisters and brothers?

1. ☐ Yes I am
2. ☐ No I am not

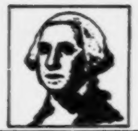
(23) Are you younger than all of your sisters and brothers?

1. ☐ Yes I am
2. ☐ No I am not

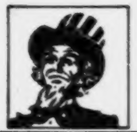
(24) Here are some pictures that show what our government is. Pick the two pictures that show best what our government is.



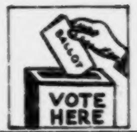
1. ☐ POLICEMAN



2. ☐ WASHINGTON

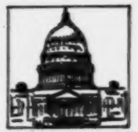


3. ☐ UNCLE SAM



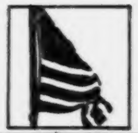
4. ☐ VOTING

5. ☐ SUPREME COURT

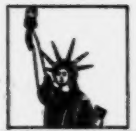


6. ☐ CAPITOL

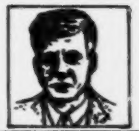
7. ☐ CONGRESS



8. ☐ FLAG



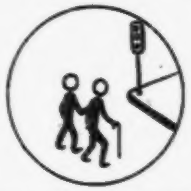
9. ☐ STATUE OF LIBERTY



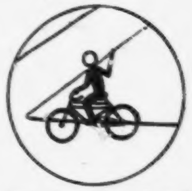
X. ☐ PRESIDENT

Y. ☐ I DON'T KNOW

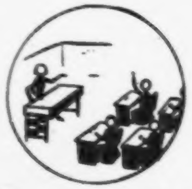
(25) If the President came to your school to give a prize to two boys who were the best citizens and the teacher offered him these boys, which two boys would he pick?
Put an X by the two he would choose as the best citizens.



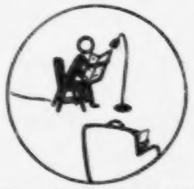
1. ☐ A boy who helps others.



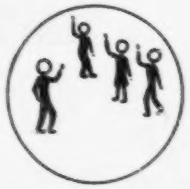
2. ☐ A boy who does what he is told.



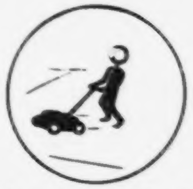
3. ☐ A boy who gets good grades.



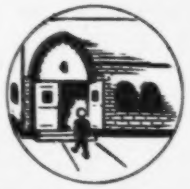
4. ☐ A boy who is interested in the way our country is run.



5. ☐ A boy who everybody likes.



6. ☐ A boy who works hard.



7. ☐ A boy who goes to church.

8. ☐ I don't know what citizen means.

Think of the Policeman as he really is . . . .

1	2	3	4	5	6
Is friendlier than anyone	Is friendlier than almost anyone	Is friendlier than most people	Is friendlier than some people	Is friendlier than a few people	Is friendlier than almost no one

(26)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Would always want to help me if I needed it	Would almost always want to help me if I needed it	Would usually want to help me if I needed it	Would sometimes want to help me if I needed it	Would seldom want to help me if I needed it	Would not usually want to help me if I needed it

(27)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Makes important decisions all the time	Makes important decisions a lot of the time	Makes important decisions sometimes	Makes important decisions seldom	Almost never makes important decisions	Never makes important decisions

(28)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Knows more than anyone	Knows more than most people	Knows more than many people	Knows less than many people	Knows less than most people	Knows less than anyone

(29)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Always keeps his promises	Almost always keeps his promises	Usually keeps his promises	Sometimes does not keep his promises	Usually does not keep his promises	Almost never keeps his promises

(30)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Can make anyone do what he wants	Can make almost anyone do what he wants	Can make many people do what he wants	Can make some people do what he wants	Can make a few people do what he wants	Can make almost no one do what he wants

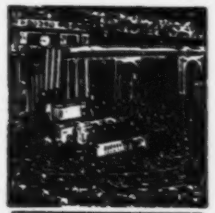
(31)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Is my favorite of all	Is almost my favorite of all	Is more a favorite of mine than most	Is more a favorite of mine than many	Is more a favorite of mine than a few	Is not one of my favorites

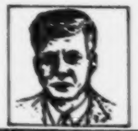
(32) When we say the Pledge of Allegiance, we say it: (Choose one)

1. ☐ To the Country
2. ☐ To God
3. ☐ To the President
4. ☐ To the Flag

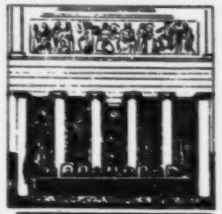
(33) Who makes the laws? Put an X next to the one who does the most to make laws.



1. ☐ CONGRESS



2. ☐ PRESIDENT



3. ☐ SUPREME COURT

4. ☐ I DON'T KNOW

(34) Which do you think is the most true? (Choose one)

1. ☐ If you write to the President he cares a lot what you think.
2. ☐ If you write to the President he cares some what you think.
3. ☐ If you write to the President he cares a little what you think.

Which of these are laws? Mark an X next to Yes or No to show whether each of these things is a law.

(35) Brush your teeth every morning. Is this a law?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(36) Don't cheat in school. Is this a law?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(37) Cars must stop at stop signs. Is this a law?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(38) Get to school on time. Is this a law?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

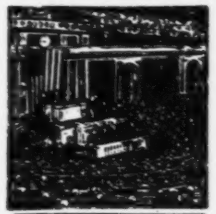
(39) Always vote. Is this a law?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

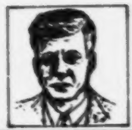
(40) If you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what would you do? Put an X beside the one that tells what you would do.

1. ☐ Do what he tells you and forget about it.
2. ☐ Do what he tells you but tell your father about it.
3. ☐ Do what he tells you but ask the policeman why.
4. ☐ Do what he tells you but tell the policeman he is wrong.

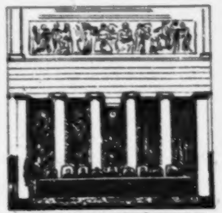
(41) Who does the most to run the country? Put an X in the box next to the one who does the most to run the country.



1. ☐ CONGRESS



2. ☐ PRESIDENT



3. ☐ SUPREME COURT

4. ☐ I DON'T KNOW

(42) If you could vote what would you be? (Choose one)

1. ☐ A Republican.
2. ☐ A Democrat.
3. ☐ Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican.
4. ☐ I don't know which I would be.
5. ☐ I don't know what Democrat and Republican mean..

Think of the President as he really is . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(43)	Would always want to help me if I needed it	Would almost always want to help me if I needed it	Would usually want to help me if I needed it	Would sometimes want to help me if I needed it	Would seldom want to help me if I needed it	Would not usually want to help me if I needed it

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(44)	Makes important decisions all the time	Makes important decisions a lot of the time	Makes important decisions sometimes	Makes important decisions seldom	Almost never makes important decisions	Never makes important decisions

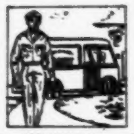
	1	2	3	4	5	6
(45)	Knows more than anyone	Knows more than most people	Knows more than many people	Knows less than many people	Knows less than most people	Knows less than anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(46)	Always keeps his promises	Almost always keeps his promises	Usually keeps his promises	Sometimes does not keep his promises	Usually does not keep his promises	Almost never keeps his promises

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(47)	Can make anyone do what he wants	Can make almost anyone do what he wants	Can make many people do what he wants	Can make some people do what he wants	Can make a few people do what he wants	Can make almost no one do what he wants

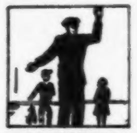
	1	2	3	4	5	6
(48)	Is my favorite of all	Is almost my favorite of all	Is more a favorite of mine than most	Is more a favorite of mine than many	Is more a favorite of mine than a few	Is not one of my favorites

Here are some people. Which ones work for the government?



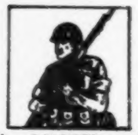
(49) Does the MILKMAN work for the government?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No



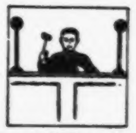
(50) Does the POLICEMAN work for the government?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No



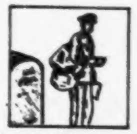
(51) Does the SOLDIER work for the government?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No



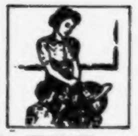
(52) Does the JUDGE work for the government?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No



(53) Does the POSTMAN work for the government?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No



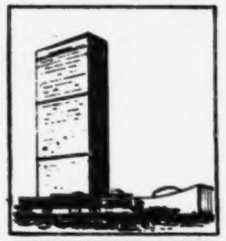
(54) Does the TEACHER work for the government?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

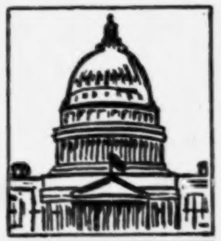
(55) Some of you may not be quite sure what the word government means. If you are not sure what government means, put an X in the box below.

1. ☐

(56) Which one of these does most to keep peace in the world? (Choose one)



1. ☐ UNITED NATIONS



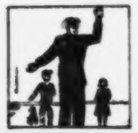
2. ☐ UNITED STATES

3. ☐ I DON'T KNOW

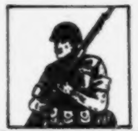
(57) What makes you the most proud to be an American? Check the two things that make you most proud.

1. ☐ Americans are the most generous people in the world.
2. ☐ America has beautiful parks and highways.
3. ☐ Americans can vote for their own leaders.
4. ☐ Americans have freedom.
5. ☐ Our President.

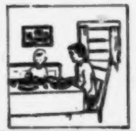
(58) Who helps you and your family the most? Put an X by the two who help you and your family the most.



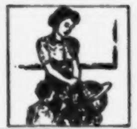
1. ☐ POLICEMAN



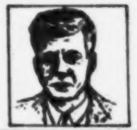
2. ☐ SOLDIER



3. ☐ FATHER



4. ☐ TEACHER



5. ☐ PRESIDENT

HERE IS A DIFFERENT KIND OF QUESTION. TRY THIS ONE FOR PRACTICE:

Chocolate ice cream tastes good.

Don't Know
1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO
No Opinion

(59) The American flag is the best flag in the world.

Don't Know
1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO
No Opinion

(60) All laws are fair.

Don't Know
1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO
No Opinion

(61) America is the best country in the world.

Don't Know
1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO
No Opinion

(62) People in other countries think their country is the best in the world.

Don't Know
1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO
No Opinion

(63) Most laws were made a long time ago.

Don't Know
1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO
No Opinion

Think of Your Father as he really is . . . .

(64)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Would always want to help me if I needed it	Would almost always want to help me if I needed it	Would usually want to help me if I needed it	Would sometimes want to help me if I needed it	Would seldom want to help me if I needed it	Would not usually want to help me if I needed it

(65)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Makes important decisions all the time	Makes important decisions alot of the time	Makes important decisions sometimes	Makes important decisions seldom	Almost never makes important decisions	Never makes important decisions

(66)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Knows more than anyone	Knows more than most people	Knows more than many people	Knows less than many people	Knows less than most people	Knows less than anyone

Think of Your Father as he really is . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(67)	Always keeps his promises	Almost always keeps his promises	Usually keeps his promises	Sometimes does not keep his promises	Usually does not keep his promises	Almost never keeps his promises

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(68)	Can make anyone do what he wants	Can make almost anyone do what he wants	Can make many people do what he wants	Can make some people do what he wants	Can make a few people do what he wants	Can make almost no one do what he wants

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(69)	Is my favorite of all	Is almost my favorite of all	Is more a favorite of mine than most	Is more a favorite of mine than many	Is more a favorite of mine than a few	Is not one of my favorites

(70) Which do you think is the most true? (Choose one)

1. ☐ People who break laws always get caught.
2. ☐ People who break laws usually get caught.
3. ☐ People who break laws usually get away.
4. ☐ People who break laws always get away.

(71) How much are you interested in reading or talking about current events, government, or other things going on in our country? (Choose one)

1. ☐ Very much
2. ☐ Some
3. ☐ Only a little

(72) Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs things.

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ Don't Know No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(73) How much difference is there between the Democrats and the Republicans? (Choose one)

1. ☐ A very big difference.
2. ☐ A big difference.
3. ☐ Some difference.
4. ☐ A very small difference.
5. ☐ No difference.
0. ☐ I do not know or I have no opinion.

(74) Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government.

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ Don't Know No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(END DECK 35)

(18) What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it.

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ Don't Know / No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(19) How important do you think it is for grown-ups to belong to either the Republican or Democratic Party? (Choose one)

1. ☐ *Very* important.
2. ☐ Important.
3. ☐ Not too important.
4. ☐ Not important at all.
0. ☐ I do not know *or* I have no opinion.

(20) Would you like to work for the government?

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ Don't Know / No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(21) When I heard Kennedy won the election over Nixon: (mark the *one* which is closest to the way you felt at that time)

1. ☐ I was very happy.
2. ☐ I was happy.
3. ☐ I didn't much care one way or the other.
4. ☐ I felt bad.
5. ☐ I felt so bad I almost cried.

Below are a list of people and things. For each person or thing, *circle* the *number* that shows how much they teach you about being a good citizen.

(22) How much does *your father* teach you about being a good citizen?

1	2	3	4	5
He teaches me an awful lot	He teaches me a lot	He teaches me some	He teaches me a little	He doesn't teach me at all

(23) How much does *your teacher* teach you about being a good citizen?

1	2	3	4	5
She teaches me an awful lot	She teaches me a lot	She teaches me some	She teaches me a little	She doesn't teach me at all

(24) How much does *your mother* teach you about being a good citizen?

1	2	3	4	5
She teaches me an awful lot	She teaches me a lot	She teaches me some	She teaches me a little	She doesn't teach me at all

(25) How much do *your friends* teach you about being a good citizen?

1	2	3	4	5
They teach me an awful lot	They teach me a lot	They teach me some	They teach me a little	They don't teach me at all

(26) How much does *your minister*, *priest*, or *rabbi* teach you about being a good citizen?

1	2	3	4	5
He teaches me an awful lot	He teaches me a lot	He teaches me some	He teaches me a little	He doesn't teach me at all

(27) How much does *television* teach you about being a good citizen?

1	2	3	4	5
It teaches me an awful lot	It teaches me a lot	It teaches me some	It teaches me a little	It doesn't teach me at all

(28) How much do *books*, *magazines*, and *newspapers* teach you about being a good citizen?

1	2	3	4	5
They teach me an awful lot	They teach me a lot	They teach me some	They teach me a little	They don't teach me at all

(29) There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.

Don't Know

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

No Opinion

(30) After supper I would rather: (Choose one)

1. ☐ Read a book.
2. ☐ Watch television.
3. ☐ Talk to my friends.

(31) My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

Don't Know

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

No Opinion

(32) Many people would like to be President, a Senator, or a Mayor. Why do you think these people would like to have these jobs? (Choose one)

1. ☐ They want to change things that are not good in the government.
2. ☐ They want to make a lot of money or be important.
3. ☐ They want to keep things as good as they are in our country.

(33) It is all right for the government to lie to another country if the lie protects the American people.

Don't Know

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

No Opinion

In reading the next few things, you should know that every four years people run for office in our government, this is called an election; and the people running in it are called candidates. Things about government, politics, and candidates that you have done:

(34) I have worn a button for a candidate.

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(35) I have helped a candidate by doing things for him -- such as handing out buttons and papers with his name on them.

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(36) I have talked with my mother or father about our country's problems.

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(37) I have talked with my friends about a candidate.

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(38) I have read about a candidate in newspapers or magazines.

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(39) I have talked with my mother or father about a candidate.

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

(40) Why do you think most boys and girls wore buttons in the last important election?
(Choose one)

1. ☐ Because their friends did.
2. ☐ Because their parents did.
3. ☐ Because it was fun.
4. ☐ Because it is a good thing to take sides.
5. ☐ Because they thought it would help their candidate win.
0. ☐ I am not sure what this means.

(41) I think that what goes on in the government is all for the best.

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ Don't Know / No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(42) By the time you are grown-up . . . . (Choose one)

1. ☐ All laws will change.
2. ☐ Most laws will change.
3. ☐ Half the laws will change.
4. ☐ A few laws will change.
5. ☐ No laws will change.
0. ☐ I don't know.

(43) I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think.

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ Don't Know / No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(44) Here are some things that boys and girls have said about what the President's job is. What do you think the job of the President is? Put an X beside the two things below that say what you think the job of the President is.

1. ☐ His job is to keep us out of war.
2. ☐ His job is to make friends with other countries.
3. ☐ His job is to help people in our country.
4. ☐ His job is to stand for our country.
5. ☐ His job is to make people obey the laws.
6. ☐ His job is to make sure our country is run well.

(45) Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ yes 3. ○ Don't Know / No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(46) Are your parents interested in current events and what happens in the government?
(Choose one)

1. ☐ Always interested.
2. ☐ Usually interested.
3. ☐ Sometimes interested.
4. ☐ Almost never interested.
0. ☐ I can not answer.

(47) Do you belong to a school club, organization, or committee (such as student council, musical organization, or service committee)?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

(48) Put an X beside each of the clubs or organizations below which you belong to now, or which you have belonged to for at least a year.

1. ☐ Boy Scouts (or Cub Scouts)
5. ☐ CYO
2. ☐ Girl Scouts (or Brownies)
6. ☐ Boys' Club
3. ☐ Camp Fire Girls
7. ☐ 4-H Club
4. ☐ YMCA, YWCA, YMHA, Hi-Y

8. ☐ I do not belong to any club or organization outside of school.

(49) In this school year I belong to some team (which meets after school hours) which plays baseball, basketball, volleyball, or some other sport.

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

(50) I have held some office in my class or in one of the clubs or organizations mentioned.

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

(51) It is easy to get a law changed.

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ 3. ○ Don't Know / No Opinion 4. ☐ no 5. ☐ NO

(52) The Pledge of Allegiance is like: Put an X beside the one that says what the Pledge of Allegiance is like.

1. ☐ A prayer for our country.

2. ☐ Saying that our flag is best.

3. ☐ Saying that our country is the best.

4. ☐ Saying that we will help our country.

(53) It is better if young people belong to the same political party as their parents. (Choose one)

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

3. ☐ Don't Know

(54) Disobey means to do something someone tells you not to do. Which of these is the most wrong? Put an X beside the one that is the most wrong.

1. ☐ To disobey your mother.

2. ☐ To disobey your teacher.

3. ☐ To disobey your father.

4. ☐ To disobey the policeman.

(55) Which of the following is the best citizen? Put an X beside the sentence that describes the best citizen.

1. ☐ He makes up his mind to be either a Democrat or a Republican and always votes the way his party does.

2. ☐ He doesn't join either the Democrats or the Republicans and votes for the man he thinks is best.

0. ☐ I don't know what the words Democrat and Republican mean.

Think of Your Father as he really is . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(56)	Almost never makes mistakes	Rarely makes mistakes	Sometimes makes mistakes	Often makes mistakes	Usually makes mistakes	Almost always makes mistakes

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(57)	Always a leader	Usually a leader	More often a leader than a follower	More often a follower than a leader	Usually a follower	Almost always a follower

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(58)	Can punish anyone	Can punish almost anyone	Can punish many people	Can punish some people	Can punish a few people	Can punish no one

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(59)	Works harder than almost anyone	Works harder than most people	Works harder than many people	Works less hard than many people	Works less hard than most people	Works less hard than almost anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(60)	I like him more than anyone	I like him more than most people	I like him more than many people	I like him more than some people	I like him more than a few people	I like him less than almost anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(61)	Protects me more than anyone	Protects me more than most do	Protects me more than many do	Protects me more than some do	Protects me less than some do	Protects me less than most do

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(62)	Almost always gives up when things are hard to do	Usually gives up when things are hard to do	Sometimes gives up when things are hard to do	Usually does not give up when things are hard to do	Almost never gives up when things are hard to do	Never gives up when things are hard to do

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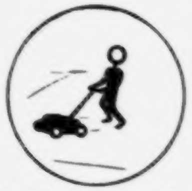
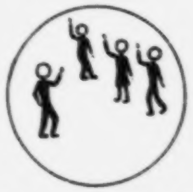
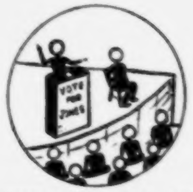
(63) If the President came to your town to give prizes to the two grown-ups who were the best citizens, which grown-ups would he choose? Put an X beside the two he would choose as the best citizens.



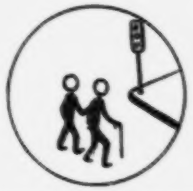
1. ☐ Someone who works hard.



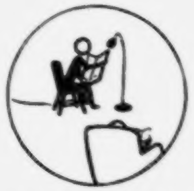
2. ☐ Someone everybody likes.



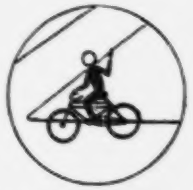
3. ☐ Someone who votes and gets others to vote.



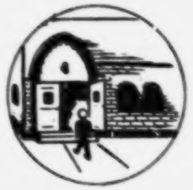
4. ☐ Someone who helps others.



5. ☐ Someone who is interested in the way our country is run.



6. ☐ Someone who always obeys the laws.



7. ☐ Someone who goes to church.

8. ☐ I don't know what citizen means.

Think of the President as he really is . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(64)	Almost never makes mistakes	Rarely makes mistakes	Sometimes makes mistakes	Often makes mistakes	Usually makes mistakes	Almost always makes mistakes

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(65)	Always a leader	Usually a leader	More often a leader than a follower	More often a follower than a leader	Usually a follower	Almost always a follower

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(66)	Can punish anyone	Can punish almost anyone	Can punish many people	Can punish some people	Can punish a few people	Can punish no one

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(67)	Works harder than almost anyone	Works harder than most people	Works harder than many people	Works less hard than many people	Works less hard than most people	Works less hard than almost anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(68)	I like him more than anyone	I like him more than most people	I like him more than many people	I like him more than some people	I like him more than a few people	I like him less than almost anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(69)	Protects me more than anyone	Protects me more than most do	Protects me more than many do	Protects me more than some do	Protects me less than some do	Protects me less than most do

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(70)	Almost always gives up when things are hard to do	Usually gives up when things are hard to do	Sometimes gives up when things are hard to do	Usually does not give up when things are hard to do	Almost never gives up when things are hard to do	Never gives up when things are hard to do

(71) Put an X beside the sentence which comes closest to telling what your father's job is. (If your father is dead or not working now, mark the kind of job he did when he was working.)

1. ☐ He works in a factory or mill, or as a truck driver, janitor or some other job where he works with his hands.

2. ☐ He works with his hands in a job that takes a long time to learn -- like a carpenter, an electrician, a plumber, a TV repairman, a machinist,etc.

3. ☐ He works in an office or store for somebody else.
He works as a bookkeeper, salesman, or clerk.
He owns a service station, laundry, or small store.
He is a policeman, fireman, soldier, or works for the government.
(He usually wears a uniform or a white shirt and tie to work.)

4. ☐ He works in an office as a manager or executive.

5. ☐ He is a doctor, lawyer, teacher, an engineer, or some job like that. He has a college degree and special training for his job.

6. ☐ He owns a large business, like a factory or a big store.

0. ☐ I don't know what my father does.

(72) If the Democrats and Republicans disagreed on important things: (circle the number that is closest to what you think would happen)

1	2	3	4	5	0
It would be very bad for the country	It would be bad for the country	It would not matter	It would be good for the country	It would be very good for the country	Don't Know

(73) When should a person decide which political party to support? (Choose one)

1. ☐ Before he goes to high school.

2. ☐ Before he leaves high school.

3. ☐ After high school but before he is old enough to vote.

4. ☐ After he is old enough to vote.

Think of the Policeman as he really is . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(74)	Almost never makes mistakes	Rarely makes mistakes	Sometimes makes mistakes	Often makes mistakes	Usually makes mistakes	Almost always makes mistakes

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(75)	Always a leader	Usually a leader	More often a leader than a follower	More often a follower than a leader	Usually a follower	Almost always a follower

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(76)	Can punish anyone	Can punish almost anyone	Can punish many people	Can punish some people	Can punish a few people	Can punish no one

(END OF DECK 36)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(18)	Works harder than almost anyone	Works harder than most people	Works harder than many people	Works less hard than some people	Works less hard than most people	Works less hard than almost anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(19)	I like him more than anyone	I like him more than most people	I like him more than many people	I like him more than some people	I like him more than a few people	I like him less than almost anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(20)	Protects me more than anyone	Protects me more than most do	Protects me more than many do	Protects me more than some do	Protects me less than some do	Protects me less than most do

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(21)	Almost always gives up when things are hard to do	Usually gives up when things are hard to do	Sometimes gives up when things are hard to do	Usually does not give up when things are hard to do	Almost never gives up when things are hard to do	Never gives up when things are hard to do

How much do these people help decide which laws are made for our country: Very much, Some, Very Little, or Not At All? Put an X for each person or group of people listed below.

(22) Rich people

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(23) Unions

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(24) The President

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(25) Newspapers

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(26) Churches

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(27) The Average Person

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(28) Policemen

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(29) Big Companies

1. ☐ Very Much 2. ☐ Some 3. ☐ Very Little 4. ☐ Not at all 0. ○ Don't Know

(30) How much did you learn from the last election for President? (Choose one)

1. ☐ I learned a lot.

2. ☐ I learned some.

3. ☐ I learned very little.

(31) Which is the most important for the policeman to do? (Choose one)

1. ☐ Make people obey the law.

2. ☐ Help people who are in trouble.

3. ☐ Catch people who break the law.

Think of the Government as it really is . . . . (Circle the number of your choice)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(32)	Almost never makes mistakes	Rarely makes mistakes	Sometimes makes mistakes	Often makes mistakes	Usually makes mistakes	Almost always makes mistakes

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(33)	Would always want to help me if I needed it	Would almost always want to help me if I needed it	Would usually want to help me if I needed it	Would sometimes want to help me if I needed it	Would seldom want to help me if I needed it	Would not usually want to help me if I needed it

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(34)	Makes important decisions all the time	Makes important decisions a lot of the time	Makes important decisions sometimes	Makes important decisions seldom	Almost never makes important decisions	Never makes important decisions

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(35)	Can punish anyone	Can punish almost anyone	Can punish many people	Can punish some people	Can punish a few people	Can punish no one

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(36)	Knows more than anyone	Knows more than most people	Knows more than many people	Knows less than many people	Knows less than most people	Knows less than anyone

What is a democracy? (In each of the following questions, choose one)

(37) Is a democracy where the people rule?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

3. ☐ I don't know

(38) Is a democracy where no one is very rich or very poor?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

3. ☐ I don't know

(39) Is a democracy where all grown-ups can vote?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

3. ☐ I don't know

(40) Is a democracy where everyone has an equal chance to get ahead?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

3. ☐ I don't know

(41) Is a democracy where you can say anything against the government without getting into trouble?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

3. ☐ I don't know

What is a democracy? (Choose one)

(42) Is a democracy where if most of the people agree, the rest should go along?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

3. ☐ I don't know

Think of the Average United States Senator as he really is . . . (circle the number of your choice)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(43)	Almost never makes mistakes	Rarely makes mistakes	Sometimes makes mistakes	Often makes mistakes	Usually makes mistakes	Almost always makes mistakes

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(44)	Would always want to help me if I needed it	Would almost always want to help me if I needed it	Would usually want to help me if I needed it	Would sometimes want to help me if I needed it	Would seldom want to help me if I needed it	Would not usually want to help me if I needed it

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(45)	Makes important decisions all the time	Makes important decisions a lot of the time	Makes important decisions sometimes	Makes important decisions seldom	Almost never makes important decisions	Never makes important decisions

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(46)	Can punish anyone	Can punish almost anyone	Can punish many people	Can punish some people	Can punish a few people	Can punish no one

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(47)	Knows more than anyone	Knows more than most people	Knows more than many people	Knows less than many people	Knows less than most people	Knows less than anyone

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(48)	I like him more than anyone	I like him more than most people	I like him more than many people	I like him more then some people	I like him more than a few people	I like him less than almost anyone

How important do you think each of these problems is for America today?

(49) Curing sickness (like heart trouble, cancer, and polio). (Choose one)

1. ☐ The most important problem.

2. ☐ One of the most important problems.

3. ☐ More important than many problems.

4. ☐ More important than a few problems.

5. ☐ Not a very important problem.

(50) Communist Russia. (Choose one)

1. ☐ The most important problem.

2. ☐ One of the most important problems.

3. ☐ More important than many problems.

4. ☐ More important than a few problems.

5. ☐ Not a very important problem.

(51) Making our cities beautiful. (Choose one)

1. ☐ The most important problem.

2. ☐ One of the most important problems.

3. ☐ More important than many problems.

4. ☐ More important than a few problems.

5. ☐ Not a very important problem.

How important do you think each of these problems is for America today?

(52) People out of work. (Choose one)

1. ☐ The most important problem.
2. ☐ One of the most important problems.
3. ☐ More important than many problems.
4. ☐ More important than a few problems.
5. ☐ Not a very important problem.

(53) Making sure all Americans have equal rights. (Choose one)

1. ☐ The most important problem.
2. ☐ One of the most important problems.
3. ☐ More important than many problems.
4. ☐ More important than a few problems.
5. ☐ Not a very important problem.

(54) Most of the boys and girls in my class are: (Choose one)

1. ☐ Republicans.
2. ☐ Democrats.
3. ☐ Neither.
4. ☐ I don't know.

People who try to get elected are . . . . (circle the number of your choice)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(55)	More honest than almost anyone	More honest than most people	More honest than some people	More dishonest than some people	More dishonest than most people	More dishonest than almost anyone

People who try to get elected are . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(56)	More sneaky than almost anyone	More sneaky than most people	More sneaky than some people	Less sneaky than some people	Less sneaky than most people	Less sneaky than almost anyone

People who try to get elected . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(57)	Always keep their promises	Almost always keep their promises	Usually keep their promises	Sometimes keep their promises	Usually do not keep their promises	Almost never keep their promises

People who try to get elected are . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(58)	More powerful than almost anyone	More powerful than most people	More powerful than some people	Less powerful than some people	Less powerful than most people	Less powerful than almost anyone

People who try to get elected are . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(59)	Less selfish than almost anyone	Less selfish than most people	Less selfish than some people	More selfish than some people	More selfish than most people	More selfish than almost anyone

People who try to get elected are . . . .

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(60)	Smarter than almost anyone	Smarter than most people	Smarter than some people	Less smart than some people	Less smart than most people	Less smart than almost anyone

Here are some "guess who" questions about the Republicans and the Democrats. Put an X in the box beside each question to show your guess.

Guess who:

(61) Does more for the rich people. (Choose one)

1. ☐ Republicans
2. ☐ Democrats
3. ☐ Both about the same
4. ☐ Don't know

(62) Does most to keep us out of war. (Choose one)

1. ☐ Republicans
2. ☐ Democrats
3. ☐ Both about the same
4. ☐ Don't know

(63) Does most to help people who are out of work. (Choose one)

1. ☐ Republicans
2. ☐ Democrats
3. ☐ Both about the same
4. ☐ Don't know

(64) Does more to protect the rights of citizens. (Choose one)

1. ☐ Republicans
2. ☐ Democrats
3. ☐ Both about the same
4. ☐ Don't know

Here are some more "guess who" questions about the Republicans and the Democrats.

Guess who:

(65) Does more to help my family. (Choose one)

1. ☐ Republicans
2. ☐ Democrats
3. ☐ Both about the same
4. ☐ Don't know

(66) Does more for the United States (Choose one)

1. ☐ Republicans
2. ☐ Democrats
3. ☐ Both about the same
4. ☐ Don't know

Think of the Supreme Court as it really is . . . . (Circle the number of your choice)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(67)	Almost never makes mistakes	Rarely makes mistakes	Sometimes makes mistakes	Often makes mistakes	Usually makes mistakes	Almost always makes mistakes

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(68)	Would always want to help me if I needed it	Would almost always want to help me if I needed it	Would usually want to help me if I needed it	Would sometimes want to help me if I needed it	Would seldom want to help me if I needed it	Would not usually want to help me if I needed it

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(69)	Makes important decisions all the time	Makes important decisions a lot of the time	Makes important decisions sometimes	Makes important decisions seldom	Almost never makes important decisions	Never makes important decisions

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(70)	Can punish anyone	Can punish almost anyone	Can punish many people	Can punish some people	Can punish a few people	Can punish no one

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(71)	Knows more than anyone	Knows more than most people	Knows more than many people	Knows less than many people	Knows less than most people	Knows less than anyone

Which of the events and problems on this page have YOU talked about with your friends or family, and which ones have you taken sides on?

(72) The Space Race (Choose one)

1. ☐ I have not talked about this.
2. ☐ I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it.
3. ☐ I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it.
4. ☐ I don't know.

(72) The United Nations (Choose one)

5. ☐ I have not talked about this.
6. ☐ I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it.
7. ☐ I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it.
8. ☐ I don't know.

(73) Giving money to other countries (Choose one)

1. ☐ I have not talked about this.
2. ☐ I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it.
3. ☐ I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it.
4. ☐ I don't know.

(73) People who are out of work in our country (Choose one)

5. ☐ I have not talked about this.
6. ☐ I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it.
7. ☐ I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it.
8. ☐ I don't know.

Which of these have you talked about with your friends or family, and which ones have you taken sides on?

(74) Government aid to schools (Choose one)

1. ☐ I have not talked about this.
2. ☐ I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it.
3. ☐ I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it.
4. ☐ I don't know.

(74) Taxes (Choose one)

5. ☐ I have not talked about this.
6. ☐ I have talked about this, but I have not taken sides on it.
7. ☐ I have talked about this, and I have taken sides on it.
8. ☐ I don't know.

(75) If you could vote, where would be the best place to look for help in making up your mind who to vote for? (Choose one)

1. ☐ A friend my own age.
2. ☐ My father.
3. ☐ My mother.
4. ☐ My mother and father.
5. ☐ My teacher.
6. ☐ My minister, rabbi, or priest.
7. ☐ Radio and Television.
8. ☐ Magazines and Newspapers.
9. ☐ I would make up my own mind.
0. ☐ I don't know.

APPENDIX H.02

CURRICULUM QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT

Section I Topics.--Instructions to teachers: Some topics are specific, others are general. If you have difficulty interpreting what we mean, make a guess and write a note on the last page. (Alternatives in Sections II - V were applied to all twenty-one topics.)

1. The Flag
2. The President, his powers, rights, and duties
3. Political Parties
4. Duties and responsibilities of a school or adult citizen (e.g., keep school and city clean)
5. Rights of school or adult citizen (e.g., express opinion, vote, participate in government)
6. Voting
7. Uncle Sam
8. Definition of the word "democracy"
9. Definition of the word "government"
10. Power or effectiveness of individual citizen in influencing government
11. The Policeman
12. Nature and functions of laws
13. The Politician - (person who seeks public office)
14. Congress
15. The Supreme Court
16. The Statue of Liberty
17. Historical political figures (G. Washington, Patrick Henry, etc.)
18. Pledge of Allegiance (other than saying it)
19. The Senator
20. The Mayor
21. The United Nations

Section II Amount of Time Spent.--An estimate of time spent in an average school year. We realize this is an approximation. Alternatives: (1) None, 0 hrs.; (2) Little, 0 - 1 hrs.; (3) Some, 1 - 3 hrs.; (4) A lot, over 3 hrs.

Section III Check one or both columns to indicate whether this topic was planned curriculum or arose incidentally. Alternatives: (1) Planned; (2) Incidental.

Section IV How appropriate do you think this topic is for your grade level? Alternatives: (1) Too advanced; (2) Appropriate; (3) Too simple.

Section V How important are these topics compared to other subjects (e.g., reading, arithmetic)? Check one for each topic: (1) Much more; (2) More; (3) Equal; (4) Less; (5) Much less.

Section VI (This Section contained specific questions, each with its own list of alternatives.)

(16) I usually try to present this material (topics listed above): (choose one)

___ Impartially, giving no value judgments.
___ Favorably, emphasizing the good aspects
___ Critically, pointing out bad aspects as well as good.

(17) In my class, we display the flag: (choose one)

___ Permanently
___ Only on special occasions
___ Rarely or not at all

(18) In my classroom we sing a patriotic song such as The Star Spangled Banner, or America the Beautiful: (choose one)

___ Every day
___ Almost every day
___ Once in a while
___ Never

(19) In my class I display pictures of national monuments, former statesmen, battles, etc.:

___ Yes
___ No

(20) In my class I have current events or other material connected with government displayed on the bulletin board: (choose one)

___ Every day
___ Almost every day
___ Once in a while
___ Never

(21) In my class we set aside a period of time for the discussion of current events: (choose one)

___ Every day
___ Two to four times a week
___ Once a week
___ Less than once a week or never

Indicate if you have pictures of these people displayed in your classroom:

(22) President Kennedy	___ Yes	___ No
(23) President Eisenhower	___ Yes	___ No
(24) George Washington	___ Yes	___ No
(25) Abraham Lincoln	___ Yes	___ No
(26) The State Governor	___ Yes	___ No

(27) Other American historical figures, specify: ______________
____

(28) Do the students of your class pledge allegiance to the flag? (choose one)

___ Every day
___ Most days
___ Only on special days
___ Never

(29) In the course of a year I teach these subjects: (check as many subjects as you teach)

___ Arithmetic
___ Social Studies
___ Reading
___ English (Composition)
___ Art
___ Music
___ Physical Education
___ Shop (Home Mechanics)
___ Foreign Language
___ Science

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APPENDIX I

AMERICAN DOCUMENTATION INSTITUTE INFORMATION FOR ADDITIONAL DATA

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APPENDIX I

Selected supplementary data not presented in this report have been deposited with the American Documentation Institute. A listing of these tables and the document numbers by which they may be ordered may be obtained by writing to:

Political Socialization Project
% Professor Robert D. Hess
Committee on Human Development
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois 60637